

Ozo-mekuri Ndimele (Ed.)

**IN THE
LINGUISTIC
PARADISE**

*A Festschrift for
E. Nolue Emenanjo*



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In the Linguistic Paradise

A Festschrift for E. Nolue Emenanjo

Ozo-mekuri Ndimele [Ed.]

*Department of Linguistics & Communication Studies,
University of Port Harcourt, Nigeria*

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Dedication

This Book is Dedicated to

ALL

Lovers of their Language

Preface

In the Linguistic Paradise is the second volume in the *Nigerian Linguists Festschrift Series*. The motivating force behind the establishment of the Festschrift Series is to honour outstanding scholars who have excelled in the study of languages and linguistics in Nigeria. The first in the series was produced in honour of Professor Kay Williamson with the title: *Four Decades in the Study of Languages and Linguistics in Nigeria*.

This volume is dedicated to Professor E. Nolue Emenanjo, a celebrated linguist and a pioneer professor of Igbo Linguistics. Professor Emenanjo is among the big names in 'Who is Who in Nigerian Linguistics'. Today, he occupies a most elevated position as the first Executive Director of the National Institute for Nigerian Languages, Aba. As the Executive Director of the Institute, Professor Emenanjo is charged with the enormous task of developing, documenting and archiving about 500 or more indigenous Nigerian languages and their dialects. At this highest level, he has interacted with many linguists and other scholars working on various aspects of Nigerian indigenous languages. Thus, Professor Emenanjo has an idea of the state of development of a great number of Nigerian languages. Indeed, he is presiding over a linguistic gold mine; hence, the title of this book: *In the Linguistic Paradise*.

As Professor Emenanjo turns 60 on 21 April, 2003, some of us (his former students, friends and professional colleagues) thought it would be worthwhile to hold a symposium in his honour, and to present him a book on the occasion to celebrate not only scholarship in our field, but also the impact of his contributions in the development of languages spoken in Nigeria.

The book is organized in five sections, as follows:

- §A. Language, History and Society
- §B. Literature, Stylistics and Pragmatics
- §C. Applied Linguistics
- §D. Formal Linguistics
- §E. Tributes

There are 15 papers in §A; the majority of them address the perennial problem of language choice in Nigeria. §B contains 10 papers focusing on literature, stylistics and pragmatics. §C contains 17 papers; a sizeable number of them focus on language teaching and learning; 2 are on lexicography, while others are on language engineering. §D contains 16 papers focusing on the core areas of linguistics. In §E, Alamu presents the biographical profile and an intimidating list of publications of Professor E. Nolue Emenanjo, while Nwadike examines the contributions of Emenanjo in Igbo Studies.

In all, the papers contained here are representative of the current state of research in

Nigerian languages and linguistics. And from the two volumes of the Festschrift Series so far in print, we seem to have an idea of who is doing what and where in the study of languages and linguistics in Nigeria.

Editing the Festschrift Series has been one of the greatest academic challenges I have come to face in recent times. To accomplish the task of publishing this volume, I owe immeasurable gratitude to a number of persons. It is with due respect that I acknowledge the support I received from the academic staff of the Department of Linguistics and Communication Studies, University of Port Harcourt, and the National Institute for Nigerian Languages, Aba. I specially thank my senior colleagues, Professor Kay Williamson, Dr. (Mrs.) Phil. E. Ejele and Dr. (Mrs.) Shirley Yul-Ifode, for reading some of the papers. I also thank the members of my family, particularly my wife and our son, for the unquantifiable neglect they had to put up with while I worked on this volume. Where was the funding for this project to come from if the Emhai Press crew had not come to our rescue? To the management of Emhai Press, we say a big thank you.

Finally, we thank God for this dream come true.

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1. Globalization, Multilingualism and the New Information and Communication Technologies

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Globalization is producing new ways of thinking about everything including language. In this paper, the concepts of globalization and multilingualism are juxtaposed, and the impact of globalization on language discussed. The main objective of the paper is to portray the negative effects of globalization vis-à-vis the maintenance of linguistic diversity, and to suggest how the opportunities offered by the new information and communication technologies can be exploited to remedy the situation. After a careful review of the effects and ways of remedying the negative impact, the paper ends with the observation that Nigerian linguists are now faced with the task of utilizing the opportunities offered by the present challenges to solve the problems of the past, especially in the area of developing Nigerian languages.

Introduction

In Okwudishu (2003), I identified the challenges of globalization and the new information and communication technologies for local languages as one of the teething problems that need to be addressed by the study of languages and linguistics in Nigeria. Looking at the long list of publications credited to Prof. E. Nolue Emenanjo, the concepts of "Multilingualism" and "Endangered languages" stand out as areas of research in which the veteran scholar has made laudable contributions. In this paper, we intend to refocus on these issues as a way of honouring Prof. Emenanjo and felicitating him on his 60th birthday. The paper will be mainly concerned with the negative effects of globalization on multilingualism and the opportunities offered by the new technologies to reverse some of these negative trends.

Conceptual Framework

The term 'globalization' has in recent times been described as both a misnomer and a euphemism. It is universally acknowledged that globalization requires as well as produces new channels, networks and practices of communication which are not dependent on geographical proximity (Toolan, 2000). By a strange paradox, these channels, networks and practices of communication depend heavily on language, yet language still remains a relatively neglected aspect of current scholarly and political debate on globalization. A close look at the major developments discussed under the heading of globalization reveals that language is implicated in one or more significant ways.

Consider the following topics:

- The demographic and social changes engendered by migration
- The shift to a knowledge and service economy

- The contested political position of the nation state
- The new forms of sociopolitical resistance.

These, to list but a few, are areas of development that globalization calls forth. And language is implicated in one or more significant ways in every one of these developments. Globalization no doubt is producing new ways of using and thinking about language. Linguists are expected to be concerned with not only the role played in globalization processes by language, but also the effects of globalization process on language. The growing awareness of the challenge that globalization poses to language has moved scholars in both Europe and America to, from the socio-linguistic standpoint, ask many of the same questions that dominate discussions on globalization in other areas. Prominent among these questions is the issue of linguistic diversity. Scholars are beginning to wonder whether globalization means “Englishization”, for example or whether it is more likely to lead to an increase in individual and societal multilingualism, and the preservation or revival of currently “endangered” languages (Crystal 1997, 2000).

Historical Background

The threat to multilingualism and linguistic diversity has been from the historical perspective a constant phenomenon. As far back as 1995, Wurm in his work titled “Endangered languages of the World”, noted that many specialists throughout the world predict that by the 21st century, some 90% of languages spoken today may disappear. This is not a new phenomenon as can be seen in the data on Nigerian languages presented in Emenanjo (2001) and Nettle & Romaine (2000). What is new according to Montviloff (2002) is that this phenomenon is increasing exponentially, particularly with globalization and the introduction of multimedia technologies.

In a programme titled “Information for ALL, UNESCO proposes a number of measures that should be taken into consideration in order to facilitate access to cultural and linguistic diversity on the global information. In its agenda, the promotion and use of multilingualism is given a pride of place. It is therefore seen as an imperative, the need to combat the negative effects of rapid globalization on multilingualism while exploiting to its maximum the new possibility presented by the new technologies.

The Objective of the Paper

Between the middle 80’s and late 90’s, socio-linguistic debates in Nigeria were mainly focused on problems relating to the “language question”. The language policy was described as laudable but unimplementable. The issue of the linguistic rights of minorities took the centre stage. Language development in all its ramifications was viewed as a panacea albeit obstacles in terms of funding the number of languages involved and social attitudes. With none of the 80’s and 90’s problems solved, the 21st century with its globalization vision creates new problems without solving the previous ones. The politics of global linguistic diversity takes the minority issues of yesteryears one step further. Movements for mother-tongue rights and, especially the preservation of the endangered languages may be seen as the linguistic instantiation of the kind of green politics which

defined local diversity against the homogenizing effect of globalization.

In the light of the above, this paper sets for itself the objective of seeking for ways to stem the tide of the globalization effects on our indigenous multilingual status while coping with and not losing sight of the problems of the past. In line with this objective, the paper tries to answer the following questions:

1. Does globalization have any positive impact on multilingualism?
2. Does globalization impact multilingualism negatively?
3. How can this negative impact be tackled to maximize the potentials of our local languages?

Globalization versus Multilingualism

Before seeking for answers to the questions that this paper raised, a review of the comparative advantages of globalization and multilingualism is in order. Globalization, in relation to language, portends “a global common language” which offers unprecedented possibilities for mutual understanding and thus enables us to find fresh opportunities for international cooperation (Crystal, 1999). Toolan (2000) argues differently and looks at the issue from a different perspective. In his opinion, the adoption of a common language is not a necessary impact for, nor a necessary outcome of international cooperation. He identifies extensive bilingualism and extensive translation as major alternatives for achieving the same purpose.

Crystal also argues in favour of multilingualism which he describes as an alternative fundamental principal to the concept of ‘shared global language’. In terms of advantages, multilingualism presents us with different perspectives and insights, and thus enables us to reach a more profound understanding of the nature of human mind. With multilingualism comes diversity and depth of understanding - the depth that comes from engaging differences, contrast, the depth of field made possible where one language calibrates the world, one way, while another language calibrates it differently, to the point where the first way’s strangeness is grasped. He further defines multilingual experiencing of the world as a thoroughgoing access to metaphorical understanding, with all the freshness and difference that this implies.

After a careful consideration of Crystal’s argument in favour of multilingualism, Toolan concludes that his arguments are strikingly reminiscent of those famously advanced by John Stuart Mill in justifying freedom of expression. He states that in view of the benefits it may confer to both the individual and the society, multilingualism should perhaps be constitutionally protected in a true democracy, just as heterodox speech and opinion is.

The Impact of Globalization on Multilingualism

Out of the three questions that are the focus of this paper, the first two are concerned with the positive and negative impacts of globalization on multilingualism respectively. Juxtaposing the terms “shared global language” and “multilingualism”, one may be tempted to conclude that globalization has impacted multilingualism only negatively.

However, when we take into consideration the heightened awareness of the importance of indigenous and vernacular languages, the calls for movements for mother-tongue rights and especially the preservation of endangered languages, these may be seen as steps against the homogenizing effects of globalization. It would therefore seem acceptable to say that globalization has impacted multilingualism positively by giving birth to politics of global linguistics diversity.

The negative impact of globalization on multilingualism is a more visible phenomenon. According to Wurm (1995), it has been predicted that by the end of the 21st century, some 90% of languages spoken today may disappear. Montviloff warns that with the introduction of multimedia technologies of communication, this phenomenon is increasing exponentially. He describes each of the 6,700 languages spoken today as a reflection of traditions; thoughts and cultures all unique in their essence. Any loss of language is a disappearance of a pool of knowledge and an impoverishment of our cultural heritage and research capacities.

Most of the information displayed on the web is in foreign languages. UNESCO questions the diversity of the content on the web and warns that children, forced to use a foreign language on the Net, are at risk, as some studies have shown, of losing their mother tongue. UNESCO further describes lack of diversity of content as absence of multilingual information which in turn may lead to the loss of native cultures.

Unfortunately, the introduction of multilingualism on the Internet has to contend with some technical difficulties. One of them is the fact that hardware and software were first designed to process the English text. This obviously has posed some difficulties in the processing of programmes in other languages.

Combating the Globalizing Effects on Multilingualism

The third and last question addressed by this paper is how to deal with the negative impact of globalization to maximize the potentials of our local languages. In other words, how can the new technologies be exploited for the benefit of linguistic diversity?

Focusing on the ethical, legal and societal challenges of globalization, UNESCO sees the need to promote cultural and linguistic diversity of the contents accessible on the Internet to prevent all forms of linguistic segregation and to safeguard the linguistic heritage of humanity. Montviloff (2002) states that the new technologies offer us new opportunities in this field, even chances to reverse the alarming trend towards the extinction of languages. He suggests that everything humanly possible should be done to exploit these new means to the fullest both at the policy and practical levels.

UNESCO, according to him, has taken up this challenge by initiating a programme called "Information for All". The aim of this program is to promote the use of languages on the Internet. Committed to the notion of universal access and multilingualism, UNESCO vows to among other measures promote the creation of special funds to support the efforts of the developing countries to facilitate the promotion and use of multilingualism in cyberspace, encourage co-operation between the different international governmental and non-governmental organizations with a view to building up a universally accessible multilingual body of knowledge.

Suggestions and Recommendations

As a measure to reinforce its 'Information for All' initiative, UNESCO makes a number of recommendations, among which include the need to put in place the necessary machinery for:

- alleviating language barriers in access to cultural and scientific information.
- ensuring the creation of national and multilingual Websites.
- maintaining and promoting an international collaboration on-line observatory on the different existing policies and regulations relating to multilingualism and multilingual resources and applications.

Looking closely at these recommendations and looking inwards at our situation in Nigeria, the challenges ahead are no doubt enormous. Linguists are among the primary human resources required for dealing with these challenges, especially in the area of providing specialized skills for transforming linguistic data for the Web. The task ahead for Nigerian linguistics is to determine the best strategies for marrying the problems of yesteryears which still remain unsolved with the new challenges of this century. The good news is that solution to some of the new challenges will act as shortcut to solving some of the old problems. For example, some studies have shown that there is a strong correlation between the use of languages on the Web and how such languages can be used as languages of instruction at all levels of education (Braid, 1998). Thus, the problem of the development of Nigerian languages will have to be given more attention if the languages are to be used for information dissemination and communication through the Web.

Summary

In this paper, we have discussed the impact of globalization on multilingualism with a focus on the opportunities which the new information and communication technologies offer for combating its negative effects.

Juxtaposing the concepts of globalization (in terms of shared global language) and multilingualism, the paper identified both the positive and negative effects of globalization as they pertain to the preservation of linguistic diversity.

The paper then discussed the ways the new information and communication technologies could be exploited for combating the negative effects of globalization on multilingualism. The paper ends with the observation that the tasks for Nigerian linguists are enormous, especially in the area of utilizing the opportunities offered by the new challenges for solving the old problems pertaining to the development of Nigerian languages.

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2. Terminological Research and Development in Nigerian Languages

Emmanuel N. Kwofie

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1. Introduction

I shall organize my presentation in the following way. I shall first of all reflect on terminology, its relationship with linguistics and translation and on the nature of terminological research. I shall then briefly examine aspects of some of the work done in what is described as “metalanguage” in some Nigerian languages. Finally, I shall comment on the relevance of such work to terminological research.

2. Terminology, Linguistics and Translation: Nature and Interrelationships

According to lexicographers, at least most of those concerned with English and French, two of the world’s major languages and researchers in terminology or terminologists, terminology is the totality or “system of specialized words and expressions used in a particular science, profession, activity, etc.” (see for example *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* 1978, 1984 Reprint, page 1144).

The term may also refer to the “special vocabulary” used by an individual or a social group. One may equally rightly apply the term or work terminology to “activities relating to the collection or constitution, distribution or diffusion and translation of “terminological units”, the science or theoretical study of concepts in specialized areas of knowledge, their relationships to logic, linguistics, lexicology, translation, documentation and information technology. This seemingly diffuse characterization may be reduced to two ranges of uses or meanings, namely:

- 1) Lexis/lexicon/vocabulary; notice that these items have different meanings for some linguists; they have technical and general meanings (see for example E.N. Kwofie 1985 chapter 4). In so far as each profession, science or arts has its specialized words and expressions, it may be asserted that there are and can be as many terminologies as there are professions, sciences, arts or activities. One can talk here also of the vocabulary of the individual and that of the social group, the *idiolect* as against the *sociolect*.
- 2) Any activity or science aimed at the collection of new or coined words, or at lexical formation or creating specialized words or expressions, that is, where none exists. Such an activity may be identified as “terminological research” and indirectly with “documentation”.

The important theoretical question of the difference between lexicography and terminology seen as activities arises here, especially when one considers the designation of specialized collections of words, or terms in such fields as agriculture, commerce, ecology, space

science and technology, medicine, etiology (the study of the cause of disease-part of medicine) and metallurgy (the study and practice of removing metals from rocks, melting and using them) as “vocabularies”, “dictionaries” and/or “lexicons”. Notice that the distinction between the three categories of “lexical collections” is not clear-cut. A dictionary may also be ‘a book that deals with words and phrases concerning a special subject: a science dictionary/a dictionary of place names’ (see *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* 1984 p. 303).

There is thus some overlapping between “vocabulary” and “terminology” seen as a product, the end-result of lexicography or terminology as activity in so far as vocabulary is not only “all the words known to a particular person”, but often is also “the special set of words used in a particular kind of work, business, etc.” and “a list of words, usually in alphabetical order and with explanations of their meanings. .”, (less complete than a dictionary” (cf. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* 1984, p. 1229)).

The objectives and methods of lexicography - the writing and making of dictionary - and terminology - the science that studies specialized words and expressions used in a particular science - are significantly similar. From a purely practical point of view, both activities aim at producing collections of terms or words with glosses or meanings intended to facilitate usage and comprehension of difficult or technical texts. They both have to address questions of compilation such as the constitution of relevant corpuses, the establishment, choice or selection of lexical entries, contexts/collocations, presentation of selected entries - whether according to a monolingual, bilingual, trilingual mode, etc.

The main difference between the two activities would seem to lie in the fact that terminology is more preoccupied with “specialized vocabularies”, dictionaries or “language” while lexicography, whether based on general or specialized usages in the wider linguistic community, is essentially concerned with the writing and making of dictionaries. But what is specialized language?

According to André Clas (1985:59), the distinction often made between scientific, technical and professional languages is one of convenience because specialties overlap as they borrow processes and techniques; hence, lexical items from one another (consider his views which I have closely translated from French):

To avoid any error of interpretation, let us cite in illustration examples from journalism and medicine. Journalism has its own vocabulary but since it does not deal with itself but with all the sectors of human activities, one understands its “interdisciplinary” character and why it is very important. It is just as difficult to set the limits for medicine because it is at the same time a science, a technique and professional practice. It depends upon anatomy, chemistry, biology, physiology, mathematics, botany, etc., in addition to psychology, sociology and ethics.

By its very nature, terminology, as an activity, cannot be undertaken successfully by an individual; in other words, the processes of collecting or assembling, collating, classifying and standardizing terminological units or terms in any sector of human activity, is properly

the responsibility of groups or teams of specialists.

Are terminology, linguistics and translation related? It was suggested in our earlier reflections on terminology that, as a science, terminology is related to logic, linguistics, lexicology, translation, documentation and information technology. We shall restrict our discussion here to linguistics and translation and their relationship first before turning our attention to the relationship of the two to terminology. How related are the two disciplines?

Linguistics is commonly defined as the scientific study of language. The scientific study of language is, according to Lyons (1968:7), the investigation of language “by means of controlled and empirically verifiable observations and with reference to some general theory of language-structure. Two aspects of the scientific study of language are generally distinguished: they are: the theoretical and the practical. The two aspects are, however, complementary for the practical aspect, the description of language, seems impossible without the theoretical which is concerned with providing the methodological framework for description.

Translation, on the other hand, is usually described as the transfer or transposition of what is said or written in one language into another language. Characterizations are of course numerous but they must all involve the idea of equivalence of source and target material or texts, and therefore the idea of comparison. Sapir, Bloomfield, de Saussure and Jepsen, whose works cannot be excluded from the history of linguistics, almost completely ignored translation. The single reference to translation that Bloomfield (1933:140), for example, makes, is found in the following context, the “search for meaning”:

The statement of meanings is therefore the weak point in language-study... Or else, if we knew enough of the questioner's language, we could answer him by translation - that is, if he were a Frenchman for instance, we could give pomme [pɔm] as the meaning of apple. This method of definition appears in our bilingual dictionaries.

Obviously then, translation has several aims or objectives among which that of the statement of meanings may be mentioned. Casagrande (1954) distinguishes four types of translation according to their aims: they are described as linguistic, pragmatic, aesthetic-poetic and ethnographic. Linguistic translation, in Casagrande's view (1954:337) has the essential aim “to identify and assign equivalent meanings to the constituent morphemes of the source language. Interest centers on structural or grammatical form”.

Translation may thus be useful in language-study or linguistic description. It is, in fact, considered by Halliday et al. (1970:112) as a “special case” of “comparative descriptive linguistics” or “contrastive linguistics”. Zellig S. Harris (1954:256) establishes the relationship between contrastive linguistics and translation in the following words:

... any method of specifying difference can contribute toward a classification of structural types among languages (...) The method is also relevant to a proceduralized system of translation, and can be put in the form of routine

instructions for machine translation.

The relationship between linguistics and translation seems to be indirect. The problems of faithfulness to original text and quality of translation among others belong to evaluation theory or criticism and are not the concerns of the linguist. Whereas linguistics deals essentially with language (I am aware of the variety of the goals assigned to this science!), translation is concerned principally with “information dissemination”, thus with language primarily as a means of human communication. The starting point of linguistic analysis is a language; that of translation is two languages, thus bilingualism. In clearer terms, the linguist need not be a bilingual in order to undertake an analysis of his language, while the translator must be a bilingual, whatever may be the level or degree of his bilinguality.

Translation is essentially the search for equivalents, both semantic and formal. The emphasis on one or the other type of equivalents depend largely on the translator’s conception of the translation activity and his goals. However, as suggested by Catford (1965:27), translation necessarily implies the idea of usage, and therefore raises the problems of choice and acceptability of expressions, etc. Moskowicz (1973:77) says the following about usage in translation (the translation from French is mine):

The translation must therefore contain terms that are habitually utilized by specialists of the field in question and which the hearer/reader knows, regardless of whether such terms are relevant, precise, elegant or not. Only usage counts.

Now, every human language is the sum total of the linguistic resources or expressions which speakers possess. It is inconceivable that a single individual would possess mastery of or know all terms and expressions which his language contains. In other words, no individual possesses all the diverse “vocabularies” or all of the “socio-professional” varieties of his language. Sauvageot (1964:26) expressed the idea in the following way (the translation is from French and is mine):

An individual user can never know the entire vocabulary of his language. The fact is that the vocabulary of any language is more or less a large quantity of terms the meanings of which are understood only by those who have acquired the requisite knowledge. Terms in Mathematics, Physics, Biology, etc. may be known and utilized by only those (people) who have been trained in such disciplines.

Consequently, the translation of specialized texts or documents requires appropriate terminological research on the part of the translator. Hence, the need for the making of terminologies or dictionaries for specific sectors of human activity. Differently expressed, translators must be properly trained in specific discipline or must have at their disposal the relevant words, terms and expressions for any given translation work. Repertoires of specialized terms, etc., are largely the responsibilities of terminologists.

How then are terminologies constituted or what is terminological research?

As was suggested earlier, the objectives and methods of lexicography and terminology are largely similar. In order to produce a dictionary or a terminology (i.e. a “specialized” list of terms/words), the publisher, editor, lexicographer or terminologist must have at his disposal:

- 1) an adequate body of documents, corpus or set of facts of usage;
- 2) a group or team of expert or scholarly advisers to assist him with reliable information about terminological or lexical units/words, such as the origin, usage, meaning, etc., of words;
- 3) a sufficient number of office assistants to help to control the flow of information and who are capable of making decisions that are relevant to the objectives of the type of dictionary or terminology envisaged.

The rather special circumstances of terminological development throughout the world, however, requires that special procedures be followed in the preparation of terminologies. These procedures are closely related and are, in fact, two aspects of a single analytic method or approach: the analysis of notional fields with the precise identification of the notions involved with a view to specifying the objects to be designated and their interrelationships on the one hand, and a search for terms designating notions through the examination of specialized texts and the verification of the exact use of each term by specialists, on the other. This method which I consider as “special” or peculiar to terminological research, thus combines onomasiology - in the analysis of the real and semasiology - in the analysis of specialized texts.

This terminological research method usually leads to the constitution of more or less extensive lists of terms depending on the needs or objectives set, in one or more languages and consequently to the compilation of collections of differing formats: vocabularies, dictionaries, lexicons, etc.

The descriptions of two “dictionaries” presented below exemplify the necessarily collaborative character of terminological research (the original descriptions are in French and have been translated by me for the benefit of non-French scholars: I have unusually translated some proper names):

A Four-language (Quadrilingual) Vocabulary of the Mediterranean Environment, English, Arabic, Spanish, French (Work Document for Experts).

The present document is the result of collaborative efforts of the CILF (International Council for the French Language), the Ministry of Agriculture of Tunisia (Office of the Environment) under the direction of Mr. Zacharia Ben Mustapha, Institute of Linguistics and Phonetics, Algiers and under the direction of Professor Hadj. Salah, Institute of Studies and Research for the arabization of Morocco and of Professor Ahmed Lakhdar-Ghazal.

Vocabulary of Space Sciences and Technology

This vocabulary is the result of the efforts of a group of specialists set up as early as 1970 with Professor Pierre Auger as Chairman. This group has been concerned with the survey and designation of the major notions and objects within a set of disciplines and activities described by the general term of “space sciences and technology”. In dealing with the terminology of a field that is constantly developing and in providing translations in English and German, the desire of the CILF has been to offer the largest public this first quality work document.

3. On “Metalanguage” in some Nigerian Languages

A ‘Metalanguage’ is generally defined as a type of formalized language used in talking about language. Thus, dictionaries and grammars may be properly considered as “metalinguistic” works.

The first attempts to develop metalanguages in Nigeria date back to the 1970s when the Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria set up a Standing Committee to initiate and co-ordinate studies on Yoruba Metalanguage...” The first seminar or workshop on Yoruba metalanguage planned for November 1978 at the University of Ife did not, however, take place until 1988, and at the University of Lagos rather than the University of Ife.

The initial list of 716 terms was to be put to immediate use in various institutions. The second workshop held at the University of Ibadan reviewed the earlier list drawn up in 1981, and the list of additional terms recommended by the Steering Committee that met at the University of Ibadan in 1982. The area of search for terms was expanded to include aspects of Yoruba culture relating to literature, methodology and sociolinguistics.

Volume 1 of *Yoruba Metalanguage* edited by Ayo Bamgbose and published in 1984 by Nigeria Educational Research Council has as its sub-title “A Glossary of English-Yoruba Technical Terms in Language, Literature and Methodology”. The main achievement of the Yoruba metalanguage workshops, it is observed, is the compilation of “a body of agreed terms being used in teaching Yoruba in all Universities, Colleges of Education and Polytechnics” (op. cit. page v).

It is instructive that the source items listed are English and the translations or equivalent items are Yoruba. The particular terms accepted and recorded were arrived at through discussion and consensus. Some terms have up to four variants. The strategies adopted in the coining of the technical terms are the following:

... composition, semantic extension, dialect borrowing, special coinage and loanwords. The most frequent of the five strategies is composition which implies the productive process of nominalization.

A comparison of Volumes 1 and 2 reveals a number of revisions. For example, whereas Volume II, edited by Oladele Awobuluyi in 1988, records *ability* as *ilèse* (̀̀nkan), *reading ability* as *ilèkàwé* and *abstract* (v) as 1. *pàsamò* 2. *pà lásamò*, Volume 1 edited by Ayo Bamgbose proposes *ipà* for *ability*, *ipà iwé-kíkà* for *reading ability* and *àfòyemò* for *abstract*.

The changes in terms reflected in Volume II are seen to represent “obvious improvements on existing terms” (Yoruba Metalanguage, Vol. II, page vii). Some 30 principal terms had undergone change between 1984 and 1988.

Turning to the Igbo metalanguage, it may be observed that the aim here is not different from that which the Yoruba Studies Association had set with respect to Yoruba: the development of the Igbo metalanguage is an attempt to find a lasting solution to the problem of the lack of “uniformity for the effective teaching of Igbo language” (Igbo Metalanguage, Vol. I, edited by E. Nolie Emenanjo et al. 1990, page v). The terms recorded in Volume I of Igbo Metalanguage “cover the major areas of language studies like phonetics, phonology, syntax, stylistics, literary appreciation and methodology” (op. cit. page vi). Like the Yoruba Metalanguage, Igbo Metalanguage first lists the English terms and then provides the Igbo equivalents. Some English terms have two or more Igbo variants as in Yoruba. Understandably, however, the entries in both collections significantly diverge. While for example, Yoruba Metalanguage Volume I has seven types of grammar recorded under grammar, namely categorical grammar, discourse grammar, generative grammar, modern grammar, text grammar, traditional grammar, Igbo Metalanguage, Volume I lists additionally phrase structure grammar, stratificational grammar, systemic grammar, tagmemic grammar, transformational grammar excluding “modern grammar”. The Igbo metalanguage also lists closed consonant and consonantal vowel under letter C (p.1 5) in addition to the other types recognized in the Yoruba metalanguage.

To this important factor of internal linguistic difference must be added that of personal interests and choices in lexicography (see E.N. Kwofie 1985:69-72). It is ideologically improper therefore to compare the achievements of the Yoruba Studies Association of Nigeria and those of the Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC) which by 1990 had “evolved more than 3,500 terms for teaching Igbo language at all levels of education” (Igbo Metalanguage, page v).

It is sufficient to recognize and applaud the fact that Nigerian languages like all other natural languages, which indisputably are the very first sources of semiotic training for Nigerian children, are being developed in keeping with the Government’s *National Policy on Education*.

4. The Relevance of Metalanguage to Terminological Research

As Jean-Claude Corbeil of the Quebec French Language Bureau observed in 1978 (see E.N. Kwofie 1999:88-89), the importance of terminological research may be explained in terms of three factors, as follows:

- (a) the desire of nations to use their languages in international relations as far as possible in view of the fact that the world is fast becoming “a global village”; thanks to advances in technology and communication. This phenomenon which is evidenced in international organizations such as UNESCO and EEC had given rise to the need for translation (and interpretation) and consequently to the urgent need for “bilingual or multilingual terminologies” that are readily or easily available and highly reliable;

- (b) the need felt by countries for language planning; this quite often implies the development of the national language or languages particularly in the area of science and technology “where the means of expression - vocabulary - appears to be most deficient”, and finally
- (c) the colossal increase in scientific and technological/technical documentation makes the search for efficient means of management and easy access to such documentation imperative. This has led to the “professionalization” of documentation.

Terminology as an activity, it has been suggested, is identifiable with the search for technical or specialized terms. Metalanguage is the type or special language used in talking about language. Any “discursive mode” is therefore a metalanguage. It seems proper then to say that metalanguage and terminology are not unrelated. Every discipline has its terminology or “jargon”; such terminology is specialized in the sense that only practitioners or those trained in it possess or have knowledge of such terminology. What has been done in Nigeria so far is that attention has been restricted to the humanities - linguistics, culture as it is related to literature and methodology; what is required henceforth is an expansion of the areas of search for terms to science and technology.

5. Conclusion

It is true that every language has its peculiarities or distinctive features, so no one should expect all terms to be coined in the same way. However, given that Nigeria is English-speaking officially, it should be possible for terminological research or development in Nigerian languages to take as a starting point “lists of technical and scientific and other specialized terms in English”. Terminological research from that point on will then be a ‘search for equivalent expressions, using derivation and composition which are important sources of lexical creation or “coinage”. There must be cooperation with “international” terminology Bureaux or Agencies and with identified specialists in the fields chalked out for examination.

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3. Language & the National Question

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1. Introduction: Language and Nationality

Languages are the pedigree of nations
Samuel Johnson (1775)

Ever since Dr. Johnson proffered these memorable words in 1775, many groups of people from all over the world, especially nationalist or militant groups¹, have manifested a remarkable tendency to identify language with nationality², and to proceed there from to associate both language and nationality with culture and race³. Indeed the tendency to think and act in this way has since then been so hugely popular and more or less taken for granted that in every continent of the world, nations have come to be generally identified with particular languages and cultures⁴.

In Europe, for instance, German nationality and German culture are closely identified with the German language, French nationality and culture with the French language, English nationality and culture with the English language, and Spanish nationality and culture with the Spanish language. to mention only these four⁵.

In the former Soviet Union, for another example from Eastern Europe, the Russian language was used as an integrative instrument to hold together the amalgam of constitutive multi lingual republics that frequently took pleasure in demonstrating their cultural and linguistic specificity⁶.

Similarly, for many decades after 1865 in the United States of America, which is basically a country of immigrants from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the “English Only Movement” was launched and sustained by some state institutions that sought to create a sense of English national identity throughout the vast nation, and particularly in the Spanish-dominated California and parts of Texas and Arizona.

In Canada, which is a union of British and French colonies, there is a bitter debate that is on-going about national and cultural identity which dates back to the eighteenth century because of the refusal of the francophone Quebecois to give up their French language in favour of that of their numerically stronger and therefore dominant English counterparts.

In China, as in India and the Far East generally, which are countries characterized, as in Africa. by multilingualism, a single language is commonly actively promoted by government decree to the status of a national language in order to create in the minds of the citizens a sense of national unit’: the Peiping variety of Mandarin Chinese in China, Hindi (or Hindustani) in India. Malay in Malaysia. Bahasa in Indonesia, to cite but these few examples.

But it is in Africa, and particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, that this phenomenon is

observed to be most rampant as a result of the fact that these countries were hastily and arbitrarily partitioned by European colonialists, who at the moment of partitioning them were not concerned with the languages or cultures of their newly-acquired subjects. Without exception, these African countries felt most concerned at independence to maintain their territorial and political integrity in spite of or, rather, because of their perceived internal linguistic and cultural diversity. In some of these states, this concern took the form of legislation in favour of a single indigenous language as the national language, as in Somalia (Somali), Ethiopia (Amharic) and Tanzania (Swahili). In other states, where a similar solution was untenable because of existing political and ethnic tensions, either the colonial language alone was adopted as the official language or several languages, including the colonial one, were worked into the constitution to serve as national or official languages⁷.

Therefore, whether in Europe and Asia, where an indigenous language is taken as the symbol of nationality, or in America and Africa, where it is a colonial language that is given that role, the truth of the matter is that languages are widely acknowledged as the pedigree of nations. And unscrupulous demagogues and “nationalist” journalists and politicians have been known to exploit this notion to their advantage.

But this popular sentiment of Dr. Johnson’s is a myth on three counts. Firstly, not a single one of the great languages of the world follows ethnic and racial geography at all closely. French, for example, as rightly pointed out by Potter (1960:28), is spoken by not less than three racial groups in France: Nordic in the north, Alpine in the centre, and Mediterranean in the south, and what is more, all these stocks are today freely represented elsewhere in Europe speaking different languages, such as German, Italian and Dutch. English provides another example: it is spoken natively by a heterogeneous group of peoples known under the collective name of Germanic peoples and including Celtic, Anglo-Saxon and Gaelic races. This is not to mention other racially diverse native speakers of English who inhabit America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere in the world. Even German which, from the sixteenth century on, has exhibited somewhat exaggerated sentiments of sovereign nationhood and a certain cultural and political nationalism, with the doctrinal fervour of Martin Luther and subsequently under the influence of the Nazis⁸, is spoken by Teutons, Celts and Saxons who take up other nationalities elsewhere in Europe. Indeed, what seems to have happened in Europe, from ancient times and throughout the medieval era, is that, once national boundaries have been created and consolidated by political and other forces, the national unit or country so defined finds subsequently in language the clearest and most obvious token of its identity. It is this manner of state or “nation” creation in Europe that appears to give credence to the notion expressed by Dr. Johnson that every language should properly function as the acknowledged expression of a distinctive nationality⁹.

Secondly, even in Africa, and especially in sub-Saharan Africa, where languages tend generally to follow ethnic geography, unlike in Europe, as we have just been saying, ethnic groupings do not coincide with national or state boundaries. In fact, some of these ethnic groups and their languages, such as Hausa or Fulfulde, are spoken over vast areas across international borders, while others, such as the minority languages, are too

circumscribed to exist as viable national entities or countries¹⁰. Furthermore, the distribution of languages is sometimes extremely complex, with many areas showing linguistic overlap and, 'at any one place, "layers" of language, each fulfilling a peculiar purpose¹¹. And so Dr. Johnson cannot be justified if he means that languages are the pedigree of states or countries. He must have used the word *nation*¹² to refer to *ethnic nationality*.

And thirdly, although language can exercise an integrative function by bringing people together on the basis of their common linguistic and cultural affiliation, and in facilitating their capacity to think and act together from the perspective of the Whorfian hypothesis¹³, yet it must be admitted that language is easily the most observable and the most readily ascertainable of all factors that not only divide mankind generally, but in particular threaten the economic and political stability of developing postcolonial states throughout sub-Saharan Africa, which, as we said earlier, are multilingual and multicultural countries par excellence. It is sometimes in order to avoid additional political problems that are engendered by endemic multilingualism in these states that they often each adopt a foreign colonial language as their official national language. In this situation, therefore, there is no way Dr. Johnson can be right if his words were to mean that languages are the pedigree of states, as he is frequently misquoted to say.

The point is that Dr. Johnson's statement reflected in 1775 the new significance attached to language by the middle of the eighteenth century which enabled certain ethnic groups in various parts of the world, but particularly in Europe, to galvanize ethnic support for their political agenda by appealing stridently to their cultural and linguistic affiliation. The national language question is not, therefore, a simple matter for sub-Saharan African states to deal with. It would be interesting to see how Nigeria handles it in view of the fact that the country is an embodiment of the kinds of problems, economic, political and social, which are painfully created by multilingualism in all the states of the sub-region.

2. The National Language Question in Nigeria

Whereas in Europe, America and Asia, the choice of a national language has been relatively easy to make, in Africa, it has been "a most difficult and delicate matter" (Bamgbose, 1975:9). Of course, in North Africa, diglossia has provided a solution in that classical Arabic is used as the high variety register for public administration, education and religion, and the local Arabic or some other language, such as Berber, serves as the low variety register for informal, private or domestic conversation. But in the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, the situation has been very different: for sociological, psychological, educational, political and economic reasons and the question of a national language has not been easy to answer. To discuss the matter in detail, we have decided to use Nigeria as our case study since the country is typical of the countries of the region in being a thorough multilingual country.

2.1 A Brief History of the Linguistic Situation in Nigeria

As we were saying a little earlier, Nigeria is typical of those countries of sub-Saharan

Africa that are not only saddled with an official colonial language to which only a minority of the population have adequate access¹⁴, but which also possess many rival ethnic languages¹⁵ from which it is generally considered to be politically inexpedient to choose one as a national language for use throughout the country. This situation is replicated in these other African countries, whether they were colonized by England, such as Ghana, Sierra Leone and Gambia in West Africa and Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi in East Africa or by France, such as Togo, Benin, Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and Gabon or by Belgium, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi or even by Portugal, such as Angola and Mozambique.

In Nigeria, at independence in 1960, the burning question that agitated the minds of many people, especially politicians and politically-aware academics and journalists, was: What language should newly independent Nigeria adopt as its national language? Newspapers published several comments and essays on the topic at the time, most of them opposed to the continuing use of the colonial language as the official language of the country. In particular, the *West African Pilot*¹⁶, the *Daily Express*¹⁷ and the *Daily Times*¹⁸ all published articles calling for the selection of one indigenous speech form to serve as the national language.

But this was one of those tasks that were easier said than done. The crucial question was: Which language from such a wide range of about 400 and from which class or category of languages of four that were found to be in use in the country?¹⁹ Indeed the debate was so acrimonious that it spilled over to the National Assembly where many people, including politicians, thought that the matter would be resolved, perhaps easily, through legislation. They were in for a rude shock and a series of after-shocks.

The big shock was when the majority Hausa speakers from the territorially widespread Northern Nigeria thought, and they were not alone in thinking this way, that they could somehow impose Hausa on the rest of the country by their sheer numbers in the House. What they failed to reckon with was that in the matter of language imposition the game of numbers was a non-starter, as events in the House came to show. On November 21, 1961 Mallam A.Y. Balla, representing Adamawa North-West, moved on the floor of the House of Representatives the following motion:

That this House urges the Government, in consultation with the Regional Governments, to introduce the teaching of Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo and other languages into institutions of learning throughout the country with a view to adopting one of them as our official language in the near future.

He also wanted the transition period for conversion from English as the official language of parliament to a Nigerian language not to extend beyond twenty years.

This was a reasonable and balanced motion by all accounts. 1-Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo were specifically mentioned, but no language was excluded, even if it was easy to surmise that Mallam Balla privately hoped that Hausa would eventually emerge as the winner. And it was this undeclared intention that non-Hausa sympathizers reacted to rather than the ostensibly fair wording of the motion. The debate that followed turned nasty. Indeed the unity of the country shook to its very foundations. And the *Daily Express*²⁰ duly

warned:

Parliament should be more careful about involving itself in the language tangle into which it is now being drawn. English is the accepted official language, the one outward expression of all that unites the various peoples in the country... To seek to replace English with sonic vernacular at a particular date-line is asking for more than the greatest nationalist of them all can handle.

As I commented elsewhere²¹, the issue had become like a keg of gun-powder waiting to ignite. It was clear for everyone to see that this motion could not be pursued to its logical conclusion, not because it was not fair, but because non-Hausa speakers saw it as a ruse to impose a particular language on them. Therefore, while the Hausa-speaking North was in support of the motion, the southerners opposed it.

But, in reality, the matter was much more complex. It was not simply a question of replacing a foreign language with an indigenous one. The attitude of the two sides may also have had to do with the level of Western education and of familiarity with the English language in both parts of the country. There were apparently parliamentarians in the Northern House of Assembly who could only contribute to debate in Hausa but not in English. It was not impossible that some members of the House of Representatives from the North had only limited access to English, and they would have seen this motion as an opportunity to enhance their contribution to debates on the floor of the House. On the other hand, their southern counterparts would probably have seen the same motion as giving to some of their northern colleagues an undue privilege which they themselves could not enjoy. They may have been thinking, further, that the northerners, with their majority in parliament, already had political advantage over them, and it was unwise to add linguistic hegemony to them. Worse, they may have perceived that the Hausa lobby threatened their own languages with eventual extinction. They therefore reacted, predictably, in anger. Chief Anthony Enahoro's contribution was typical of what the southerners were thinking:

... as one who comes from a minority tribe, I deplore the continuing evidence in this country that people wish to impose their customs, their languages and even their way of life upon the smaller tribes... My people have a language, and that language was handed down through a thousand years of tradition and custom. When the Benin Empire exchanged ambassadors with Portugal, many of the new Nigerian languages of today did not exist. How can they now, because the British brought us together, wish to impose their languages on us?²²

Chief Enahoro's claim that his mother tongue, Edo, is older than Hausa and other Nigerian languages is obviously not true by any means, but his emotional reaction was entirely characteristic of language loyalty to make exaggerated claims like this one on behalf of one's own speech community. The speech also reveals, as Allan (1978:398) comments, the profound fear that if a people are given linguistic hegemony they will try to impose their customs and way of life on the rest of the nation. Indeed, Enahoro, at one point in the

debate, actually said: “We have not fought the imperialist in order to establish a new imperialism in this country”²³.

At the end of the debate, the motion by Mallam Balla was passed, thanks to the Hausa majority. But the political atmosphere had become so exacerbated as result of the passage of the motion that the government decided to do nothing to implement it, effectively putting it in the cooler, especially as it saw that there was no point trying to reason with the combatants.

As the wind of independence continued to blow, the idea of indigenization began to gain ground throughout the country. Policy-makers started planning to indigenize education by introducing Nigerian languages and other items of Nigerian culture into the educational system. For it could be seen that Western education was causing alienation among adults and school children alike, and the damage needed to be stemmed.

And so, by 1969, the Federal Military Government decided to organize a National Curriculum Conference, it was to examine, among other things, the role of the mother tongue in primary school education. The conference concluded that the Nigerian school child “should be well-grounded in the mother tongue” (Adaralegbe 1972:214).

Building on this, the government, in 1977, came out with a document titled National Policy on Education (NPE) in which it promised to make the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community the medium of instruction in the first few years of primary school (NPE, 1977: 6).

The Obasanjo military regime went further the following year, on the occasion of the country fashioning a new constitution. Apparently oblivious of the 1961 parliament-approved motion on the subject-matter. It went ahead to raise the three major indigenous languages: Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba to the status of national languages along with English.

The reason offered for doing this was national pride. In amending the Constituent Assembly’s recommendation, General Obasanjo, as the military Head of State announced that:

At this point in our development as a nation, it is unacceptable to make the English language the only language of business of our National Assembly and to proceed even further to enshrine it permanently in our Constitution²⁴.

The appeal to the emotion of our national pride did the trick. But, as Amayo (1985:3 15) has pointed out, the action meant that we then had, instead of just one official language. English, three additional national languages, which, in Amayo’s opinion, was not only impracticable in implementation, but also a retrograde measure that ironically installed English as the official language in Nigeria for all time.

While Amayo’s criticism may be justified at one level, since, with the benefit of hindsight, English has indeed continued to enjoy that status as he predicted, it is perhaps, at another level, a superficial evaluation of the government action. Given the high and dangerous level of the inter-ethnic rivalry and mistrust which this issue has aroused, particularly among the three frontline contenders for the honour of being chosen as the national language, it was perhaps shrewd on the part of the regime to calm things down by

making all winners at the expense of the minority languages. And, in all fairness, that is what the measure succeeded in doing. Except for the millions of Hausa speakers who may have thought that the prize was within their grasp, given time, the policy has not been seriously challenged by any highly-placed government official. On the contrary, the policy has frequently been held up to be in the best interest of national unity. Consequently, for a long time, we were bombarded with wazobia²⁵ radio and television broadcasts, wazobia greetings on radio first thing in the morning and on television after the 9 o'clock evening news; compulsory wazobia in all federal secondary schools in all the states; and calls for wazobia teaching in Igbo and Yoruba states which presumably have more to gain than Hausa states by the application of this national prestige-sharing and therefore integrative policy²⁶.

What emerges most clearly from the posture taken by the Federal government on this matter of language use in Nigeria is that national unity had become a preoccupation, and the indigenous languages plus English solution was no more than a mechanism for achieving that purpose.

2.2 Feasibility of Solutions on Offer

The question now is to ascertain the feasibility of the different solutions on offer to Nigeria's language problems which essentially have to do with the selection of a language or languages for use throughout the country, a choice whose main aim is to unite the different linguistic groups in the country.

2.2.1 Prospect of a Single Indigenous Language

When the political entity now known as Nigeria was created by the British government in 1914, nothing could be further from the mind of Lord Lugard than the task of building a strong and united country from the plethora of emirates, kingdoms and city-states that he had yoked together in the name of the British crown. Even if by some stretch of imagination it could be contemplated that this idea occurred to him, it is certain that he did not consider that an indigenous language could ever become a viable instrument of national inter-communication. Indeed, Metcalfe Sunter, the first Inspector of Schools for British West Africa, typically, regarded "these said languages as only interesting to the comparative philologist and never likely to become of any practical use in civilization"²⁷. But here were members of the national parliament in 1961 basking in the euphoria of independence and national effervescence and demanding to use an indigenous language for the business of the House. It was at a time that nationalists like Mazi Mbonu Ojike achieved fame by advocating the boycott of all boycottable goods from Britain: evening suits. English food and the English culture in general. And so Balla's motion was passed.

But when it came to be understood that the motion was a ploy to impose Hausa on the nation, the unity of the country, as we said before, was shaken to its foundations. The Yoruba also wanted their language to be chosen. And the Igbo wanted nothing less. The bitterness that characterized the debate ensured that the idea would not be implemented.

But by far the most persistent and the most vociferous in this respect were those who wanted Hausa to win the day. Ajihola Jimba²⁸ and Professor Dandatti Abdulkadiri²⁹

were two of those, among others before them, who were making a very powerful case in favour of Hausa. They contended that Hausa was the most widely-spoken Nigerian language in terms both of the number of its native speakers and of those who use it as a lingua franca. Osaji (1977:126-28) gives some of the vital statistics. He says that it is spoken by over 25 million people, about 32% of the total population of the whole country: almost 100% of the population in the seven “real” Hausa kingdoms of Biram, Daura, Rano, Kano, Zaria, Gobir and Katsina that constitute the present Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto and Bauchi states: as second language in the seven so-called “inferior” Hausa states of the Middle Belt: Ilorin, Nupe, Yauri, Kebbi, Kwara (Jukun), Gwari and Zamfara which correspond to the present Niger, Kwara, Plateau and Benue States: as first language in some parts of Gongola State: 25% in Adamawa, Gombe, Muri and Lafia, and 10% in Wukari. It is also seen as point in its favour that for a language so widely spoken it has only three dialects: the northern dialect of Arewa, the western dialect of Sokoto, Katsina, Gobirana, Adamawa, Kabbawa and Zamfarawa; and the “standard” eastern dialect of Kano, Katagum and Hadejiya. This is not to mention the fact that it is an international language widely spoken in Niger and in many major cities of Africa, from Dakar to Ndjamena and from Brazaville to Tripoli, and in settlements from Lake Chad to Saudi Arabia.

Abdulkadir also points out that Hausa has served and is still serving as a medium of political integration in the North of the country; as an official administrative language on equal footing with English, especially during the period of the government of the Sardauna of Sokoto. Sir Abmadu Bello; as a basis of educational system and a medium of socio-commercial system of communication among other ethnic groups.

Hausa was also recommended for its flexibility and adaptability, its vocabulary being already enriched by borrowing from Arabic, English, Yoruba, Igbo, Nupe and Kanuri languages. In addition various institutions had been established to develop, modernize and standardize it on a permanent basis: Translation Bureau, established in the 1920s, Literature Bureau, North Regional Literature Agency (NORLA), Gaskiya Corporation in Zaria, and numerous newspapers and radio programmes presented in Hausa in Nigeria and by outside broadcasting houses such as the BBC, Radio Ghana, VOA, Voice of Germany, Russia and China. Finally, degree and certificate courses were offered in Hausa in many Nigerian universities as well as in Europe and America.

These were formidable credentials, which Yoruba and Igbo could not match; in fact they all but silenced these two major contenders for the honour of becoming Nigeria’s national language.

But the battle could not be won. As the Hausa language protagonists discovered, language choice is not a simple case of statistics and rational argument. It is a deeply emotional issue and, therefore, a potentially disruptive and destructive force. At the time of the parliamentary debate on the matter, the Daily Express of 23 November, 1961 warned that what happened in India and more recently in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) should make the protagonists of the motion to have second thoughts³⁰.

And it should not be assumed that resistance to the spread of Hausa was restricted only to the southern parts of the country. The language also met stubborn opposition in the

north-eastern Kanuri-speaking Borno Empire and in the Middle Belt. When the Governor of North-western State (now Sokoto and Niger states) decreed in 1972 that all civil servants should have a qualification in Hausa, many of the Nupe people were very aggrieved and vocally opposed the decree. And it is not common knowledge that there are, including Hausa, 274 different languages being spoken in the Hausa-dominated Northern states: 78 in Gongola, 56 in Plateau, 49 in Bauchi, 34 in Kaduna, 21 in Borno, 10 in Niger, 9 in Sokoto, 8 in Benue, and 7, including Yoruba, in Kwara (Osaji, 1977: 125).

Furthermore, a careful examination of the widespread antagonism aroused by the issue was found not to emanate from a dislike of the language but rather from psychological, economic, political and cultural considerations. People did know, and they still do, that learning another group's language in the Nigerian context has serious implications for their life. And no group in the world, whether in Canada or in Belgium, or even in South Africa, has willingly given up its cultural and linguistic heritage without a bitter fight. Even Switzerland which is often held up as a model of how different ethnic groups can live together in cooperation and mutual understanding, is not an exception to the rule, as it is often thought. Switzerland is peaceful because the different peoples have nothing to fight over. Each group enjoys sufficient social amenities, has equal access to political and economic power, and feels no psychological complexes as to be worried about its neighbour. If the ethnic groups that make up Nigeria enjoy the same privileges and have equal opportunities to the nation's assets, the fear of domination of one ethnic group by another will disappear, and the learning of each other's language will pose no danger to national unity. The reality of the present situation is that Nigeria is not a Switzerland, and as long as this is the case, the cooperation on which the choice of Hausa as the national language is predicated remains fatally flawed. For, as Allan (1978: 398) put it in an unforgettable manner:

A people whose language is dominant will typically be dominant politically, and/or socially, economically, and culturally, and certainly psychologically: that is, they will tend to feel themselves dominant, and be resented as such by those who use their language but are not native speakers. Such a feeling is backed by hard realities: speakers of that language have an advantage over others in educational achievement, in government, administration, the judiciary, and at least the higher echelons of the teaching profession. They thus have an advantage in power today, and in retaining power tomorrow. So we find that the linguistic hegemony of a speech community often correlates with its political hegemony within the country. And if the choice of a single language for the country as a whole results in the enhanced status of one of the speech communities, i.e. one tribe, the resentment of the others will be a powerful divisive force in the country; a force destructive to the very unity which a national language is ideally meant to forge.

In the face of these forceful arguments against the installation of an indigenous language, Yoruba or Igbo or even the best candidate Hausa, to the status of a national language, it is clear that the single indigenous language solution is not practicable.

2.2.2 Prospect of the Three Major Indigenous Languages plus English Solution

It was, therefore, not surprising that the Federal Government, in 1978, abandoned the idea of selecting a single indigenous language to become our national language. In place of this policy it chose to add the three major languages. Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, to English which was already functioning as the official language of the country. This development may have been dictated by the federal government's desire to eliminate a serious potential source of disunity among the three major language groups.

On February 13, 1985, the Federal Minister of Education, Alhaji Abdullahi Ibrahim told a press conference in Lagos that Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba would be taught in the Junior Secondary School (J.S.S.) under the new 6-3-3-4 educational policy.

The two southern frontline governors of Anambra and Oyo states understood the full import of the move: Hausa has not been chosen as the national language. They therefore publicly welcomed the policy by announcing, three months later, their intention to teach the three languages in their schools from the 1985 academic year. Meanwhile there was no word about this from the frontline Hausa governor of Kaduna state. Interestingly, it was the ten Federal Government Colleges of Education in the ten northern states that met and issued a statement on the matter. As reported on the front page of the *New Nigerian* of July 29, 1985, the colleges decided to make the teaching of the three languages compulsory and to evolve a framework for ensuring that there were adequate teachers to teach the pupils.

The *Punch* of July 4, 1985, for its part was elated and commented:

One of the solid landmarks of this administration is the introduction of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba as courses of study in some schools in some states. This, no doubt, is an integrative tool. Other states should follow this good example.

The *Guardian* of June 11, 1985 also commended the action of the federal government as a step that would lead to national integration:

When the majority of Nigerians can communicate with one another in our own indigenous languages, much of the ethnic xenophobia, the fear and distrust of strangers from other parts of the country, will disappear.

But, in spite of this apparently general consensus, even if superficial, in favour of the policy, a careful analysis will show that the policy is defective both in conception and application.

First, a multi-lingual multi-cultural nation, such as Nigeria, has more than three "pedigrees", to borrow Dr Johnson's word. As the National Concord editorial cautioned:

There are more than 200 linguistic groups (dialects) in the country. The emphasis on three languages would seem to relegate the others to secondary positions.

With reference to the Federal Ministry of Education's plan, the Concord editorial added:

Such a programme, if not properly handled, may indeed not only undermine the intended national integration objective but in fact serve to confirm the misgivings of those from the minority groups who fear domination by those from majority areas.

In other words, thanks to this policy, the fear of domination which may have led the federal government to avoid choosing one of the three major languages as Nigeria's national language was now staring in the face of minority language groups throughout the country.

Secondly, the policy offers pedagogical and psychological advantages to pupils from the three major language groups. It boosts the self-esteem of those pupils whose mother tongue appears to enjoy government recognition and patronage, while pupils speaking minority languages are constantly exposed to the risk of inferiority complex and of looking down on their own cultures, values and traditions. It is wrong in principle and in practice to categorize some selected languages as "major" or "national" and to proceed further to enshrine this attribute for them in the Constitution simply on the basis of their numerical strength. It is discrimination of the worst kind because it returns the country to the power block structure that existed in the bad old days of the three regions and their big-tribe chauvinism.

And thirdly, from experience elsewhere in the world, the federal government's hope of creating an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence and mutual trust and benevolence among the "big three" is not likely to succeed. In both Belgium and Canada, for instance, where this policy of accommodation was written into the Constitution, pre-existing hostility between the two speech communities show no sign of abating; on the contrary, it shows every sign of establishing itself more firmly. Yugoslavia, another country with ethnic problems, is going through a similar experience. The story is, however, different in the case of Switzerland, but then Nigeria's social circumstance are so different from Switzerland's that the chances of our achieving its enviable social harmony are practically nil. In other words, the fundamental premise of the policy as it is expected to apply in Nigeria is gravely suspect.

So, although it is possible that at some personal level, and it has happened before, speaking someone else's language can engender a cordial relationship between individuals of different ethnic origin, but when will the fruits of this policy ripen sufficiently for the Igbo to trust the Yoruba or the Yoruba the Igbo, or for the Igbo and the Yoruba to trust the Hausa and vice versa? I may be unduly pessimistic in this respect, but I cannot forget that communities in Nigeria who speak the same language readily butcher themselves over land matters every year. I cannot forget that the Ife and the Modakeke, both Yoruba speakers, are always at daggers-drawn. I cannot forget, as a linguist, the fate of many Igbo and other southerners who suffered gravely in the north of the country in 1966, although they spoke impeccable Hausa, quite often better Hausa than their own ethnic languages. The truth is that people react to events according to their internalized experience in life; a "tribe" or "village" perceived as an enemy and so internalized will most likely provoke a hostile reception, and learning each other's language for three years in school will not cause this particular problem to disappear.

In any case the policy is doomed to failure through neglect, half-hearted implementation and inadequate funding. It is instructive that a symposium which the Federal Ministry of Education itself planned for October, 1985 on the national language policy theme was suddenly aborted at the last moment. The pretext was the usual one of lack of funds, but the real reason for the cancellation was probably something else: the low priority status of the implementation stage of this particular policy in the agenda of the government.

3. *What the people Say*

Whatever is the current thinking of the government in this matter, attempts are being made in several quarters to find an ideal solution to the national language problem. First, there are those who think that three national languages plus English are too many and want no more than one. Proponents of this view usually choose either English or one of the three major languages, depending upon their conviction as to whether Nigeria's official language should be an indigenous or foreign language.

Then, there are others who think that the promotion of the three major languages to the status of national languages is discriminatory and would prefer to give that honour to one language per state according to the free choice of each state.

Again, there are others who want Nigeria to adopt an artificial language or a pidgin as its official language so that no linguistic group is at an advantage over the other.

Finally, there are those who want the national language to be a minority language with as many of the qualities of the major languages as possible, with the difficulties to be expected in imposing a minority language on the majority of Nigerians.

To find out what the common man in the street thinks of these problems and their solutions, I decided to seek the opinion of the ordinary citizens of the country. To do this, I produced 200 copies of a questionnaire on the various aspects of the linguistic problems under discussion. Most of the copies were distributed to English literate individuals in the University of Ibadan campus and around Agbowo at the University's main gate, as well as to some colleagues and friends of mine in Lagos. 50 copies were reserved for persons who were illiterate in English and who were interviewed orally³¹.

The questions asked for information regarding the mother tongue, circumstances of L2 and L3 acquisition, attitude towards the use of English as the official language of Nigeria, attitude towards *wazobia*, attitude towards the adoption of a minority language or one of the three major languages as the single national language of the country, reasons for their choice, language use in our educational system.

The distribution of the questionnaire could have been better done. Time and money were in short supply, and so centres of distribution were severely curtailed in number. As it happened, distribution was in favour of university students (50%). The other groups sharing altogether the remaining 50%: university teachers 8%, civil servants 20% and businessmen and women 22%. I did not consider the heavy weighting in favour of students to be an altogether negative thing, in that they covered the age range 18-30 years who are taken to be most concerned by our subject. For example, they are the people who will have to personally taste any linguistic pudding that the government might prepare in language

areas other than their own and whose attitude to this matter therefore needs to be investigated.

Because of my base at Ibadan, 48% of the respondents were Yoruba native speakers. Native speakers of Hausa and Igbo contributed each 12% of the poll, and the remaining 28% came from minority languages (Lokaa (Cross River State) 2% Esan, Ivie and Isoko (Edo State) 2% each, Gokana (Rivers State) 2%, Urbobo (Delta State) 4%, Kalabari (Rivers State) 4%, Efik/Ibibio (Cross River and Akwa Ibom States) 10%). From my point of view, the large proportion of Yoruba speakers in the poll does not adversely affect the investigation, in that my purpose is not to select the most popular language choice by computing together the choices of the various ethnic groups. Language choice takes into account a bunch of factors which are complex and difficult to explain. We are rather more interested in the language tendencies displayed by the language groups polled.

With regard to methodology, English-literate people were given the questionnaire to complete, while others were interviewed orally through the medium of Nigerian Pidgin. The questions were framed in such a manner as to ascertain their feelings on two crucial areas of language use in Nigeria: the use of English or an indigenous speech form as the official language.

3.1 Attitude towards the Use of English as Nigeria's Official Language

Most of the English-literate respondents adjudged their competence in English as either good or very good. Few claimed to possess a perfect command of the English language (about 33% of the total, of which 12% were Yoruba native speakers, 6% Hausa, 3% Igbo and 21% minority language speakers). It is interesting to note that of the English-literate respondents, only 9% of the Yoruba speakers learnt English at home, of the Igbo speakers only 3%, and the minority language speakers 12%; none of the Hausa speakers learnt English from childhood at home. The school was, therefore, the main centre for English acquisition among the ethnic groups polled.

Only about 16¼ of the Hausa parents encouraged their children to learn any other language spoken in Nigeria, and only English at that. Among the Igbo, about 16% of parents did not encourage their children to learn another language, but of the remainder, only about 16% wanted that language to be Yoruba; the rest wanted English. Among the Yoruba, approximately 36% of parents did not encourage their children to learn any other language; of the remainder, 52% chose English for their children, and about 8% preferred Hausa. It should be noted that no Hausa parent chose either Igbo or Yoruba, no Yoruba parent wanted Igbo, and no Igbo parent wanted Hausa for his child.

But, in reality, of all the Igbo polled, 50% spoke Yoruba and none spoke Hausa, probably because of the area in which they lived, although about 33% of those who spoke only Igbo and English expressed the desire to learn Hausa. Among the Hausa, no-one wanted to speak any other Nigerian language except Hausa. Among the Yoruba respondents, 80% wanted Yoruba among all the Nigerian languages, even when 20% of these already spoke Hausa; of the remainder, 16% would like to learn Hausa and 4% wanted Igbo. Among the minority ethnic groups, more than 50% did not want to learn any other language except their own, and this included 75% of the Efik, 50% of the Urhobo, all

the Kalabari, all the Gokana and all the Yakurr; of the remainder, approximately 16% wanted to learn Igbo and 32% wanted to learn Hausa. It is evident that all the ethnic groups were generally reluctant to learn another Nigerian language although this sentiment was stronger in some groups than in others, irrespective of the size of the group.

3.2 Attitude towards the Use of a Nigerian Language as National Language

This attitude has a direct bearing on the issue of promoting one indigenous language as the national language of the country for the purpose of integrating its constituent groupings. Of all the Igbo polled, none wanted Hausa as the national language. A similar position was taken by the Yoruba: 96% rejected Hausa, and some vehemently by stating “Never”, and 4% accepted Hausa as the national language, and interestingly a similar number already spoke Igbo. Among the minority groups polled, who are incidentally all from the south, about 80% did not want Hausa, while 20% were willing to accept it as the national language of Nigeria. The minority groups rejected unanimously either Yoruba or Igbo as the national language. All the Hausa speakers chose Hausa as the national language and unanimously rejected the other two contenders Yoruba and Igbo. The Yoruba reaction was very interesting. Only about 55% of the Yoruba respondents wanted Yoruba as the national language: the remainder rejected it while also rejecting Igbo and Hausa. All the Yoruba rejected Igbo, and a few wanted it only if it was part of the wazobia arrangement. Even more interesting was the attitude of the Igbo respondents. Only 33% wanted Igbo to be selected as the national language, although no-one among them wanted Yoruba either to be chosen.

These choices were made based on all sorts of reasons or pretexts. Many of these reasons were better described as sentiments, as they are not founded on any scientific knowledge or strict logic. For instance, one Igbo respondent wanted his mother tongue to be chosen as the national language of the country because, as he put it, it had scientific vocabulary, as if neither Hausa nor Yoruba had such terminologies. Some respondents rejected the three major languages because they were “tribal” languages. One Yoruba respondent did not want his own language to be given the national honour because, in his opinion, it would make other groups “unhappy”. The question of unity of the country was never far from the mind of respondents, and this was the major reason why the Yoruba and the Igbo did not want their own languages to be installed as the national language of Nigeria. On the contrary, the Hausa respondents were rather single-minded in wanting Hausa to be the national language.

We have not exhausted all the statistical information that can be cleaned from the questionnaire. As we said before, this issue is beyond the game of numbers; it is about deep emotional feelings and the desire to belong to and live in one country in peace and dignity. This being the case, I believe we have made a sufficient case in support of our initial point of view to enable us to move on to our conclusion.

Conclusion: The People’s Verdict

My conclusion is in the form of a set of three recommendations arising from the responses contained in the questionnaire analyzed. But, before we go any further, let me say that I am

the first to admit that the questionnaire method of scientific analysis, in this matter of language use in Nigeria, is not in any way perfect. Respondents may not be exactly truthful, although I had tried to reduce this risk by not requiring them to write down their names. Indeed, sometimes, answers are offered without complete understanding of the question or its full implications. I tried to ask questions as directly and as simply as possible, but I have seen responses that suggest that the respondent did not fully see the point of the question. And mischief cannot be ruled out. It is for these reasons and others not adduced here that I must warn that the various percentages must not be taken as a perfectly accurate reflection of reality. They do, however, indicate a certain complexity of the language issue in Nigeria as well as a certain trend in the feelings of people about this matter which I hold to be scientifically derived and absolutely justified.

The first recommendation concerns the use of English in the educational system. Most linguists and educationists realize how important it is for children to begin their education in their own languages. Answers given in the questionnaire suggest that many people want their children to begin their education in English. I believe that communities should be allowed to make their own decision, to make their own mistakes, and to correct themselves. It is wrong for the government to impose its policy on communities which see the straight-for-English children of ministers in urban centres gain admission to the best schools while their own children are told to be content with less reputable “comprehensives in the rural areas.

My second recommendation which again follows from the answers given in the questionnaire is that the unity of the country does not depend alone on the use of one of the major indigenous languages as the national language of Nigeria. The majority of the people reject language imposition whichever that language may be. The government, instead of expending its energy in this direction, should encourage communities to develop and modernize their own languages for better use as medium of mass communication. National integration and unity come with a sense of belonging, not with the language imposition and cultural and psychological dislocation.

Finally, government should formulate a language policy that will every Nigerian a sense of linguistic and cultural equality and unity in diversity. A Nigeria without its diversity of languages equally cherished and supported by government, a Nigeria without its diversity and cultures and traditions all given equal opportunity to bloom and blossom may not be a Nigeria we all want to be a part of. Let the government listen to what the people are saying in this matter of language use in the country and it cannot go wrong in the formulation of its language policy. “Let my people go” is a popular slogan often bandied about when the people are searching for freedom and self-determination. No slogan is more appropriate to bear in mind in the task of formulation of a language policy for polyglot Nigeria than this one.

Notes

1. Movements such as the Basque Nationalist Movement (ETA) in Spain, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland and the Palestinian Movement Hamas in Lebanon and Palestine would all be regarded as “extremist” or “radical” depending upon which side of the political fence one stood on. But language is often seized upon as an instrument to fight for an ethnic or nationalist cause.
2. Nationality, in its present passport sense, refers to a nation as a completely independent political unity possessing sovereign power to do what it likes with its culture, etc.
3. An older idea related to the Tower of Babel allegory from biblical times is that a common language is an integrative force and one that many nations or governments have sought to exploit this linguistic potential for their political and other purposes.
4. It has long been acknowledged that language is the vehicle of a people’s culture. As Greenberg (1963:156) correctly put it:

Language is the prerequisite for the accumulation and transmission of other cultural traits... Language is not only a necessary condition for culture, it is itself a part of culture.

Also see Vic Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2000, chap. 5.

5. This manner of thinking and behaving had taken such firm root in the minds of people in Europe that for ETA to justify its violent struggle for independence from the rest of Spain it has had to reject the Castilian dialect which doubles as the national standard language of Spain and to go from there to obtain for itself, on the basis of its own Basque language, a Basque nationality and culture: and for the IRA to reject British nationality and culture with which the English is identified and to seek unification with Eire where its kith and kin reside and to whom it feels bound by a common language, a common culture and a common race.
6. This policy is without prejudice to the fact that the languages of the various nationalities, such as Ukrainian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Uzbek, were, as a deliberate policy, used as media of instruction at different levels of education: some for the eradication of illiteracy and in primary education, some up to secondary school only, while others even up to the higher institutions. cf. Desheriev (1971).
7. Aspects of this question have been discussed by Spencer (1963), Smock (1970), Fishman (1971), Amayo (1985) and Iwara (1988), among others.
8. Martin Luther’s popular appeal was his courage to stand firm against the Vatican and to assert German independence from Rome. The Nazis boosted German nationalism by claiming that the Germans possessed innate qualities of a superior Aryan race.
9. This notion was not seriously contemplated before the middle of the eighteenth century

when Dr Johnson made his comment. Up till then, political allegiance to the state or spiritual adherence to the Christian Church carried far greater significance as the symbol of a man's place in the community than the language that he happened to speak. Therefore crimes against the state or non-conformity in religious matters were not only confounded but they often invoked capital punishment in ancient and medieval times far more readily than claims of cultural and linguistic diversity.

10. Of the 400 or so languages spoken in Nigeria, only about twenty are estimated to count native speakers in the region of a million and more. Many of the minority languages that I know, such as Asiga or Agoi, have no more than a few thousand speakers, that is if "language" is defined strictly in terms of mutual intelligibility.
11. In a state like Jigawa or Nassarawa in Northern Nigeria, many people speak Fulfulde or some other hearth language in the family, Hausa to the general public, Arabic in the Mosque, and English in the schools and in the law-courts. This phenomenon is found also elsewhere in Africa: there is the story of a barely literate house-servant at Makerere in Uganda who could speak to her family in Ru Toro, to the neighbours in Luganda, to the traders in Swahili, to her employer in English, and to a visitor in fluent French (explaining that her former husband was Rwandaise). The multiplicity of languages in the continent, an estimated 2000 of them, must be the special environment responsible for this remarkable African facility in handling different languages.
12. The word "nation", as used in the quotation by Dr Johnson, is ambivalent in terms of its meaning. Many people, especially journalists and politicians, mistake the word to mean "country" or "state" in the modern sense of the word, so that, for them, Dr Johnson is saying that languages are the pedigree of states or countries, which Dr Johnson definitely did not mean. It is the ambivalence in Dr Johnson's statement that has given rise to this myth.
13. According to the Whorfian hypothesis, "the real world is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group" and that language "actually defines experience" since experience of nature is segmented along particular linguistic patterns. (cf. Sapir, 1929:209; Whorf, 1952:5, 21).
14. According to Bamgbose (1973:8), "the English language as it exists today in the country is a minority language. It is the lingua franca not of the country but of the educated elite who probably constitute not more than 10 per cent of the population. To make it a truly national language so as to give equal opportunity to all citizens would require massive investment in education on a scale that the country is hardly likely to be able to afford". In 2003, the number of speakers of English in Nigeria is probably higher than this estimated 10 per cent, and indeed Vic Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:49) estimate the literacy level at 57%, which is altogether too optimistic. Most people in Nigeria believe that English speakers in the country are still likely to be very much in the minority, and because of lack of adequate investment in education, the opportunity to learn English is not equally available to all citizens.

15. The following table gives a good idea of the multilingualism of these countries.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Population (in million)</i>	<i>Number of Languages</i>
Angola	11.5	11
Botswana	1.5	25
Cameroon	13.5	240
Kenya	24	42
Malawi	10	12 plus
Mozambique	18	24
Namibia	1.6	14 plus
Nigeria	111	400
South Africa	40.5	25-80
Tanzania	29	135-150
Uganda	20	30 plus
Zambia	9.5	80

(Source: Vic Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2000:46-52)

16. The *Pilot's* article was by Ajarchukwu (q.v.)
17. The *Express's* essay was by Ola (q.v.)
18. The *Times's* article was by Tai Solarin (q.v.)
19. The four categories or classes of languages in use in Nigeria include the colonial language, English, the three major indigenous languages, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, with native speakers numbering more than 10 million, then the class of some twelve or so state languages which count around 3-5 million speakers, including Fulfulde, Ibibio, Edo, Tiv, Nupe, Egbira and Jukun, and, lastly, the host of minority languages numbering more than 300, some of which can boast of no more than a few thousand speakers.
20. The *Daily Express* of November 23, 1961.
21. Iwara, 1992:115.
22. *Parliamentary Debates*: First Parliament, Second Session, 1061-2. Lagos: Federal Government Printer: 3156-7.
23. *Ibid*: 3158
24. Statement quoted by the *Daily Times of Nigeria*, September 22, 1978
25. Coined from wa (Yoruba), zo (Hausa) and bia (Igbo) which all separately mean "come".
26. As it happened, the governments in all the Hausa states applies this policy most reluctantly in contrast to the initial enthusiasm of the Yoruba and Igbo state governments. Indeed, while the governments in southern states set about training teachers in Igbo and Yoruba to send to the northern states. Hausa teachers were difficult to find beyond their states, which has eventually culminated in our present

situation in which Yoruba and Igbo teachers are also difficult to come by in states outside their immediate community.

27. Quotation taken from Abiri, 1976:7.
28. Cf. his article in the *New Nigerian* of May 27-28, 1971.
29. Cf. his article in the *Daily Times* of October 1, 1985:3.
30. Cf. also Brosnahan, 1963:24.
31. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Innocent Eteng, a National Corps member working with me, who assisted me in drawing up the questions and in distributing the questionnaire.
32. This is loosely taken to refer to the general level of competence normally associated with the elite class in Nigeria.

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4. The National Institute for Nigerian Languages (NINLAN) & a Comprehensive Language Census for Nigeria

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It is regrettable that to date, there is still no comprehensive and up to date survey of the number of languages spoken in Nigeria or of a language census for Nigeria. We cannot readily provide the number of languages spoken in Nigeria. As a people, we seem to have not woken up to the necessity for a comprehensive survey of the number of languages spoken in Nigeria. Successive governments in Nigeria have consistently placed the issue of Nigerian languages on the back burner. I believe that in the 21st century, it is time that we moved language issues to the front burner! So far, our working tools are the results of contributions made by a few European/American researchers and a few Nigerians who have pieced together documents that can only, at best, be a general reference source and these include (Hansford, Bendor-Samuel & Stanford 1976; Crozier and Blench 1992; Grimes 2000, Williamson, Elugbe, Essien, Connell, Faraclas, Egbokhare, Oyetade, Urua and Amfani, etc.).

This paper discusses the need for a comprehensive language census for Nigeria, the modalities of achieving this laudable and important goal, and the role of the National Institute of Nigerian Languages (NINLAN) in actualising this goal. The discussion will begin with a review of earlier attempts at the compilation of the number of Nigerian languages; the problems associated with the compilation of a language census; the role of NINLAN in a language census for Nigeria and the concluding remarks.

1. Introduction

Why do we need a language census for Nigeria? In answering this prime and basic question, it is necessary to talk briefly on what a census entails. A census is an official count of a population providing different types of information about the population; such an exercise is undertaken at regular periods or intervals. It is a vital and veritable tool for planning purposes. Given the importance of any kind of census, it should begin to be clear why there is need for a language census for Nigeria. If there is a language census, a number of demographic data can be compiled. For instance, we can have a concise number of languages spoken in Nigeria, the number of speakers, where the speakers live, information on population shift, ages of speakers, state of the language (whether documented, never documented, endangered, moribund, language shift, code mixing and switching, language maintenance, language contact, etc.). More importantly, it is possible to develop useful and appropriate language policies and plan more effectively and efficiently on language matters such as languages of instruction in language teaching and learning, language documentation and classification, etc.

Yet another critical reason for the urgency of a language census is because of the

loss and death of several Nigerian languages. If there is no national language census now, then a critical portion of our cultural heritage and history would vanish through the loss and death of those languages that are endangered and dying.

2. Earlier Attempts at the compilation of Nigerian Languages

It will be inaccurate to say that nothing has been done to ascertain what languages are spoken in Nigeria. Rather, our thesis hinges on the word, 'comprehensive' and the role of NINLAN.

The first attempt at producing a document that attempts a compilation of Nigerian languages, as far as we know, was by Hansford, Bendor-Samuel & Stanford (1976). It lists 394 (three hundred and ninety-four) languages. This was revised sixteen years later to 440 (four hundred and forty-four) languages by Crozier and Blench in 1992. Grimes (2000) is another compilation, and though not specifically a Nigerian language survey but what one may call an anthology of the world's languages. Being such an anthology, a section had of necessity to be devoted to Africa and, of course, Nigeria. Her compilation is therefore a collation of the extant literature. She has 515 (five hundred and fifteen) language entries for Nigeria, up 75 (seventy-five) languages from Crozier and Blench's 440. Other compilations exist but these are mainly regional or sectional surveys such as Ijoid, Edoid, Delta Cross, Lower Cross, Yoruboid, Igboid, etc. (Williamson, Elugbe, Essien, Connell, Faraclas, Egbokhare, Oyetade, Urua and Amfani, etc.).

It is also possible to learn from work already done in this area in some neighbouring African countries and proceed from there. The Institute of Applied Linguistics (ILA), Cote d'Ivoire in 1982 compiled a language atlas of all the languages spoken in that country. This provides information on the actual number of languages spoken in the country in addition to providing a sketch grammar of each of the languages identified. Work on more detailed grammars of those languages is currently going on at ILA. Students are also trained to participate in the project in order to enhance and facilitate the language documentation exercise. The empirical data so provided from the documentation exercise becomes invaluable for further research analyses (Gbery and Ahoua, pc).

It is hoped that we can start now to plan a revision of the existing language surveys on a regular basis, perhaps a ten-yearly period in order to reflect the changes that may have taken place with regard to language use - language shift, maintenance, death, age of speakers, etc.

3. Problems Difficulties at achieving a comprehensive language census for Nigeria

A number of difficulties bedevil a comprehensive language survey/census generally and specifically with respect to the Nigerian situation. We classify such problems into four broad categories. The first is the problem associated, with language itself; the others are human, material and political restructuring. Each of the four categories will be discussed separately.

3.1 Language problems

Language difficulties are those problems that arise from the standpoint of the language(s) to be covered in the survey. Standard problems exist when one embarks on a language census. These include distinguishing between languages and dialects, different names by different people for the same language, different names by one group for the same language, level of language development, status of languages, whether to be classified as a language or dialect and whether previously documented or described, etc.

It is neither uncommon nor unusual to find that a particular language has more than one name. For instance, 'flue', an endangered Lower Cross language, is also known as 'Idua' (Connell 1991; personal interview). Sometimes, a language may be referred to differently from the name assumed by the owners of the language; the Igbos generally refer to the Central Lower Cross speaking people as 'Mmoño' while the Lower Cross speaking people, on their part, refer to the Igbo speaking people as 'Unehe'. Sometimes, differences in nomenclature may arise as a result of generalisations. For instance, in the Lower Cross group of languages, there are distinctions between the Ibibios, Efiks, Annangs, Ekets, Ibenos, Obolo, Orons, etc. However, the rest of the Nigerian population lump all of these distinct though related groups and refer to them as 'Calabar'. Such situations may sometimes lead to a multiplication of and confusion over a language name.

A related but major complication to the implementation of a comprehensive language survey for Nigeria is the issue of languages and dialects. Some language speakers may consider that a related group are speakers of a dialect, while that group regards its speech form as a language. This is primarily because of the value judgements associated with the terms 'language' and 'dialect'. Languages are considered to be more prestigious while dialects are considered to have less prestige by comparison. For instance, a variety that is regarded as a dialect of a language feels subsumed or subordinated to that language; the dialect is not regarded as important as the language; or has been said anecdotally, a language is a form with an army and a navy and perhaps an airforce.

Another difficulty is that of accessibility to areas where the languages are spoken. Nigeria is a vast country covering a landmass of 923,768 square kilometres (356,669 square miles) (Microsoft Encarta © 2000)). This makes it difficult to reach the remote areas of the country in order to obtain research data or information on languages spoken in such areas, because, more often than not, roads are unmotorable and sometimes access may be via waterways, which may not always be navigable. The result is that such languages are rarely described since little or no contact has ever been made with the speakers of such languages by researchers.

3.2 Human problem

A language survey needs the skills and expertise of the human mind for planning and execution. Although most tertiary institutions in Nigeria have a variant or the other of Departments of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, and train undergraduate and graduate students, only a negligible percentage of the products ever practise what they have been trained to do by way of conducting actual field surveys, apart from what fieldwork or survey that may have been necessary for them to graduate. As a result, there are very few

people who have the professional training and willingness to carry out language surveys at the scale we envisage here. What is needed here is a crop of committed researchers to be involved in such a gargantuan project.

Moreover, in carrying out a comprehensive language census/survey, proposals need to be written to attract funding and or to persuade other researchers on the value of such a project and to also participate in the project. Meetings have to be organised to establish a work plan; contacts have to be made with governments, government agencies, research institutions, and language communities to work out agreements, etc. All these tasks need human intervention. The necessity of recruiting specialised and well-trained human resource personnel for a comprehensive language census in Nigeria becomes quite obvious.

3.3 Material problem

Without the provision of adequate funding to execute a comprehensive language survey, it is impossible to talk about a language census, not to talk of the execution of the project itself. A language survey of the type and scale we envisage should cover every nook and cranny of this vast country. This implies massive funding that will take care of transportation, production of research instruments such as questionnaires and wordlists, language documentation equipment (e.g., laptops, tape recorders, field laryngograph, etc.), health insurance, compilation and production of the finished product and honoraria for the researchers. Material support is not necessarily restricted to physical cash: equipment for the project may be donated and other logistic support such as accommodation, feeding, transportation may also be provided to reduce the financial cost of the project. Moreover, material support is not also to be limited to only governments and their agencies. Individuals, foundations, multinational corporations, communities, NGOs/CBOs, could also provide financial support.

3.4 Political restructuring

Nigeria has moved from a three-regional government in pre-Nigerian Civil War in 1966 to the present 36-state structure and the Federal Capital Territory in Abuja with 774 (seven hundred and seventy-four) local government areas. The redrawing of the political map has consequences for the linguistic situation of the country. Very rarely is the question of the impact of state and local government creation on language ever raised. But language, we know, is a critical developmental index everywhere in the world including Nigeria.

For instance, hitherto so-called ‘minority’ languages may become major languages of states and or local governments, and, on the other hand, the so-called erstwhile ‘majority’ languages may have their roles truncated, etc. Where hitherto communities had been content to be seen as speaking related languages, now such communities may regard themselves as totally distinct entities as a result of state and or local government creation. The reasons for this constitute the subject matter of an on-going study (*Language and politics in Nigeria* in prep.). Where communities had been content to use one of the related variants as an official variety, now each of the varieties is competing with the others for recognition as an independent language. Such languages may now be used as medium of

instruction in schools, at least in the first three years of initial basic formal education. It may also become the language of the media. Where there had hitherto been no separate language, what we find are emergent names for new languages - history is constantly being rewritten. These are some of the effects of political restructuring on the Nigerian linguistic scene, further complicating the attainment of a comprehensive language census for Nigeria. Whether or not the impact has been positive or negative or have elements of both are beyond the issues to be discussed in this paper. The situation certainly involves the shifting roles and shifting functions, which impact fundamentally on the linguistic map of Nigeria, underscoring the urgent need for a comprehensive language census for Nigeria.

4. A practical approach to a language census project

When human and material difficulties discussed in sections 3.2 and 3.3 above have been surmounted, one is now in a position to begin a comprehensive survey of Nigerian languages. The place to begin is by developing a blueprint or work plan of what is necessary to achieve the goals of the project. The second is to map out Nigeria into manageable regions for effective language documentation project. At the end of the project, it should be possible to have a language census and to also produce a language atlas where the languages spoken in Nigeria are appended on to the Nigerian map. Consequently, clear achievable goals must be set, time frames/timelines set to meet specific goals. In fact, some of the information may be obtained by incorporating the language survey questions, data collection sheets, requesting information on number of languages spoken, where spoken, age of speakers, etc., into the national population surveys.

The last stage is the implementation stage, which involves researchers going into the field to document the languages in order to arrive at a credible comprehensive language census for Nigeria. This involves language documentation and we should like to take some time to discuss what modern language documentation entails.

5. Language Documentation

The issue of language documentation is crucial to language census, whether the language is atrophied, endangered, dying or vibrant. There are very many Nigerian languages, which, though not endangered, at the same time have also been never documented. It is necessary that Nigeria embarks on a comprehensive documentation of these languages for obvious reasons, some of which include the availability of accurate data on the number of languages in Nigeria and the preservation of endangered and dying Nigerian languages.

The introduction of computer technology to linguistic research has opened up wide vistas of computational application in the area of language. One such area is language documentation in general. It is possible, and in fact desirable, to store, process and retrieve large amounts of linguistic data with the use of computers. Computational documentation of languages has been at the cutting edge of linguistic research in Europe and America and in some parts of Africa. What immediately comes to mind are world-wide language archives most of which are located at universities and research institutes such as the LDC (Linguistic Data Consortium, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), ALMA (African

Language Material Archive, West Africa Research Centre, Dakar, Senegal), CBOLD (Comparative Bantu Online Dictionary, University of California, Berkeley, California), etc. We are not aware that any such effort has been made in this new area at all in Nigeria. This is an area that should be explored to make our rich linguistic and cultural heritage known to the world and also to open up our linguistic frontiers.

Himmelman (1998) makes a distinction between language documentation and language description. Language documentation aims “to provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community. Linguistic practices are manifest in two ways: (1) the observable linguistic behaviour, manifest in everyday interaction between members of the speech community and (2) the native speakers’ metalinguistic knowledge, manifest in their ability to provide interpretations and systematisations for linguistic units and events.” Himmelman considers the “aim of language documentation to be fundamentally different from that of language description.” For him, language description seeks to provide “a record of A LANGUAGE with ‘language’ being understood as a system of abstract elements, constructions and rules that constitute the invariant underlying structure of utterances observable in a speech community”.

If we must capture the “observable linguistic behaviour, manifest in everyday interaction between members of the speech community”, then ordinary elicitation sessions may not be completely adequate. We need to document language use in its natural social setting burials, market setting, village meetings, religious activities and language use in other social interactions. In other words, in addition to language content, the context of expression is also vital to the documentation process.

Where a language has been standardised already and serves official functions, such official language settings should also be documented, e.g., media (print, electronic, traditional), publications, formal speeches, etc.

5.1 Benefits of Language Documentation

Given the above working definition of language documentation, it means that documentation, of necessity, precedes description. When a language has been documented, one can go on to provide a description of such a language. A description may entail all aspects of the grammar or use of the language. However, one of the very obvious benefits of language documentation is that members of the speech community will be pleased to know that their language is receiving appropriate attention as part of the world’s cultural heritage. Other benefits that may be derived from computational language documentation project are the facilitation of the following language-related enterprise:

- Development of orthographies
- Development of orthographies Writing of grammar books
- Writing of dictionaries
- Writing of reference grammars
- Development of teaching/learning materials
- Mass media

- Publications
- Translations
- Sharing of linguistic and cultural resources
- Use of internet facilities
- Creation of websites for different languages
- Interaction with other language archive and documentation organisations, e.g., LDC (Linguistic Data Consortium, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), ALMA (African Language Material Archive, West Africa Research Centre, Dakar, Senegal), CBOLD (Comparative Bantu Online Dictionary, University of California, Berkeley), etc.
- Expanded function of language use
- Interdisciplinary/comparative research, etc.

A language that has been documented in electronic form in CD ROMs and hypertext format has, technically speaking, been permanently preserved for posterity. Where a language is endangered, a computational documentation will freeze the process of endangerment or death, to some extent, in the sense that even when the speakers of such a language have become extinct, it is possible to then write up a grammar of the language and reconstruct the cultural history of the people from documented materials which may have earlier been stored on CD ROMs and hypertexts. Moreover, other people (scholars, researchers, etc.;) from other parts of the world can easily and readily access any aspect of the language that has been so digitally documented (Urua and Ekpenyong 2002).

6. The role of NINLAN in the Nigerian language census

The National Institute for Nigerian Languages (NINLAN) ought to, and should, be in the vanguard in the documentation and compilation, as a matter of utmost priority, of a comprehensive list of the number of Nigerian languages. A situation where up till this moment we cannot say precisely the number of languages spoken in Nigeria is not acceptable at all. It makes for difficulty in planning and executing language developmental programmes and projects. The situation should be rectified as soon as possible and practicable.

If NINLAN is to be in the forefront of such research work (and it should be since one of its goals is to act as the clearing house on matters concerning ALL Nigerian languages), it becomes vital and expedient that the Institute be equipped with well-trained personnel, computers plus the relevant peripherals in addition to a server and a website where the work done in the centre can be stored, retrieved and retrieved. The NINLAN website should have links to other language related documentation archives. NINLAN should be structured in such a way that it becomes a veritable research centre on all facets of Nigerian languages. It should be the last stop on any issue of linguistic interest in Nigeria. A good research library with online facilities should be a must in the NINLAN of the 21st century.

The first phase of the existence of NINLAN has seen its structural development, the

foundation laying aspect. This involved the setting up of the administrative machinery and the establishment of infrastructures for the implementation of the goals of the institute. The next stage must, of necessity, involve building on what has been achieved but with a view to being relevant not only but also within the Nigerian linguistic setting within a global milieu in the 21st century.

I make the following suggestions on how this project can be approached.

First, NINLAN should set up training workshops to train the staff and researchers on the language census project on modern language documentation and survey techniques. Such training workshops will acquaint and familiarise the researchers on modern language documentation and research tools. The University of Uyo in Akwa Ibom State is establishing an MA programme on the Computational Documentation of Local Languages. Such a programme should be of immense help in the training of staff that will be involved in the Nigerian Language Census Project. When the training has been effected, researchers can now be divided into working groups to cover specific areas of Nigeria.

Auspiciously, the country has been divided into six geopolitical zones with 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Researchers should be employed specifically for the documentation and compilation of all the languages and dialects spoken in each geopolitical region, state by state, throughout the country. Time limits should be set to cover each state depending on landmass and population figures. Appropriate survey instruments in the form of questionnaires and wordlists should be designed for this exercise. This will provide a systematic and progressive approach to achieving the desired goal of covering the entire country in a period of five years. The success of the project will be dependent on massive government support not only in providing the financial resources and logistics but also in mass enlightenment campaigns to cover every nook and cranny of the country on the need for such an exercise in order to receive the full cooperation of all the speech communities in the country. (The enlightenment campaign and publicity should be comparable, if not larger in scope to the 2002 voters' registration exercise).

6.1 Funding for NINLAN

To enable NINLAN perform the function of facilitating the achievement of the important goal of a language census/atlas, massive funding has to be injected into NINLAN. It would not be overstating the case to say that without funding, modern language documentation cannot succeed. Language documentation involves extensive travel and fieldwork, sometimes in very difficult terrain, fraught with enormous health risks and hazards. Even in the early days, where fieldwork usually required a portable tape recorder, notebooks and pencils, it was an expensive venture that required careful planning and application for funding to cover equipment, board and lodging, healthcare, etc. In the 21st century, undertaking a fieldtrip involves essentially the same basic requirements but on a more sophisticated dimension. Given the state of the art in technological development and the importance of accurate data, field research today involves obtaining high quality data which will be open and shared with other interested parties globally. To achieve this objective, one needs high-resolution equipment in the form of audio and video recording equipment. The now ubiquitous computer is a must and in the field a laptop or notebook is

preferable for practical reasons since it can be operated where there is no power at least for some time. Basic linguistic analytic tools, such as, the field laryngograph and palatograph, are also prerequisites. This does not exhaust the total cost implication. The researchers and assistants who have to do the work have to live and so they need some remuneration, travel costs and exigency funds.

Having established the absolute need for adequate funding, the next crucial question is, how prepared are we to undertake the documentation of undocumented Nigerian languages given the huge financial layout that is required? In Europe, America and Asia, governments, industry, organisations, families and individuals provide huge funds for the documentation of languages, especially those that are endangered. These societies have come to the realisation and recognition of the enormous importance and potential of human language in the understanding and development of society. In Nigeria, there are hardly enough funds provided to run educational institutions effectively, talk less of funds for research enterprise. But for any progress to be made with respect to our languages, funds must be provided. Often funds come from foreign agencies like DAAD, Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, etc. For instance, the German Academic Exchange Foundation aka Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) is funding the establishment of an MA programme in the Computational Documentation of Local Languages at the University of Uyo, Nigeria and also at the University of Cocody, Cote d'Ivoire for an initial period of four years. The programme is at the planning stage and students should be registered for the programme in September 2004 if all goes well with the university system in Nigeria. It is our hope that NINLAN will exploit this window of opportunity to train staff and students who will be in the vanguard of the language census project in Nigeria. Also, in 2002, the Lisbet Rausing Foundation, a British family foundation provided the sum of £20,000,000 (twenty million pounds sterling) for the next ten years to conduct research into endangered languages (Elsnews 11.3 pp1 1-12). The Linguistic Society of America (LSA) Committee on Endangered Languages and Their Preservation (CELP) also provides small grants to support researchers (non-resident in Europe or America) working on endangered languages, to mention a few.

How many industries, foundations and individuals in Nigeria are prepared and willing to make some financial commitment to the study of our own individual languages? More importantly, how and to what extent is the government supporting research into Nigerian languages? What is the fate of the Language Development Centre now an arm of the NERDC? What funding is NINLAN receiving from government for the study of endangered and other languages in Nigeria? These are important questions that we need to seriously consider in order for any progress to be made towards our national development and progress. Of course, lessons can be learnt from those who have gone before us in reducing the cost of field research. Gibbon (2002:5) in his WELD charter has suggested taking a cue from India's Simputer (simple computer) <http://www.simputer.org/> and other resources that are shared and free for the language documentation enterprise.

7. Conclusion

Language is an important and critical aspect of human life. Neglect of it can lead to unforeseen and costly negative consequences for the Nigerian nation. One cannot stress enough the need for a careful, systematic and focused investment in the promotion, development and nurturing of Nigerian languages. A glimpse into how important language is can be gleaned from the current war between the United States of America and Iraq. As part of its effort to win the war, especially the war of peace, the USA has found it necessary to set up its own Arabic language television service in order to get its own side of the story across to the Iraqis, the Arab world and other interested parties worldwide. This project costs the United States government about \$62 million (BBC World Service Radio News of April 4, 2003) impact that language can make. This should be instructive to Nigerians and the Nigerian government and agencies.

In order to achieve a credible language census for Nigeria, the active involvement and Cooperation of all stakeholders are of the utmost importance. The chiefs and leaders of thought of the different interest groups in the speech communities must work hand in hand for the success of the project. The Nigerian nation, NINLAN, universities, other research institutes, socio-cultural organisations and the speech communities must ensure that adequate infrastructural facilities are put in place promptly to facilitate the execution of the project.

Even as we propose a computational documentation of our languages, it is necessary that we also have hard copies of whatever we have documented, given the developmental problems that plague the Nigerian nation - poor power supply, poor telecommunication facilities, absence of a maintenance culture, etc.

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5. The Languages of Kaduna State: A Linguistic Survey

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1. Introduction

Kaduna State is one of the thirty-six states of Nigeria (a West African country) and is located in the central part of Northern Nigeria. The total population of Kaduna State is approximately four million (1991 census figures). The state is multi-religious, comprising Muslims, Christians and followers of other religions. Several languages abound in the state and some of the indigenous languages are Hausa, Fulfulde, Gbagyi (Gwari), Jju (Kaje), Hyam (Jaba), Kurama, Ninzam and Kadara. The linguistic and cultural diversity of the state is enormous and this particularly has made the State an interesting one for linguistic and cultural research. Kaduna State comprises twenty-three Local Government Areas.

The present paper is on the languages of Kaduna State and discusses in particular the linguistic classifications of the languages and the issue of orthographies for the languages. The paper also traces the historical evolution of the present Kaduna State and presents the population size of its Local Government Areas. It must be pointed out here and now that a linguistic survey such as the present one, is a primary requirement which enables policy makers to plan adequately for the development of languages.

2. An Historical Evolution of the Present Day Kaduna State

Prior to the colonial rule in Nigeria, the area referred to as the present day Kaduna State (and some areas beyond) was known as Kasar Zazzau. During the colonial-cum-Northern Regional government, the same area became Zaria Province. In the 1968, the Military administration in Nigeria created the first states and Zaria and Katsina provinces were joined together to form the **North Central State**.

In 1975, the Military government of the day changed the name **North Central State** to **Kaduna State**, still comprising of the former Zaria and Katsina provinces.

In 1986, the former Katsina Province was removed from Kaduna State and was made an independent state called Katsina State. The former Zaria Province therefore remained as the present Kaduna State.

The one half of the former North Central State was the Zaria Province, and it comprised of six divisions. The divisions were as follows:

- (1) Birnin Gwari Division
- (2) Zaria Division
- (3) Ikara Division
- (4) Saminaka Division
- (5) Kachia Division
- (6) Jama's Division

The Languages spoken in these divisions are Hausa, Fulfulde and host of others. It must be pointed out that Hausa and Fulfulde are the only languages spoken in Birnin Gwari, Zaria and Ikara divisions. In the remainder of the divisions (i.e. Saminaka, Kachie and Jama'a), not only Hausa and Fulfulde alone, but also several other languages abound. It is pertinent to note that the present twenty three local government areas of Kaduna State were carved out of these six divisions as shown below:

S/No.	Former Division	Present Local Government Area
1.	Birnin Gwari	Birnin Gwari
2.	Zaria	Giwa, Igabi, Kaduna North, Kaduna South, Sabon Gari, Soba, Zaria
3.	Ikara	Ikara, Kubau, Kudan, Makarfi
4.	Saminaka	Kauru, Lere
5.	Kachia	Chikun, Jaba, Kachia, Kagarko, Kajuru, Zangon Kataf
6.	Jama'a	Jama'a, Kaura, Sanga

3. The Languages of Kaduna State

3.1 Distribution

Research has shown that there are about forty-one (41) languages (or speech forms) in the 23 local government areas of Kaduna State. Hausa is the most important language in the state in terms of numerical strength and wide spread distribution and usage. Notice that Hausa is found in all the local government areas. Fulfulde is next in terms of wide spread and its speakers are also found in almost all the local government areas of the state. However, greater concentration of the languages of Kaduna State is in three local government areas, namely, Lere, Kachia and Jama'a.

3.2 Philo-Genetic Classification

A linguistic survey of the languages in Kaduna State shows that the entire languages found in the state belong to two major language families, namely, **Afro-Asiatic** and **Niger Congo**. Hausa and Gwandara are the only members of the Afro-Asiatic family and they belong to the **Chadic sub-group** of the family. Hausa is found in all the Local Government Areas of Kaduna State while Gwandara is spoken only in Kachia Local Government Area. Four sub-groups of the Niger Congo family are found in Kaduna State. They are **Fulani**, **Nupoid**, **Eastern Kainji** and **Platoid**. Hausa and Gwandara aside, the remainder of the languages in Kaduna State are shared amongst the four Niger Congo family and sub-groups. The Fulani sub-group is represented by only Fulfulde and is spoken in all the Local Government Area of the State. The Nupoid sub-group is also represented by only the Gbagyi (Gwari) language. Gbagyi is spoken only in Chikun Local Government Area. The Eastern Kainji sub-group is represented by 15 languages which are spoken only in Lere and Kauru Local Government Areas. The Platoid sub-group is represented by 20 languages. Speakers of these languages are found in Jaba, Jama'a, Kagarko, Kajuru, Kauru, Sanga and Zangon Kataf Local Government Areas.

A language referred to as **Nwak** is said to be unclassified. It is also claimed to be

spoken in Birnin Gwari local government area (Crozier and Blench (1992)).

The detailed information pertaining to the philo-genetic classification of each language and the Local Government Area(s) in which the language is spoken, is given in the table below.

Name of Language (or speech (form))	Philo-genetic Classification	Population Size	Local Government	Status
Bina	Niger-Congo Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	2,000 (1973)	Lere	Survey needed
Dungu	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	310(1949)	Lere	Survey needed
Gbiri-Niragu (gurre-kahugu)	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos Kauru	500 (1952)	Lere	Survey needed
Kaivi	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	650 (1949)	Lere	Survey needed
Kiballo Kiwollo (Vono)	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	500 (1973)	Lere	Survey needed
Kinuku	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	500 (1973)	Lere	Survey needed
Kitimi (Tumi)	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	635 (1949)	Lere	Survey needed
Kono	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	1,550 (1949)	Lere	Survey needed
Kurama	Niger-Congo Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	11,300(1949)	Lere	Survey needed

Mala	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	1,800 (1948)	Lere	Survey needed
Piti	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	1,600 (1950)	Lere	Survey needed
Ruma	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Eastern, (Piti-Asam)	2,200 (1948)	Lere	Survey needed
Sheni	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	200 (1925)	Lere	Nearly extinct
Surubu	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kauru	1,950 (1948)	Lere	Survey needed
Atsam	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Group A, (Piti-Atsam)	30,000(1972)	Kachia	Close to Piti
Begbere-Ejar	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western, North-Western, Koro Cluster Dialects: Korun Ache and Koron Panda (dialects of Begbere); Ejar (may be a separate language)	35,000(1972)	Kachia (Also in Keffi in Nasarawa State)	
Doka	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Platoid Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Plateau, Northern	-	Kachia	Survey needed
Idon	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Northern	-	Kachia	Survey needed
Ike-Gora-Ankwa	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Northern	-	Kachia	Survey needed
Ikulu	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Northern	6,000 (1949)	Kachia	Survey needed

Kadara	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Northern Dialects: Kajuru; Minna; Kachia; Iri	40,000(1972)	Kachia (Also in Chanchiga in Niger State)	
Kamantan	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western, Jaba cluster	10,000(1972)	Kachia	Survey needed
Kuturmi	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau Northern	2,950 (1949)	Kachia	Survey needed
Gbagyi	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Nupoid Nupe-Gbagyi, Gbagyi-Gbari Dialects: Tawari, Kuta, Diko, Karu, Kaduna, Larome, Vwezhi, Ngege	700,000(1991)	Kachia (Also in Rafi, Chanchanga Shiroro & Suleja in Niger State) Keffi in Nasarawa State, (FCT)	
Gwandara	Afro-Asiatic, Chadic West, A. A. I. Dialects: Karashi, Gwandara Central; Gwandara Western (Koro); Gwandara Southern (Kayan Kufar); Gwandara Eastern (Tori); Gwandara Gitata	30,000(1973)	Kachia (Also in Suleja, FCT in Niger State, Keffi Lafia, Nasarawa and Akwanga in Nasarawa State)	
Nkwak	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo Platoid	Unclassified	Birnin Gwari	Survey needed
Ayu	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji Eastern, Northern Jos, Kaura	4,000 (1976)	Jama'a	Survey needed
Idun	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western, North Western, Koro cluster	10,000 (1972)	Jama'a	Survey needed
Jju	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau,	300,000(1988)	Jama'a	Survey needed

	Central, South, Central, Izere cluster			
Kagoma	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue- Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western, North western, Jaba cluster	6,250 (1934, 1956)	Jama'a	
Kanufi- Kaningdon- Nindem	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue- Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western cluster Dialects: Kanufi; Kaninigdom; Nindem	2,291 (1934)	Jama'a	Survey needed
Katab	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Central South-Central, Katab cluster Dialects: Kafanchan; Kachichere; Katab, Kagoro; Atakat; Sholio/Marwa	130,000 (1993)	Jama'a (Also in Kachia)	
Nandu-Tari	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Central, South-Central, Katab cluster	4,000 (1973)	Jama'a	Survey needed
Ninzam	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western South Western, cluster 1	35,000(1973)	Jama'a (Also in Akwanga in Plateau State)	Survey needed
Numana-Nunku- Gwantu-Numbu	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western South Western, cluster 1	15,000	Jama'a (Also in Akwanga in Plateau State)	Survey needed
Yeskwa	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western North Western, Koro cluster	13,000(1973)	Jama'a (Also in Keffi in Nasarawa State)	
Ham/Hyam	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western, North Western, Jaba cluster 1, Hyam cluster	100,000 (1994)	Jama'a (Also in Kachia & Keffi in Nasarawa State)	
Cori	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western, North Western, Jaba Cluster		Jama'a	

Shamang	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western, North Western, Jaba cluster		Jama'a (Also in Kachia Local Government Area)	
Zhire	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Platoid , Plateau, Western, North Western, Jaba cluster		Jama'a (Also in Kachia Local Government Area)	
Hausa	Afro-Asiatic, Chadic , West A.A.I. Dialects: East Hausa, West Hausa, North Hausa		Birnin-Gwari, Chukun, Giwa, Igabi, Ikara, Jama'a Kachia Kaduna North Kaduna South Kaarko, Kajure Karu, Kabau, Kudun, Lere, Makarfi Sabon-Gari, Soba, Zangun Kataf, Zaria. (All the LGAs).	
Fulfulde	Niger-Congo Atl-Congo, Atlantic, Northern, Senegalian, Fula-Wolof, Fulani , East-Central		(All the LGAs).	

It is pertinent to note that further survey is needed to ascertain useful information for most of the languages in Kaduna State. For example, with the exception of Hausa and Fulfulde, survey is needed for all other languages in Lere Local Government Area. Similarly, most of the languages in Kachia and Jama'a Local government Areas also need further survey.

4. Population Size of the Languages

The population size of the speakers of a given language, more often than not, serves as a crucial index in the determination of government's involvement in the development of that particular language. Thus, languages with sizeable number of speakers enjoy government patronage while languages with fewer speakers are often neglected for the same purpose.

The 1952 population census figures as reported in the Northern Nigeria Statistical Year Book (1965), gives a breakdown of population by tribes for some selected tribes in Zaria Province. The figures are as follows:

Tribe	Persons
Hausa	367,200
Fulani	84,300
Gwari	36,100
Jaba	41,000
Jaje (Jju)	35,800
Kadara	30,700
Katab	28,600

However, current population figures do not carry separate statistical information in respect of number of speakers of individual languages. For example, the 1991 census figures which are generally believed to be the most accurate census ever produced in Nigeria, do not contain information about population size by tribe or speakers of particular language. There was, however, a breakdown of population figures for Kaduna State by Local Government Areas and projected estimates for the year 2000. The overall population of Kaduna State in 1991 was 3,935,618 (= 4.4% of the total population of Nigeria which is 88,992,220). The projected estimate for the state for the year 2000 is 5,097,492.

Breakdown of the 1991 population figures for Kaduna State by Local Government Areas and the year 2000 projections

S/No.	Local Government Area	1991 (Actual)	2000 (Projection)
1.	Birnin Gwari	143,072	185,310
2.	Chikun	316,564	410,020
3.	Giwa	171,061	221,562
4.	Igabi	308,239	399,237
5.	Ikara	316,232	409,590
6.	Jaba	66,119	85,639
7.	Jama'a	218,713	283,281
8.	Kachia	206,711	267,736
9.	Kaduna (North)	348,000	450,737
10.	Kaura	101,455	131,407
11.	Kauru	116,284	150,613
12.	Lere	205,727	266,613
13.	Makari	203,040	262,982
14.	Sabon Gari	224,067	290,216
15.	Soba	174,217	225,649
16.	Tundun Wada/Makera (Kaduna South)	391,575	507,176
17.	Zangon Kataf	140,224	181,621
18.	Zaria	284,318	368,254

Orthography for the Languages in Kaduna State

Four Languages, namely Hausa, Fulfulde, Gbagyi and Jju (Kaje) out of the total number of languages indigenous to the State have been meaningfully reduced to writing and therefore can boast of having orthography. Three other languages, namely Hyam (Jaba), Kataf, and Atsam are said to have portions of the Bible being translated into them (Crozier and Blench (1992)). The ad-hoc orthographies devised by the missionaries in respect of these languages must be improved upon in order to meet the requirements of standard orthographies. A further look at the issue of orthography for the languages in Kaduna State shows that there are still important languages in the State which are yet to be reduced to writing and which for all intent and purposes, deserve a writing system. The languages and the population data for each (from Crozier and Blench (1992)) are as follows:

Begbere-Ejar	(35,000 (1972))	Gwandara	(30,000 (1973))
Kadara	(40,000 (1972))	Kurama	(11,300 (1949))
Ninzam	(35,000 (1973))		

The projected population figures for the above languages, in say the year 2000, will place the population of the speakers of each language into hundreds of thousands, just enough to qualify for an orthography. Still on the issues of orthographies for the languages of Kaduna State, attention is drawn to the possibility of devising a common orthography for a number of related languages. In fact the present writer has argued elsewhere (Amfani 1999b) for a common orthography for a cluster or group of languages that share common linguistic features.

Summary and Conclusion

The present paper attempted a linguistic survey of the languages of Kaduna State. The paper, having traced the metamorphosis of the old Kasar Zazzau to the present Kaduna State, went on to reveal the existence of at least 41 languages in the 23 Local Government Areas of Kaduna State and points out that most of the languages need to be further surveyed. The population figures of each Local Government Area for 1991 and the projected figures for the year 2000 were also given. Overall, the paper argues that there is the need to device a writing system (orthography) for each language or a cluster of languages as the case may be.

The paper concludes that the survey and the setting up of the orthographies are absolute necessities for the continued existence of the languages. The paper therefore makes a clarion call on the government of Kaduna State and the communities in which these languages are spoken to commission linguists and/or bodies such as the National Institute for Nigerian Languages (NINLAN) to carry out research into the languages with a view to establishing orthographies. This is the sensible and most practicable way to ensure continuity and to escape from the eminent danger of extinction.

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6. Developing and Promoting Multilingualism in the Nigerian Public and Social Life for Modern Age

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1. Introduction

The complexity of Nigeria's linguistic communication network in a complex multilingual society cannot be grasped without an in-depth study of the sociolinguistic situation. In order to aspire to a rapid political, economic and socio-cultural change in this modern age, the governments, Universities, Colleges of Education, Research Centres, specialised Institutions such as the Nigerian Institute of Engineers, Nigerian Institute of Architects, Nigerian Law School, etc., as well as professional organizations should be a vibrant part of their host communities from where these corporate bodies would derive their inspiration to soar to greater heights. In return, these bodies are expected to feed their respective immediate communities the results of their observations, contemplations, analysis on local, national, subregional as well as regional and international issues. In other words, these Institutions, local and Federal in addition to other corporate organizations cannot perform accurately and clearly these developmental and evolutionary roles unless they can understand and be understood by their immediate environments. In concrete terms, bringing these organizations nearer to the people invariably connotes bringing them to the people in the language of the people. Hence, the pressing need to develop and encourage the use of local, national and official linguistic codes in Nigeria both for domestic and international usage.

In order to sow and nourish the seeds for articulate, meaningful and embedded national development on political, economic, educational as well as socio-cultural fronts it behooves, in modern age, on the Nigerian government in particular as well as all professional bodies to reach the old, and young, illiterate and literate, male and female, lowly and highly placed individuals across diversified ethnolinguistic groups in their codes. It means adopting a multilingual approach in solving the country's linguistic problems in public and social life.

1.1 Linguistic Policy in Colonial Era

1.1.1 National Level

The Nigeria of today is an aggregate of diverse cultures, codes, religions and social outlooks which were lumped together on the eve of 1914 under colonially convenient administrators. It should be admitted as a statement of fact that, before us the colonial administrators battled with the hydra-headed multilingual problems in the country. Overwhelmed by its scope and nature, they opted for the "easier solution", a policy which failed to take into consideration the future survival of the country as well as her peoples. Goaded by the strong apprehensions about the political consequences of an eventual propagation of the English Language across the country as well as the policy of "divide

and rule “, the colonial administrators opted for the usage of the three major codes, viz. Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo. But contrary to expectation only minimal attempts were made to produce regional bilinguals (in an indigeneous code and English) due to the failure of the diverse Christian missions which were mainly in charge of education to promote a consistent linguistic education programme. While in some schools, it was straight for English, in others, it was indigeneous code for the first three years because the Christian missions, according to Ajayi (1965) and Ayandele (1966) needed to have “natives “ who would be able to read the Bible in their own linguistic codes. Consequently, at best, most of the school products had not more than a smattering of the English language which helped them to be employed as waiters, interpreters, clerical officers, barmen, cooks and gardeners, etc.

1.1.2 Regional and Provincial Levels

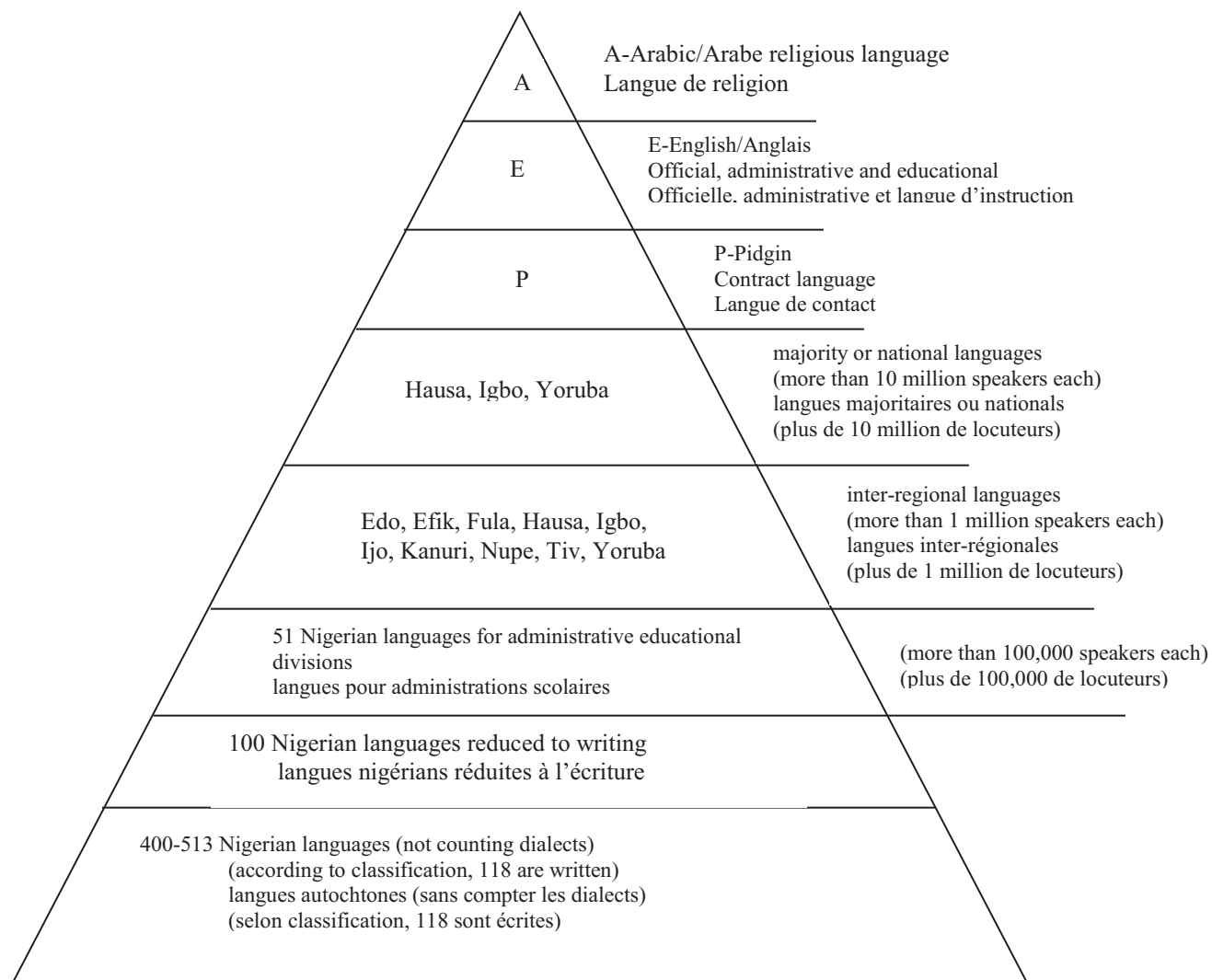
As at then, the three regions into which the country was divided: the Northern, Western and Eastern had their respective provincial component units as multilingual. Ajulo (1997:10) points out that “Section 114 of the 1951 constitution recognised English as the official language of the legislative Houses in Nigeria; but it recognised Hausa in addition to English in the Northern region”. Neither Yoruba in the west nor Igbo in the East was given such leverage. The socio-political and cultural cohesion of the North today is owed in part, to the afore-mentioned policy. At best, therefore, the linguistic policy of the colonial masters, where one existed at all as at then, could be termed chaotic and very vague in nature. It could be inferred from the above that the Western and Eastern regions had to rely more on interpreters in getting the government nearer to the people; but since the teeming population of these interpreters were neither professionally trained in the art nor had a solid knowledge of the Source code (SC) as well as Target code (TC) they failed most times in their mission.

1.2 Linguistic Situation in colonial and Post-colonial Nigeria

The linguistic situation in both colonial and post-colonial Nigeria was a direct reflection of the colonial administrator’s linguistic policy, where one ever existed. Between four and five hundred linguistic codes are spoken in Nigeria. In addition, are English, Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin (ANP) as well as Arabic code, three neutral codes (neutral in the sense that they belong to none of the ethnolinguistic groups in Nigeria).² To better illustrate the country’s linguistic complexity it is necessary to bring to focus the ethnolinguistic pyramid of Nigeria (Brann, 1978:10). Of the four to five hundred linguistic codes spoken in the country, only a little more than one hundred are standardised and reduced to writing; cf. tables 1 and 2 below:

The Ethnolinguistic Pyramid of Nigeria

La pyramide ethno-linguistique du Nigeria
The Ethno-linguistic Pyramid of Nigeria



1. Source: Brann, C.M.B. 1978 Multilinguisme et education au Nigérian. Centre inter –national de Recherche sur le Bilinguisme, Québec p. 1-44 (Publication B – 73)

Standardisation of the Principal Codes of Nigeria

Niveau de standardisation des langues principales du Nigéria
Level of Standardisation of the Principal Languages of Nigeria

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	
1	Akago																											7.9
2	Angas																											6.9
3	Anang																											7
4	Bachama																											3
5	Birni																											3
6	Bura																											8.5
7	Busa																											3
8	Chamba																											3
9	C-Lela																											3.5
10	Ebira																											3.5
11	Edo																											10
12	Efik																											20
13	Eggon																											4
14	Ekoi																											2
15	Etsako																											2.5
16	Eza																											0.5
17	Fula																											11.5
18	Gbari																											5.5
19	Hausa																											25
20	Higi																											5
21	Ibibio																											8
22	Idoma																											8
23	Igala																											8
24	Igbo																											23.5
25	Ijo																											15.5
26	Ika																											2.5
27	Ikwere																											3
28	Ikwu																											2
29	Ishan																											3.5
30	Isoko																											9
31	Itsekiri																											6.5
32	Izi																											2.5
33	Jukun																											8
34	Kaje																											2.5
35	Kana																											0.5
36	Kambari																											0.5
37	Kanuri																											9
38	Koko																											2.5
39	Kambila																											3
40	Marghi																											6.5
41	Mamuye																											2.5
42	Mupe																											8
43	Ogoni																											3
44	Okraka																											4.5
45	Shuwa																											1
46	Tangile																											5
47	Tarok																											3.5
48	Tiv																											4.5
49	Ukwani																											7.5
50	Urhobo																											4.5
51	Yoruba																											5

1.2.1 The importance and use of English

English being the official code of Nigeria as well as the code of administration, education, jurisprudence and press, minimal number of Nigerians spoke and wrote good English. Since 1979 till date, sections of the four Constitutions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria bearing relevance to matters affecting the National Assembly says: "The Business of the

National Assembly shall be conducted in English and in Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made there-of". English was chosen as Nigeria's official code because of its international status in order to give Nigerians more access to the outside world, a role none of the three national official codes of today could have been able to play were it to have been given the chance. The report of inspectors of education in Nigeria (1951:138) vindicates this point:

It is plain fact that the only means by which the Nigerian can understand and take his place in the competitive modern world is English. Thus, his whole future depends on the quality of his command of the English Language (code).

Those Nigerians who spoke and wrote good English constituted the revered elite, most of whom later became politicians and administrators on the eve of independence. It was, in fact, this class of people who took over from the British administrators. At a lower rung of the ladder were officers who managed a form of English in formal situations while they excelled most in their respective maternal codes in semi-official and informal situations. Communication at the local level between the governors and the governed was mostly through interpreters. Difficult as it was, communication between members of diverse ethnic groups in urban areas was carried out in one form of English or the other (Banjo 1971) as well as the Anglo- Nigerian Pidgin. While a semblance of communication was carried on between those who could smatter a word or two of English at the local level, and though there were few bilinguals and multilinguals, especially in multilingual states, communication, on the other hand, was greatly impaired, if not totally impossible between monolinguals and illiterates of diversified ethnic groups across the country.

1.2.2 Nigerian indigenous codes and their sociolinguistic importance

At independence, the situation was not quite different from what it was during the colonial era apart from the fact that: Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba (three codes of wider communication) were officially recognised as Nigeria's major codes. Later, these were first increased to nine and much later twelve representing thus the major ethnic groups in the thirty-six states which make up Nigeria today. These codes are Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Fulfulde, Kanuri, Edo, Ijaw, Efik, Idoma, Ikwerre, Tiv and Nupe.

Huasa, Igbo and Yoruba, the country's official national codes, are spoken mainly in eighteen States of the thirty-six into which Nigeria is divided. Hausa is a maternal code to states such as Kano, Katsina, Sokoto and Kaduna. Its speakers are estimated to be twenty-two million. States such as Ogun, Oyo, Ondo, Lagos, Ekiti as well as Osun and part of Kwara and Kogi are monolinguals in Yoruba. It is estimated that Yoruba speaking Nigerians total twenty million, while the Igbo code is spoken in states such as Imo, Abia, Anambra and Enugu. The Igbo-speaking Nigerians total sixteen to seventeen million approximately. Together these major ethnolinguistic groups constitute 54 % (fifty-four percent) of Nigeria's total population. These major codes are codes of wider communication.

Though considered minority national codes according to Oguntoyibo & Alli

(1978:18), Kanuri (4%), Edo (2%), Fulfulde (9%), Ijaw (2%), Idoma (2%), Efik (3%), Ikwerre (2%), Nupe (2%) as well as Tiv (2.5%) play a considerable role at their respective states where each of the above minority national codes is a dominant code amongst hundreds of less sociolinguistic importance, be it on national or state level. It is believed that the above itemised codes make up 22.5% of Nigeria's total population, while a plethora of other minority ethnic codes of far less sociolinguistic importance in the different states of the country total 23.5%. From the analysis above, it is clear that Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo codes, taken in their respective isolations, are to a large extent minority regional codes spoken largely by their respective nationalities though a few Nigerians speak each as a second or third language³.

1.2.3 Nigeria's "*Lingua Franca*."

Thus, as at today Nigeria has no single national code spoken by the whole population and through which the teeming people's identity can be effectively expressed. While English, Nigeria's linguistic window on the world, is in fact one of the codes having the potential of filling this vacuum, it falls short of satisfying the country's quest for the African "soul" (identity). Nonetheless, it presently guarantees and promotes national unity irrespective of Nigerians' subjective views about it. It should, however, be admitted that of about 33% of the total population of Nigerians who are literate in English, only about 15% of them really use it effectively in professional and administrative activities. Consequently, English could be seen also as a minority code in the country. In urban cities, fast developing towns (due to the continuous creation of states), as well as villages, especially in multilingual areas, in informal or semi-formal public contexts, the most frequently used version of English if, indeed it can be considered a form of English, is Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin (ANP). Not only does ANP serve as a medium of news casting and public enlightenment on radio and television and as an unofficial medium of instruction in some urban as well as rural schools; it is also a popular medium of entertainment and numerous advertisements in the entire country. One can safely say that ANP is the closest thing to real "*Lingua Franca*" in Nigeria as regards non-formal domains, becoming the most popular medium of inter-group communication in various heterogeneous communities and in many educational institutions, especially Federal Government Colleges located in various states throughout the country.

Like any "natural code" such as Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, French as well as English, Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin is capable of expressing all domains of human interaction, and as such, it should be considered a viable candidate for a national status. The snag about ANP is that unlike official national as well as minority codes with which it is in competition in Nigeria, it is neither considered a standard code nor is it accorded the same recognition as the latter, be it on the Federal or state level. Rather, ANP is, regrettably, treated at best as an unwanted child in the family of Nigerian codes; an attitude reminiscent of the biblical rejected stone which eventually became the corner stone of the world at the end of the day. Though initially a maternal code to none in the country, Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin has since acquired "children" as well as "grand children" who really think and dream in this code, especially in multilingual states such as Delta, Edo, Rivers, Bayelsa, etc. It should be

emphasised here that as an autonomous linguistic code, ANP is presently more widely used in Nigeria than any of the so-called three official national codes, viz. Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba.⁴

1.3 *The National policy on Language Education and the 1979, 1989 and 1999 Constitutions' Linguistic Policy*

Nigeria's present national policy on language education as it appear on paper is a bold attempt at language rationalisation in the country. It is a far cry from a hitherto nebulous and chaotic policy. It is meant to give teeth to the linguistic policy as spelt out in sections 51 and 91 of the 1979 and 1989 constitutions as well as in the relevant sections of the constitutions of 1995 and 1999; but, beautiful and laudable as it is, its implementation on the ground has little to offer with regard to nation building and national integration. The main points of the policy as it exists are:

- (a) the federal, (sic) Government considers it to be in the interest of national unity that each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major codes other than his own mother tongue (the major codes in Nigeria being identified as Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba).
- (b) Medium of instruction at the pre-primary level will be principally the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community. This would oblige the Government to:
 - (i) develop the orthography of many Nigerian languages
 - (ii) produce textbooks and other materials in Nigerian languages.
- (b) The government will see to it that the medium of instruction in the primary school is initially the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community and, at a later stage, English.
- (c) A promise by the government to supply specialist teachers via the Teacher Training Colleges.
- (d) At the secondary level, English fully becomes the language of instruction while Nigerian languages are taught as subjects.
- (f) And according to the *Nigerian Policy on Education* (third edition, 1998) for smooth interaction with our neighbours, it is desirable for every Nigerian to speak French. Accordingly, French shall be the second official language in Nigeria, and it shall be compulsory in schools.

1.3.1 *Problems militating against the successful implementation of the Policy*

From the above points, it is expected subject to successful implementation, that a sizeable

number of members of the Nigerian community, especially the young school leavers would reflect the national bilingual or multilingual picture in addition to English and possibly French, the former being one of the most used code in the country. But with the dearth of specialists in the three major codes as well as in other subjects either at the primary or secondary schools' levels, it is very uncertain if the majority of pupils would be able to learn more than one code. The veracity of our position hinges on the fact that the Federal Government Colleges are socially privileged while public secondary schools are less privileged.

Secondly, schools situated in urban areas are more patronised than those in rural communities since the majority of the less privileged pupils are neither in Federal Government Colleges nor private schools. Little wonder that little or no success is likely to be recorded in this domain. Added to the teething problems to be envisaged is the considerable number of codes pupils from minority linguistic groups would be obliged to learn. This is likely to be burdensome to many pupils as well as their parents. At the pre-school stage, it is expected that pupils would learn their mother tongues. This would help them grow faster in the area of metalanguage and concept formation; a good advantage over when they are taught in a second code. Secondly, the likelihood of pupils experiencing linguistic inhibitions is a bit remote. Unfortunately, only the rich can afford to pay for their wards in pre-primary school. A critical analysis of our immediate environment instructs us to admit that more parents these days even withdraw their children from primary and secondary schools when what they judge to be "excessive expenditure" is demanded.

Finally, at the primary level, pupils are expected to learn initially in their mother tongues or the code of their immediate community. However, judging by the huge number of Nigerian linguistic codes (about four hundred and ninety seven in all) to be developed for usage, it is the opinion of linguists such as Brann (1978), Ofuani (1981), Marchese and Schnukle (1980), Elugbe and Omamor (1991), etc that the Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin which is extensively spoken in urban areas in the south could be developed and adopted as national code as well as for Adult Literacy Programme, especially in multilingual states of the country. In addition to this, some other semi-urban codes of less restricted communication could be given equal status. It should be reiterated that one's code is part of one's identity. Consequently, it should not be denigrated. To do so invariably means denying one's human ability to communicate. Hence, the need to adopt a multilingual approach in solving Nigeria's linguistic problems in public and social life. Far from being a plague, multilingualism in the country is in fact a source of wealth and strength which if properly harnessed and managed will act as a source of synergy for a more effective, directed, guided as well as vibrant evolution of a modern, economically viable and technologically developed nation.

1.4 Making the 1978, 1989, 1995 and 1999 constitutions' Linguistic Policy Relevant to Nigeria's Public and Social Life in Modern Age

An effective and more purposeful management of Nigerian codes for the modern age invites an in-depth knowledge of Nigerian codes not only by linguists and sociolinguists,

but also by professional translators and interpreters, those who are called to govern and as well as policy makers. There have been seeming adequate constitutional provisions, evidenced in sections 51 and 91 of 1979 and 1989 constitutions respectively for the implementation of a development oriented linguistic policy in public and social life. This is also evidenced by the fact that a handful of legislative houses across the country made a timid effort towards fulfilling those constitutional linguistic obligations, in addition to the fact that a quadrilingual lexicon of legislative terminologies have been provided. The problem has been the practical attitudes of Nigerians in politics, academia as well as in the outer society. These attitudes have militated against the exercise of a more articulate, result-oriented linguistic policy.

To clarify this point, permit me to quote the late sage and Elder Statesman, Obafemi Awolowo who said “Nigeria is not a nation” but a mere “geographical expression” whose constituent units differed so widely in their languages, cultural backgrounds, social outlooks and indigenous political institutions that a sense of belonging, national loyalty and common identity was completely absent (Awolowo, 1947). Unfortunately, fifty-five years after, the hard and bitter truth remains irrevocable. It is for example hardly conceivable that a country which discriminates against a section of its citizenry either on the basis of linguistic code, ethnic group, employment as well as denigrates one’s profession and linguistic code, will expect an unstinted loyalty from such citizens. The values, attitudes and behaviour of the Nigerian elite need to be overhauled. In numerous domains, the behavioural attitude of the elite has more than manifested itself at all levels of public responsibility, be they local councillors, state or federal government officials, legislators, academics, etc. they all tend to treat public trust in the same manner as any other public office holder in the system.

Secondly, the present general apathy of most Nigerian citizens to government’s property and business probably stems from the failure of the government itself to reach the people in their own codes.

Governing the grassroots should entail a good knowledge of their linguistic codes in order to be understood and followed. One thing is clear, it is the absence of this policy which has contributed to the lack of perception and competence to grapple with the dynamics of Nigeria’s modern linguistic needs for socio-cultural and politico-economic integration be it internally, in the sub-regional as well as regional spheres. Using “ethnic group” to refer to all nationalities in the world, Onwuejeogwu argues that in comparison with Nigeria:

Russia (USSR) has about twenty-seven ethnic groups; China and India have more than forty; the USA has less than fifty, excluding the Red Indians; England has three, France about eight; and Germany about fifteen. The only place in the world that has over 300 ethnic groups is Nigeria. This uniqueness creates unique problems unknown to the experience of other peoples in the world... No western or eastern civilisation has ever evolved a political system [linguistic policy,] that can cope with this gigantic problem of hyper-ethnic instability syndrome... (consequently), we just have to look inward,... (1987:2-3)

1.4.1 The Need for Multilingual Approach

Rather than result to ad hoc approach to linguistic policy, the government should be seen and heard to be more committed in the implementation of a more vibrant and articulate policy which is expected to usher the country into the 21st century. Nigeria, should as a matter of urgency, embark on a vigorous drive for the training of professional interpreters and translators in European and Nigerian codes. In tune with Ajulo (1997:18) it may be necessary to create national or regional schools of translation and interpretation, a usual practice of multilingual countries, whose areas of specialisation should cover political, scientific, cultural, literature, technical, literary and philosophical fields.

Undoubtedly, armed with the academic and practical knowledge of what linguistic code entails as well as with the technical art of translation, which would be acquired from programmes run in the tertiary institutions, these disciples of nation- building should embark on the translation of books bordering on agriculture, politics, technology, economy, philosophy and prose, poetry, drama, written by Nigerians and foreign authors, official documents, laws, edicts, constitutions, etc. of the state and federal governments as well as 'those of sub-regional and regional statutory bodies such as ECOWAS and AU into a considerable number of Nigerian codes. This will enable Nigerians to understand and to follow government works in either their respective codes or those of their immediate environment. In addition, Nigerians should be encouraged to write in their maternal codes where they possess the linguistic ability. It, therefore, means that printing and publishing houses as well as their agents may need to re-adapt themselves to the changing tide of events in the country. Readership in diversified linguistic codes may not be limited if and when the reading culture is systematically drummed home to Nigerians. It is, in fact, the usual practice of multilingual societies. In all spheres of life as well as subjects such as politics, economics, agriculture, history, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, linguistics and foreign languages such as French and Portuguese, books, workbooks, and pedagogical materials should as a matter of educational policy be written by Nigerians either individually or collectively. For quality purpose, these books should be edited by competent body of experts with regard to ideas, theories, methodology, style as well as technical qualities such as binding, presentation, etc., in some of Nigerian codes. These would be more easily understood by Nigerians. Such books, according to Ojo (1997:6), would be fed and nurtured by Nigerians' own experiences, aspiration as well as world-views, while at the same time responding to certain geocultural realities of our immediate neighbours. For economic, political, cultural as well as geographical reasons, Nigeria and Nigerians stand to gain in establishing cultural, sporting, social, business, educational and professional relations not only with our immediate neighbours, but also with the totality of other French-speaking African and European countries.

Linguistic as well as cultural barriers are partly responsible for the fear, suspicion and prejudices which have constantly bedevilled the realisation of the lofty objectives and aims of the founding fathers of ECOWAS and AU – viz. sub-regional and regional integration. The Europeans, South and North Americans, as well as the Asians are busy seriously, and consciously promoting their respective sub-regional integrations, despite seeming linguistic and cultural differences. Hence, the respective component countries of

these economic and cultural associations have embarked on the teaching of many more foreign languages in their schools as well as in adult learning centres. The implementation of this policy in these countries is not without pains and frustrations from their citizens. What matters most is their long term gains.

In addition, the very aged ones in their respective countries are usually encouraged to go back to their universities as well as private learning centres in order to keep fit intellectually. The West African sub-region should wake up from the deep slumber into which she had fallen in almost all spheres of human endeavour. Like the legendary Reggae singer, Robert Nestar Marley a.k.a. Bob Marley exhorted Africans when he sang "Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery, (knowing that, sic) none but ourselves can free our minds," Nigerians and Africans should take their destiny in their hands marrying their double heritage in finding solutions to their problems as well as in furthering national, sub-regional as well as regional integrations. The average African has a history even when it contains the good, the bad, the beautiful and the ugly. All facets of him combine to make him what he is. Irrespective of Onoka's lack of manly qualities as defined by his Umuofia community in Chinua Achebe's *Things fall Apart*, Efulufu, as Onoka was named, still had his artistic wizardry in flute playing - a quality which endeared him to lovers of music. Consequently, just as the dual and complex nature of man has to be lived with intelligently and in a balanced form, so too our history should be understood and synthesised in analysis in order to be balanced physically, emotionally, psychologically as well as physically or spiritually.

Irrespective of differences in our political convictions, inclinations and principles, the primary and more permanent interests of our people should be held dear to heart. It is in this light as well as other reasons adduced above that General Abacha's foresight in declaring that "Nigeria will embark on a vigorous language programme that should ensure that our people, within the shortest possible time, become bilinguals" (multilinguals) merits to be saluted. Presently, a trip to our Eastern and Western borders reveals that brisk businesses and interactions are negotiated and promoted neither in polished English nor French but in Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin (ANP). Even within our immediate neighbours' countries, our brothers and sisters would still smatter words of ANP to people they suspect to be Nigerians or Anglophones in general.

All linguistic codes especially those of wider communication and less restricted communication ("regional domination") should be promoted. The promotion of the codes yet to be standardised and elaborated entails an in-depth study of them from linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives with a view to standardising and streamlining the high versions of these codes to meet with modern needs while at the same time purging them of regional peculiarities as well as foreign impurities, with an all-embracing objective to give them orthographies, dictionaries as well as standardized texts. As much as possible, pupils and learners should be taught in their respective maternal codes. Educators, psycholinguists and sociolinguists are in agreement that the first thirteen years is the: mostly delicate and formative phase in a child's life. A child's linguistic aptitudes as well as attitudes are acquired mostly within 5 and 13 years age-brackets. Parents, the government and educators should pay more attention to his physical needs, emotional, psychological, intellectual and

social potentialities. In multilingual countries such as U.S.A., Switzerland, Belgium, India, China, Germany and the Old Russian Republic, children are taught, especially at the primary level to explore their own natural environments in their maternal codes in order to inject into them skills such as curiosity, initiative, self-confidence, resourcefulness and adaptability - qualities of immense help in moving with the tide of events world-wide (Fafunwa 1969). All through the world, linguistic “choices” are often determined by economic, social and political pressures. Speakers’ linguistic choices are not normally different from their own and others’ attitudes towards those choices. Consequently, for language planning to be in any way effective, it should grow out of speakers’ actual linguistic patterns and take into consideration their beliefs and feelings about the beauty, value and significance of different codes.

Multilingualism is a norm in the diverse component communities of Nigeria.⁶ While it enables the speakers of the different communities to maintain contact with one another, an average Nigerian living in urban areas, especially in multilingual states identifies himself depending on the context, with a different speech network to which he belongs, to which he expresses his wish to belong and from which he seeks acceptance. Multilingualism is, therefore, not a plague; though it is seen “narrowly” as a personal and social problem. In order to promote linguistic equality, tolerance, social interaction and mutual understanding in a multi-cultural and multilingual country such as Nigeria, the indispensable need of translators and interpreters stares one in the face. Here again the tertiary institutions such as the colleges of education and universities and future schools of translation and interpretation would need to collaborate more in defining new areas of need in their respective institutions. These institutions should accept the challenge of modern age whose clarion call is, in addition to producing teachers to teach Nigerian codes in the pre-primary, primary and secondary levels, young school leavers who would demonstrate profound mastery of our local codes, to continue to build with more vigour and determination on the solid foundation of the super-structure of Nigerian codes. This infrastructural foundation should include amongst others, as a matter of priority, the translation of books in such domains as mathematics, music, natural science, philosophy, literature, and politics into as many Nigerian codes as possible in order to enrich the latter. It should also include the concentration of energy and time to newer areas of multilingualism, its nature, scope, patterns as well as its attendant impact on development. Above all, their observations, analysis, imaginations as well as thoughts should be translated into more concrete and positive usage in their immediate environment, thereby bridging the present wide gap between the ivory towers and their respective outer communities.

On a sad note, it is partially to “bridge” the existing gap between the ivory towers and the barracks that military administrators have been drafted into universities as chief administrators. Ironically, that same gap equally exists between the government and the people in Nigeria which attendant consequence is the present general apathy of most Nigerians to government’s property and business, which they regard as nobody’s business. This paper cannot be ended without an admonition from the late African poet, humanist as well as philosopher David Diop:

Après un examen critique approfondi de la conception et de l'orientation de l'Enseignement Colonial, les responsables s'attachent à donner aux programmes scolaires un contenu qui permet à l'Africain de se réhabiliter à ses propres yeux et de regarder enfin le monde non plus à travers les jugements égocentriques du Colonisateur, mais à partir des réalités objectives."

(After an in-depth analysis of the colonial conception as well as orientation of the educational policy, (Guinean policy makers have deemed it pertinent to include into the courses' contents of schools things which will enable the African to rehabilitate himself as well as to look at the world not from the colonial point of view but, rather from his own objective perspective.))

Conclusion

Multilingual problems in the "geographical expression" called Nigeria predates 1914 when the Northern and southern protectorates were fused into one by the colonial administrators. In fact, multilingualism has always been the norm in both protectorates. The real problem in our view is the near absence of well-articulated solutions, concrete implementation strategies and the political will to meet the scope and nature of this hydra-headed sociolinguistic problem. Hence, the need to adopt a multilingual approach in solving Nigeria's linguistic problems in public and social life.

Both national, subregional and regional interrelated needs summon political leaders, linguists, language planners, educators, etc., to evolve a more vibrant and well-articulated policy which, no doubt, should be armed with a political teeth on the field. Far from being a plague, multilingualism in the country should, in fact, be seen as a source of wealth and strength which if properly harnessed and managed will act as a source of synergy for a more effective, directed, guided as well as vibrant evolution of a modern, economically viable and technologically developed nation.

Footnotes

1. In this article "linguistic code" refers to language or a variety of a language because of its neutrality in terms of expression. Such terms as dialect, variety, language, style, standard language, pidgin and creole are inclined to arouse emotions.
2. For details, see G.O. Simire (1993 c) Etude sur la variabilité du pidgin Anglo-Nigerian: Le Temps, La Modalité et L 'Aspect. These de Doctorat, Université de Nice et Sophia Antipolis. Nice France.
3. See Ayorinde Dada (1985:288) as well as Mobolaji Adegunle (1972:89-90) for similar views.
4. For more pieces of information on the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin (ANP) see G.O. Simire, (1993c) op. cit.
5. Similar views were recently expressed by the same author in an interview he granted to the Guardian Newspaper, October 18th, 1997.
6. It is far-fetched to continue to believe that states in the Northern part of Nigeria are

mostly monolinguals. The contrary is the case because many of these states house as many as seven to twelve linguistic codes, For example, Taraba and Adamawa states house not less than 23 and 10 codes respectively.

7. This quotation which exists in *Presence Africaine* no I was extracted from David Diop, *Témoignages- Etude Presence Africaine*, (1963:39).

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7. Stem-initial Obstruents in Proto Igboid-Yoruboid-Edoid (PIYE)

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1. Introduction

1.1 On the Choice of Languages

Two developments in the field of African linguistics underlie this attempt to reconstruct the possible obstruents of the language ancestral to Igboid, Yoruboid and Edoid languages of Nigeria tentatively called Proto Igboid-Yoruboid-Edoid (PIYE). The first relates to the numerous classificatory works which have consistently grouped these languages together under the same sub-family of Niger-Congo languages. Together with such other languages as Kru, Ewe, Akan and Ijo, Greenberg (1963) classified Igbo, Yoruba and Edo as part of his Kwa languages. These three languages again form part of East South-Central Niger-Congo (ESCNC) of Bennett and Sterk (1977). Williamson (1989) grouped Defoid (made up of Yoruboid and Akokoid), Igboid and Edoid in the (new) Benue Congo alongside, Ọkọ, Ukaan/Akpes, Nupoid, Idomoid, Cross River, Kainji, Platoid and Bantoid. Blench (1989) proposed splitting of the (new) Benue-Congo into Western and Eastern halves. Among the western Benue-Congo languages are Ifoid (Yoruboid and Akokoid), Edoid and Igboid languages. He consolidated this position in 1997 where he posited that Yoruboid, Edoid, Akokoid and Igboid belong together in a branch that is then co-ordinate with each of the other separate branches of (new) Benue-Congo, namely Ọkọ (Ogori), Nupoid, Cross River, Kainji-Platoid and Bantoid. With the increasingly close subgrouping of Igboid, Yoruboid and Edoid languages, it becomes attractive to go to the next stage, which is to begin an enquiry into their possible ancestral language, here tentatively called Proto Igboid-Yoruboid-Edoid (PIYE).

The second development that has given rise to the present work is the wealth of data now available about these languages, especially following the reconstruction of their proto-systems-Edoid (Elugbe 1973 and 1989) Yoruboid (Akinkugbe 1978) and Igboid (Williamson and Ohiri-Aniche (forthcoming)). Unfortunately, scant knowledge exists about the Akokoid languages whose proto-system is yet to be reconstructed. This is, indeed, the reason Akokoid is not considered in the present consonant reconstructions.

1.2 Methodology

Two methodological issues arise. Should one wait until all the coordinate language groups in a subbranch or branch have been reconstructed before reconstructing the proto-language of the groups? The experience in the present work shows that this need not be so, as some useful insights into the whole branch emanate from reconstructions involving only some of the coordinate groups. There is no doubt, however, that as greater information becomes available from the sister language groups, reconstructed proto-systems would undergo revision. This is why, indeed, the ancestral system being considered in the present work is

called tentatively Proto Igbooid-Yoruboid-Edoid (PIYE). When greater information on the other coordinate branches of (new) Benue-Congo, especially Akokoid, becomes available, PIYE might well change.

The second methodological issue that needs to be clarified is that, although the reconstructed proto-systems of the three language groups are heavily relied on in this study, data and insight from numerous other sources have also been used. In other words, PIYE is not a reconstruction to the next stage of lower subsystems that have been reconstructed.

Finally, the neutral term ‘lect’ will often be used in this text to represent the different speech-forms being studied; this is due to the politically sensitive nature of the terms ‘language’ and ‘dialect’, especially in Igbooid.

2. An Overview of Consonants in Tentative Proto Igbooid-Yoruboid-Edoid (PIYE)

Although the focus of this paper is the obstruent class, an overview of the whole suggested consonant system of PIYE is first presented, in order to better situate the discussions on obstruents.

(1) PIYE Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar
Plosive					
Non-Lenis	p b	t d	c j	k g	kp gb
Lenis	’p ’b	’t ’d	’c ’j	k ’g	’kp ’gb
Fricative					
Non-Lenis		s			
Implosive	ɓ	ɗ			
Nasal	m	n			
Non-Lenis		ɺ			
Lenis		’ɺ			

Twenty-seven consonants are reconstructed for **PIYE**. Among the obstruents are voiceless and voiced lenis and non-lenis plosives at five points of articulation, namely labial, alveolar, palatal, velar and labial-velar, as well as the voiceless non-lenis alveolar fricative *s. Reconstructed non-obstruents include the voiced bilabial and alveolar implosives *ɓ, *ɗ, the bilabial and alveolar nasals *m, *n as well as the nasalised lenis and non-lenis laterals *ɺ̃, *ɺ̃. Another consonant, the nasalised palatal approximant ỹ was earlier thought to be original at the **PIYE** level since there was a correspondence set that had the palatal approximant y and the palatal nasal ɲ as its reflexes. Recent data from the Oka dialect of Yoruba showing the voiced palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ] as the reflex of the same correspondence set has now made the reconstruction of ỹ untenable as demonstrated in (2) below.

(2)

Gloss	Owere (Igboid)	Edo (Edoid)	Standard Yoruba	Ọka (Yoruba)
bask/warm oneself by fire	ṣá	ṣ̃á = to be ablaze	Yá(íná)	dṣáná
tear apart	Yà(wá)	ṣ̃á	ya	dṣa

All the consonants reconstructed are attested synchronically in some lects or other of at least one of the language groups studied. This has formed the basis of hypothesizing that such consonants existed in the diachronic system. In particular, the existence of lenis consonants in Northern Edoid and of implosives in Delta Edoid has made it easier to trace their reflexes in other lects in Edoid and in the other two language groups where such consonants no longer exist.

In general, the lenis plosives have shifted to their non-lenis counterparts, thereby causing a merger between the two. In Delta Edoid (DE), the lenis feature of the original ***PIYE** has changed to one of suction, thus yielding implosives in some words (e.g. ‘ask’). On the other hand, the loss of suction in original **PIYE** implosives *ḃ, *ḋ, caused them to shift to plosives elsewhere, except in Delta Edoid, especially in oral environments. These two developments in **PIYE**, that is, loss of suction and loss of the lenis/non-lenis distinction, have also given rise to some of the rhotics, laterals and approximants in oral environments, and nasals in nasalised environments. Nasality is a big influence on consonants in **PIYE**, often causing oral stops to assimilate to nasals in nasalised vocalic environments (as in 3 below).

PIYE	Owere (Igboid)	Egeṣe (Edoid)	Igala (Yoruboid)
*ḃĩ = swallow/suck	mĩ = suck	ḃĩlá	ṣmĩ

Another strong influence on **PIYE** consonants is double vowels. The environment -IV often results in palatalisation and spirantisation, while -UV results in labialization. All these developments will next be examined as they affect obstruents in **PIYE**, while some comparative series exemplifying the developments are presented in the Appendix.

3. Labial Obstruents *p, *'p, *b, *'b

A 4-way contrast in bilabial plosives is reconstructed for **PIYE**:

CS1a *p = Igboid p, f = Edoid p, f = Yoruboid p, f

*p is a voiceless non-lenis bilabial plosive which has p reflexes in most lects in Igboid and Edoid and also in Igala (Yoruboid). In Standard Yoruba (SY), which does not have a p sound, the reflex is the voiceless labio-dental fricative f (‘squeeze’).

CS1b *pUV = Igboid p = Edoid p, kp = Yoruboid kp

*pUV sequences seem to yield the voiceless labial-velar plosive kp in Yoruba and in some

North Central and North Western Edoid lects. It is not impossible for *p to develop into a labial-velar in the environment -UV. The process could be thus: through glide formation -pUV → pwV; then the labial assimilates the velar feature of [w] yielding kp ('scar').

CS2a *'p = Igboide ϕ, f = Edoid p, f, v, v, h = Yoruboid f

*'p, a voiceless lenis bilabial plosive, has mainly fricative reflexes in all the language groups, except in some NCE lects such as Auchi and Avbianwu where p is occasionally recorded. Since a lenis, rather than a non-lenis, consonant is likely to have weakened into the numerous fricative reflexes, including bilabial fricative [ϕ] reflexes, this CS set is reconstructed as lenis *'p ('white', 'side').

CS2b *'pUV = Igboide ϕ, f, h, w, k^w = Edoid p, f, v, v, ϕ, h = Yoruboid f

A similar case to that reported for *pUV which develops into labial-velar kp in Yoruba and some NCE and NWE lects seems to occur also with regard to *'pUV, but this time in Igboide where the Okocha dialect has labialised velar reflexes kw. Williamson (1997) suggests that Proto Igboide *pUwU roots developed into kwV by a process whereby the labial p assimilates the velar feature of [w] thus: *pUwU > pwV > kwV ('blow with mouth', 'light-weight').

These developments in PIYE *p and *'p are exemplified in Appendix (1).

CS3 *b = Igboide b, v, f = Edoid b, β, v, v = Yoruboid b

This CS has mainly b reflexes in Igboide but in some Igboide lects such as Owere and Ezza, *b changes to v in the environment of a back vowel. In a nasalised environment, *b weakens to the fricative v in Ogba, further becoming devoiced to f in Ndele (Igboide). In Yoruboid, *b maintains b reflexes in all languages of the group. In Edoid, on the other hand, b reflexes are maintained in most roots but *bIV seems to result in the fricatives v, β, v. ('woman', 'blood').

CS4a *'b = Igboide b = Edoid 'b, β, b, v, v = Yoruboid b

Synchronically, some Edoid lects such as Ibilo still distinguish between lenis and non-lenis voiced bilabial plosives, and this gives good reason for hypothesizing that lenis *'b existed at the wider Proto Igboide-Yoruboid-Edoid level. Before single front vowels, PIYE *'b has b reflexes in Igboide and Yoruboid, suggesting that lenis *'b shifted to, and merged with, non-lenis *b in those two language groups. In DE, PIYE *'b shifted to implosive β and to plosive b in Ukue (NEW), further weakening to β, v, v elsewhere in Edoid ('ask', 'place').

CS4b *'buV = Igboide γ, w = Edoid 'b, β, b, γ^w, v, w = Yoruboid w, ϕ

In this CS set, *'bUV has labialised velar and velar fricative reflexes in Edoid and Igboide

respectively. This is seen as a parallel development to that described for *pUV and *'pUV which develop velar reflexes through, first, glide formation involving w and later, the labial element assimilating the velar feature of [w], viz: *'bUV > bwV > vwV > ɣ^w > ɣ > w > ∅ ('goat').

CS4c *'b[̃]V = Igboid m = Edoid 'b, 'm, m, w, ɸ = Yoruboid ɰ, m

In a nasalised environment, *'b[̃]V yields m reflexes in Igboid and Yoruboid while having varied 'b, 'm, m, and ɸ reflexes in Edoid.

CS4d *'b[̃]Ũ[̃] = Igboid ŋ^m, ŋ = Edoid ŋ^w, m, ɰ = Yoruboid m

By the same process whereby *bUV sequences yield oral velar fricative and labialised velar fricative reflexes, in a nasalised environment *'b[̃]Ũ[̃] also yields nasal velar and labialised velar nasal reflexes in Igboid and Edoid.

The developments relating to PIYE voiced labial plosives are exemplified in Appendix (2).

4. Alveolar Obstruents *t, *'t, *d, *'d, *s

Alveolar obstruents present the most varied reflexes in PIYE, suggesting that many shifts and mergers have occurred in the alveolar region. In the first place, lenis and non-lenis alveolar plosives are still in use in some Edoid lects, but elsewhere in Edoid as well as in Igboid and Yoruboid, the two groups have either merged with their non-lenis counterparts or have shifted to other positions (dental or palatal). Secondly, the voiceless alveolar implosive t< is in use in some Igboid lects. For instance, in Owere (Igboid) t< is an allophone of the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ before narrow vowels, i.e. [ɪ, a, ɔ, u]. In the Mbieri dialect of Igboid /t/ does not occur; rather the implosive /t</> contrasts with aspirated /t^h/ in a nasalised environment. To further complicate matters in Igboid, the Lengwe lect has both the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ and the implosive /t</>.

However, Lengwe's t corresponds to t in other Igboid lects while its t< corresponds to tʃ in other Igboid lects. The exact origin of the voiceless alveolar implosive in Igboid is, therefore, not yet certain; Ohiri-Aniche (1991) speculated that Owere t< developed from proto-Igboid *tUV sequences after the merger of PIYE *t and *'t into a non-lenis t in Igboid. Williamson (1997) suggests that Lengwe's t< derives from Proto Igboid *TɪyV sequences, but adds that the phonetic motivation for changing the plosive t to an implosive is not yet clear.

With these numerous shifts and mergers, it is not surprising that many possible correspondence sets also emerge at the PIYE level for alveolar obstruents. What are presented below are therefore, only a few of the more plausible sets and reconstructions.

CS5a *t = Igboïd t, t< = Edoid t = Yoruboid t

The voiceless non-lenis alveolar plosive *t is reconstructed for the CS showing mainly t reflexes in all the language groups, except in Mbieri and Owere (Igboïd lects) where the reflex is t< ('tell a story').

CS5b *tIV = Igboïd tʃ,ts,ʃ = Edoid tʃ,ts,s,ɹ = Yoruboid t

Affrication of *t before the vowel sequence ÌŨ is thought to be responsible for this correspondence set ('saliva').

CS6a *'t = Igboïd t, t̥ = Edoid 't,t,θ,ɹ = Yoruboid t

Generally, the reflexes in this CS are non-lenis t in Igboïd and Yoruboid, but lenis 't is one of the Edoid reflexes. In view of the Edoid reflexes, this set is reconstructed as *'t. The rhotic alternants in Edoid are considered weakenings from *'t, while in Igboïd and Yoruboid lenis *'t merged with its non-lenis *t counterpart, yielding non-lenis t ('father', 'dust').

CS6b *'tIV = Igboïd t, t< = Edoid s, h, ʒ, ʒ = Yoruboid t

In the environment IV, PIYE *'t maintains t reflexes in Igboïd and Yoruboid, but weakens to fricatives and rhotics in Edoid.

CS6c *'tUV, *'tŨŨ = Igboïd t,tθ = Edoid 't,t,ɹ,d = Yoruboid r,n,l

The Igboïd and Edoid reflexes of this CS are similar to those already considered as originating from lenis *'t. The Yoruboid liquid and nasal reflexes are seen as weakenings in the environment -UV, ŨŨ ('ashes', 'tail').

The developments in PIYE voiceless alveolar plosives are exemplified in Appendix (3).

CS7a *d = Igboïd d = Edoid d,dz,t,c,ʃ,z = Yoruboid d, r

The loss of suction in most PIYE lects, except Delta Edoid, meant that new voiced alveolar plosives d were created. In most Igboïd and Yoruboid lects (except the Ebu dialect of Igala), the d which resulted from PIYE *δ simply merged with original PIYE *d, but in Ebu, when PIYE *d̥ became d, the original PIYE *d weakened to r, a voiced alveolar tap. The loss of suction in most Edoid lects also caused a lot of changes. While in such NCE lects as Edo and Auchì, the new d simply merged with original PIYE *d, in SWE, the original PIYE *d became devoiced and palatalized, yielding a voiceless dental plosive t̥ in Isoko (Uzere dialect) and a voiceless palatal plosive c in Urhobo. In other SWE lects such as Eruwa and Okpe, further weakening of the devoiced *d occurred, yielding s or z ('fall',

‘hunter’).

CS7b *dũ = Igboid dz, z, dv, v = Edoid d, dz, ɖ, c, = Yoruboid dɜ

The environments -IV and UV cause palatalization or spirantisation of original PIYE *d in Igboid and Yoruboid. Explaining the unusual dv and v reflexes of Proto Igboid *d in some Igboid lects, Williamson (1997) suggests that Proto Igboid *d underwent labial affrication in such lects, rather than the alveolar affrication which produced dz in other lects. The affricate dv next simplified to v, while dz simplified to z (‘steal’).

CS8a *’d = Igboid ɖ, r, l = Edoid ’d, ɖ, d, r, ɭ = Yoruboid r, l

A lenis ’d is still in use in some NWE lects such as Ọloma, Ẹmalhe and Ibilo. Elugbe (1989:94) points out, however, that the contrast between a lenis ’d and non-lenis d is fast dying out, with the lenis alveolars nowadays found only in stems with two consonants, that is CVCV stems. He further states that the lenis consonant is more likely to be found in -C₂-position (example ô ’di ’dé, i- = ‘parrot’ in Ọloma NWE).

At the PIYE level, lenis *’d is reconstructed for the correspondence set showing an implosive ɖ in DE and Ẹkpẹyẹ (Igboid), a plosive d in Ukue, but sonorant r, ɭ, l, ɭ alternants in most other lects. Elugbe (1989:101) explains the implosive ɖ reflexes of PE lenis *’d as resulting from a rule introduced in DE by which voiced lenis bilabial and alveolar plosives shifted to their implosive counterparts. He further states that the d reflexes of PE *’d found in such lects as Ukue have arisen from the hardening of the lenis consonant following the loss of the lenis/non-lenis contrast at the alveolar place of articulation. In a nasalised environment Ukue shows an alveolar nasal n reflex which can be explained as resulting from the assimilation of nasality by the oral consonant which shares the same alveolar place as n. He also points out that through a series of weakening, some lects such as Ghotuo record zero reflexes (‘neck’, ‘eat’).

In Yoruboid, the item ‘eat’ has a dental plosive reflex ɖ in Oka (Yoruba), but a palato-alveolar affricate reflex dɜ elsewhere. These reflexes are here explained as resulting from PIYE *’dIV sequences, which became affricated and palatalised in Yoruboid except in the Ọka dialect of Yoruba where *’d became fronted to ɖ.

CS8b *’dĩ = Igboid l, ɾ, n = Edoid ɖ, d, l, n, ɭ = Yoruboid ɾ, l

In a nasalised environment, PIYE lenis *’d yields an alveolar nasal reflex in some lects such as Ẹkpẹyẹ (Igboid) and Ukue (NEW) (‘bite/chew’).

CS9 *s = Igboid s, r, ɾ, h = Edoid s, ɾ, h, z = Yoruboid s, r, h

This series which has the voiceless alveolar fricative s in all the language groups is reconstructed as PIYE *s. The fricative s is chosen as the proto-phoneme rather than the

rhotics since it is more plausible to envisage a change in the direction $s > \text{ɾ} > r$ than the reverse. Commenting on the Igboïd reflexes of Proto-Igboïd *s, Williamson (1997) notes that the voiceless tap [ɾ] in Ogidi is a rhotacization of *s, while the voiced tap [ɹ] of some lects is a further simplification of [ɾ]. The h reflex of some Igboïd lects represents a weakening of *s.

At the PIYE level, rhotacization and weakening of PIYE are also posited as giving rise to the rhotic ɾ, r and velar fricative h reflexes recorded in all the languages groups ('pay', 'body/skin', 'roast over fire').

The developments in PIYE voiced alveolar plosives and the voiceless alveolar fricative are exemplified in Appendix (4).

5. Palatal obstruents *c, *'c, *ɟ, *'ɟ

Synchronically, palatal plosives and palato-alveolar affricates occur in all three PIYE languages groups, leading to the postulation that their ancestral language had original palatal plosives. This is not strange since this class of plosives has been reconstructed for Proto-Volta-Congo (Stewart 1983) and Proto-West-Nigritic (Mukarovsky 1976 and 1977), two languages that are thought to be ancestral to PIYE.

CS10 *c = Igboïd c, t<,tʃ = Edoid ts,s,ɟ,t = Yoruboid ɬ,tʃ,ʃ,s

In Igboïd, this CS has voiceless palatal plosive c in Agbani corresponding to unvoiced alveolar implosive t< in Lengwe and to the voiceless, palato-alveolar affricate tʃ elsewhere in Igboïd. Williamson (1997) reconstructs this CS as Proto-Igboïd *tlyV which undergoes palatal affrication before a high front vowel I. She, however, adds that the phonetic motivation for Lengwe's changing of plosive t to an implosive t< remains unclear.

The explanation provided in Elugbe (1989:107) for reconstructing items with ts, s reflexes as Proto-Edoid *c might prove useful here. He posited that the alveolar reflexes have resulted from the fronting of original PE palatals following a chain of events that began with PE *d' becoming d in most lects while original PE *d became devoiced and palatalised in SWE.

A similar reason is given in Ohiri-Aniche (1995) for proposing that in ProtoYoruboid (PYIG) the voiceless palatal plosive *c be reconstructed instead of the palato-alveolar affricate *tʃ reconstructed by Akinkugbe (1978) for all cases where the Ọka dialect of Yoruba has the dental plosive ɬ reflex corresponding to tʃ in the rest of Yoruboid. The postulate is that the PYIG *c developed from pre-PYIG tIV/kIV roots. The palatal plosive *c weakened to affricates in Yoruboid except in the Ọka dialect where it became fronted to a dental position yielding the dental plosive ɬ.

At the PIYE level, this CS is reconstructed as the voiceless palatal plosive *c which becomes fronted to ɬ in Ọka (Yoruboid) and weakens elsewhere to affricates and fricatives. The Lengwe (Igboïd) reflex of an alveolar obstruent could have been explained as a case of fronting of *c to an alveolar position, but the motivation for also changing the resultant alveolar plosive to an implosive t< remains unclear ('slash/cut with scissors', 'soap').

CS11a *'c = Igboid c,t<,t,f = Edoid c,'k,k,t,x = Yoruboid tʃ,t,f,s

This CS seems a good candidate for reconstruction as PIYE voiceless palatal lenis plosive *'c. The Igboid and Yoruboid reflexes remain the same as those reconstructed under CS 10 as PIYE *'c. The Edoid reflexes, however, differ from those of CS 10 but include palatal plosive c and lenis 'k reflexes in Auchi which are the basis for postulating that the series could be reconstructed as PIYE *'c. The plosive k reflexes in Delta Edoid could be considered as developing from a merger of *'c with *'k and subsequent merger of *'k with *k (i.e. *'c > *'k > *k). The velar reflexes of Edo could be explained as weakening from *'c ('expect/await', 'waterpot').

CS11b *'cĩĩ = Igboid ʃ,dʒ,z,s = Edoid 'k,x,x,ɲɲ = Yoruboid tʃ,f,s

Within a nasalised environment Yoruboid tʃ, f, s reflexes remain the same as in CS 11a. Edoid 'k (Auchi) and c (Ibilo) are also unchanged, but SWE lects such as Urhobo and Isoko have dental ɲ and dental-palatal ɲɲ nasal reflexes. The Igboid reflexes also change, becoming voiced. The palatal plosive reflexes of Agbani (Igboid) and Ibilo (NWE) suggest an original palatal plosive, while Auchi's lenis 'k reflex points to a lenis consonant. It is, therefore, proposed to reconstruct CS 11b as a voiceless lenis palatal plosive *'c in the environment of nasalised vowels ĩĩ. It is further suggested that the combination of vowel sequences and nasality has given rise to the SWE nasals ɲ, ɲɲ and to the voiced reflexes of Igboid. ('walk/go', 'housefly').

CS12 *ʃ = Igboid ʃ, dʒ, ʒ = Edoid ʃ, ɖ, dz = Yoruboid ɖ, dʒ

This CS has the voiced palatal plosive ʃ in Agbani (Igboid) and in some Edoid lects such as Urhobo, Isoko and Ibilo. The Yoruboid reflexes are the voiced counterparts of the voiceless dental plosive and palato-alveolar affricate reconstructed as PIYE under CS 10. This CS series, therefore, seems reconstructible to PIYE *ʃ ('lawsuit/case', 'fetish').

CS13 *'ʒ = Igboid dz,z,ʒ = Edoid ʃ, 'g, g, d, = Yoruboid dʒ, ʒ

This CS in addition to having the voiced palatal plosive ʃ reflex in some lects also has lenis 'g reflexes in Auchi, which prompt the suggestion that the original consonant was a lenis consonant. Lenis *'ʒ is chosen here rather than *'g since this CS differs from another set which will be later reconstructed as PIYE *'g ('hunter', 'chief', 'send').

The developments in PIYE palatal obstruents are exemplified in Appendix (5).

6. Velar Obstruents *k, *'k, *g, *'g

A four-way contrast in velar obstruents is also reconstructed for PIYE. The non-lenis velar plosives k, g occur in all the lects of the three language groups studied, while lenis velar plosives 'k and 'g are still found in some NCE and NWE lects, leading to the postulate that

such obstruents also occurred in PIYE, their ancestral language.

CS14a *k = Igboid k, k^w = Edoid k = Yoruboid k k^w, tʃ

In some roots, a k reflex is recorded in most lects of the three language groups. The predominance of k reflexes in this CS suggests an original PIYE *k. In Igala, affrication of *k takes place in the environment of a high front vowel, while labialisation takes place before a high back vowel U.

CS14b *kUV = Igboid k^w,kf,pf = Edoid k = Yoruboid k,k^w

*kUV sequences are preserved in Edoid lects, but result in labialised velar [k^w] in most Igboid lects. In some Igboid lects, also, labial affrication takes place with the labialised velar yielding kf in Ezaa and later pf in Izii by assimilation of the labial feature of [f]. Labial affrication involving kw also takes place in Ebriha (Igboid) but only in a nasalised environment ('frog', 'become rotten', 'push/hit', 'cry/tears').

CS15a *'k = Igboid k = Edoid 'k,k,x,h = Yoruboid k

This CS has non-lenis k in Igboid and Yoruboid, but a lenis 'k, as well as k and velar fricative reflexes in Edoid. This strongly suggests that the original PIYE obstruent was a lenis *'k which merged with the non-lenis k in Igboid and 'Yoruboid. The lenis 'k reflex is maintained in NCE lects such as Auchi and Avbianwu, while lenis 'k has merged with non-lenis k in some lects such as Ukue, but weakens to fricatives in other Edoid lects ('say/tell', 'chicken').

CS15b *'kUV = Igboid k^w,pf,h^w,h = Edoid k^w,x^w,w = Yoruboid k^w

PIYE *'kUV sequences maintain similar labialised velar reflexes in Igboid as do the non-lenis *kUV sequences. In Edoid and Yoruboid, *'kUV also results into k^w in some lects, further weakening to fricatives and approximants in some Edoid lects ('pack').

CS16a *g = Igboid g = Edoid g = Yoruboid g

As with the non-lenis voiceless velar plosive *k which has k reflexes in all three language groups, its voiced counterpart *g also has g reflexes in all three language groups. This CS is, therefore, reconstructed as PIYE *g ('tall/long').

CS16b *gUV - Igboid g^w,gv,bv = Edoid g,g^w,h = Yoruboid g^w,w

*gUN sequences also lead to labialised velar g^w in Igboid, with later labial affrication resulting in bv in some Igboid lects. In Edoid, *gUV also yields labialised velar g^w in some lects such as Auchi and Ekpheli. Some Yoruboid lects such as Ikale, Ondo and Igala also

have labialised velar gw reflexes, which standard Yoruba (SY) has simplified to w ('dig', 'beans').

CS17 *'g = Igboid g = Edoid 'g,g,y = Yoruboid g,y,w,ø

In contrast to CS16a, which has mainly g reflexes in all the language groups, CS17 items have mixed plosive, fricative and approximant reflexes. The occurrence of lenis 'g in one of the items in Ibilo suggests that this set could plausibly be reconstructed as PIYE voiced lenis velar plosive *'g ('bend', 'money', 'look at').

The developments in PIYE velar obstruents are exemplified in Appendix (6).

7. Labial-Velar Obstruents *kp, *'kp, *gb, *'gb

The voiceless and voiced labial-velar plosives kp and gb occur in all the three language groups of this study, although not in all lects. In Igboid, for instance, kp and gb are found mainly in lects of the periphery such as Izii, Èkpèyè and Ùkwàni, corresponding to implosive p< and ɓ in such central lects as Onica and Owere. In Isoko (SWE) also, the labial-velars are reported by Donwa-Ifode (1986:157) to be shifting to implosives in some dialects such as Aviara and Uzere. She adds that the voiced labial-velar /gb/ is pronounced either as a doubly articulated [gb] or an implosive [ɓ] in all the Isoko dialects of her study; thus, in those dialects [gb] and [ɓ] are in free variation. Lenis labial-velars occur in some northern Edoid lects, such as Auchi, Avbianwu, Uneme, Emalhe, Oloma and Ibilo. The strong synchronic evidence for the existence of lenis and non-lenis labial-velars in these Edoid lects makes it plausible that these obstruents were to be found in the proto-system not only of Edoid, but also of the larger PIYE system of which Edoid is a part. Consequently, a four-way contrast in labial-velar obstruents is reconstructed for PIYE.

CS18 *kp = Igboid kp,p< = Edoid kp Yoruboid kp

This CS showing voiceless non-lenis labial-velar kp reflexes in all three language groups is here reconstructed as PIYE *kp. The implosive p< reflexes of Onica and Owere (Igboid) are interpreted as weakenings from original PIYE *kp ('call/summon', 'path/track', 'bark of tree').

CS19 *'kp = Igboid kp,p< = Edoid 'kp,kp = Yoruboid kp

Only a few items still showing a lenis 'kp reflex in northern Edoid and possible non-lenis kp reflexes elsewhere in Edoid and in Igboid and Yoruboid have been found in this study. It is suggested that in such lects, lenis *'kp and non-lenis *kp have merged. Central Igboid lects further weaken the kp into implosive p< ('heart', 'peel').

CS20 *gb = Igboid gb,ɓ = Edoid gb,kp = Yoruboid gb

In this CS, the voiced labial-velar gb corresponds to gb in all language groups, but with implosive ɓ reflexes in central Igboid lects, and voiceless kp, xw reflexes in SWE. Elugbe (1980, 1989) considered all voiced labial-velar stems showing voiceless reflexes in SWE to be original PE non-lenis *gb, while those showing voiced reflexes in SWE are the PE lenis *gb which had shifted to fortis /gb/ in most lects. His explanation is that non-lenis sounds are more likely to become devoiced than lenis ones. In the absence of greater illuminating data, at the wider PIYE level, Elugbe's solution will be adopted here. Thus, PIYE *gb is reconstructed for items showing voiceless reflexes in SWE ('plant', 'thigh').

CS21 *'gb = Igboid gb,ɓ Edoid 'gb,gb = Yoruboid gb

Two items of this CS, 'think' and 'witch', have lenis 'gb in their stems in the NCE lects of Auchi and Ekpheli, corresponding to the voiced labial-velar gb in other Edoid lects and in Igboid and Yoruboid. Elugbe's solution of considering items showing voiced labial-velar gb reflexes in SWE as in other Edoid lects to be original lenis labial-velars that merged with the non-lenis gb is adopted here. Accordingly, this set is reconstructed as PIYE *'g ('think', 'witch').

The developments in PIYE labial-velars are exemplified in Appendix (7).

8. Summary and Conclusions

This paper has discussed the broad developments in PIYE obstruents. In particular, various correspondence sets (CS) were presented to support the major postulates of the study:

- (a) PIYE lenis obstruents have merged with their non-lenis counterparts in Igboid and Yoruboid.
- (b) Lenis obstruents have been preserved in some North-Central and North-Western Edoid lects, but have merged with their non-lenis counterparts in Delta Edoid and South-Western Edoid.
- (c) An exception is in Delta Edoid where voiced lenis bilabial and alveolar plosives have weakened to implosives ɓ and ɗ respectively.
- (d) In the environment of nasalised vowels, some lenis obstruents yield nasals in some lects.

The above is, however, not the entire story. There remain some correspondence sets which have not been assigned to any PIYE obstruents, as they cannot yet be adequately explained. It is hoped that with greater data and better insight, the original PIYE obstruents or obstruents and vowel sequences of the unresolved sets would become clearer.

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APPENDIX

Comparative Sets and Wordlists

Note: A stem is considered PIYE stem if it is attested in at least two out of three language groups.

Appendix (1)

Voiceless Bilabial Obstruents

CS 1a *p = Igboid p, f = Edoid p, f = Yoruboid p, f.

CS 1b *pUV = Igboid p = Edoid p, kp = Yoruboid kp.

CS 2a *'p = Igboid ɸ, f = Edoid p, f, ɣ, v, h = Yoruboid f

CS 2b *'pUV = Igboid ɸ, f, h, w, k^w = Edoid p, f, v, ɣ, ɸ, h = Yoruboid f.

PIYE Gloss	Igboid	Edoid	Yoruboid
*pĩ squeeze/press against IK, SY pres (for demand) PWS pí/píná PB pín-/pínì	ON, OW, OK pĩ GB pĩ/fĩ	ED pĩè EG pĩ AU ufifi	IK fĩ SY fĩ/fĩ IG pi
*ɛ-puɛ scar	ON, OW àpà EK ɛ!-pê	UR u-pe AU u-kpakpa	SY à-kpá
*ɔ-'pɛ side ON, OW = other side ED, SY = side of body UR = region of the ribs	ON ófé/ɔ-fè OW ò-fè	UR ɛ-fè ED è-fè AU è-fè PH e-pè	SY (ĩhà)
*'põã be white IB = whiteness ER = òhùhò TIV púpùú white PS pù PWS pù		DG fù IS fuafo ED fùɔfua IB i-vóla UK (lele) VB pua MH ɣɔ'mi EH ɸũɸũ	IK (fĩ)fũ SY (fũ)fũ SE (fifè)? IG (fu)fu
*V-'puɔ light (weight)	IZ ɸé (v) ON, OW m-fé EK wé(v) OK ñ-kwé	DG vònvòwá EP fengerem IS vórí ED féyélé PH ù(da)-pɛɛ	IK férè SY, IG fùyé SE foyó
*'pu'pɔ blow (with mouth) SY = blow a wind instrument PB púd- PWS pú-	IZ ɸù ON, OW fù EK wũ GK hwũ OK kwũ	DG fofo IS ɣoyó ED hoho UR ɸoɸo	SY fũ/fɔ SE fòfó LJ fòfó

Appendix (2)

Voiced Bilabial Obstruents

CS 3, *b = Igboid b,v,f = Edoid b,β,ʒ,v = Yoruboid b.

CS 4a *'b = Igboid b = Edoid 'b,β,b,v,ʒ = Yoruboid b.

CS 4b *'bUV = Igboid γ,w = Edoid 'b,β,γ^w, ʒ,w = Yoruboid w, ø.

CS 4c *'bṼ = Igboid m = Edoid 'b,m, 'm,w,ʒ = Yoruboid w̃, m.

CS 4d *'bṼṼ = Igboid ηw, η = Edoid ηw, w̃, m = Yoruboid m.

PIYE Gloss	Igboid	Edoid	Yoruboid
*ɔ-bī 'dī, ɪ- woman, female ON,OW = adult woman ED = young woman	ON ì-bìlì OW (ók ^h é) ì-bìrì	RG ɔ-vitam ED ú-ʒí EG ɔ-vura	IK o-bīrē SY o-bīrī IG (ónó)-bùle
*u- bā 'dā blood	ON ɔ-bàlā OW ɔ-b ^h āṛā EK ɔ-bàlā ND ɔ-fāṛā	UR ɔ-bàlā, è- EG à-bòrà	IF àm-bara
*'biə'nə ask Yoruboid 'ask question' PLC bíp PB -búúdi PWS bí-(bítíá)		DG ɕiné IB 'biṇahi [βiṇahi] UK miara AU ʒi GH 'miṇa	IK bírè SY bèrè (bi + èrè) IG bi
*V- 'bə place (n) ED = 'over there'	IZ i!bé ON,OW ébé	DG ɔ-bá ED è-ʒàà	IK i-bo SY i-bè/i-bi SE u-bo
*e-'bui, í goat Yoruboid 'she goat' PBC -bwoni (i-/i-) PB -búdĩ	IZ é-γú ON é-wú OW é-wú/é-γú	DG è-ḡí, ì- IS è-ʒí, ì- ED è-wé UK è-bì AU è-γwè, é- UH é-viè	SY e-wú(ré) IG é-wó IJ e-ú(ré) IF (a-bó)?
*V- 'bē I, me PB -mí PWS mì	IZ mǔ ON,OW m̃-mú/mó EK m, mē	DG ɔ-m ED, UK me GH 'me 'me UR me ʒē	IK, SY è-mĩ SE e-mĩ IG ò-mi
*V- 'bōē mosquito Pɟ mun(i-i-) PWS (m)-bu- mücke PB -bu	IZ é-ηwú ON,OW á!-ηwú KW é-ηóù	IS ú-ηwé, í- ED í-mūē UR ũ-wé	IK e-mūrē SY,SE ì-mūrē IG í-mú

Appendix (3)

Voiced Alveolar Obstruents

CS 5a *t = Igboid t, t< = Edoid t = Yoruboid t.

CS 5b *tĩĩ = Igboid tʃ, ts, s = Edoid tʃ, ts, s, ɹ = Yoruboid t.

CS 6a *'t = Igboid t, tθ = Edoid 't, t, θ, ɹ = Yoruboid t.

CS 6b *'tIV = Igboid t, t< = Edoid s, h, ɹ, ɹ̥ = Yoruboid t.

CS 6c *'tUV, *'tũĩ = Igboid t, tθ = Edoid 't, t, ɹ, ɹ̥ = Yoruboid r, l, n.

PIYE Gloss	Igboid	Edoid	Yoruboid
*ta tell a story, say OW = whisper GB,IK,SY = story PWS tá-	ON tà (+ ità) OW t<á(kà) GB á-ti tà	IS ta ED ta UR ta	IK ì-tà SY ì-tò
*V-tĩã saliva PP-4 ánte PB -tájí 'spittle' PS -tá-	ON á-só OW á-sũ OG á-tsó KL á-tʃũ	DG a-saɪ ED à-sẽ UK ì-ɹẽ AU è-tʃɛi<à-tsièi	IK ì-tĩ SY,IG ì-tó
*I- 'ta father	ON,OW (ń-nà)? EK í-dá? GK ń-dà?	ED è-ɹá PH è-θà LM i-'tà	IG a-tá
*e- 'tu'mi dust	ON è-tùm KW è-tùm AN è-tθim	ED (è-bùbè) EG (éùdù)? MH û-'tù'tù	IG (ébù)tù?
*'bɪ-ɹ'traGɪ three OY ì-dá ER ĩ-dā TIV tāl PUC -ttan PJ tat(i-) PB -tátù ZN (Kolokuma) tāaro	IZ è-tó ON ì-tó OW à-t<ó EK ɓi-tó KL à-tió	DG ɪ-saɪ IS ĩ-sa ED è-há IB èé-sà UK è-ɹá UN èé-'sà UR èé-ɹà	IK,SY è-ta SE (m)é-ta IG è-ta
*V-'dĩ-'tōi ashes AH en-dũdũ OY ó-dó PUC tón(kò-) PLC ń-tón PJ tón(u-/i) PB tó; túé	IZ, ON ń-tó OW ń-tĩĩ GK ré-tó AN ń-tθ+/ń-t+		IK e-rú SY eé- Rú/éérú SE e- Rú(bógũ) IG é-lúlú IJ e-rírú
*V-'tũĩ 'mi, A- tail YR un-du PJ tùm(u-/i-) 'horsetail' PP dum PBK -th-mh- PWS -lu- PIj ò-tùmə	IZ ó-dzò? ON ó-dò? OW ó-dĩĩ? KU ó-dvò? HZ ó-dzò?	DG ù-túm, à- ED è-ɹũũ IB ù-ʒù, ì- UK ù-ɹumi LM ù-'tu'mù, i- UR ù-ɹòθũ, i-	IK ù-rù SY ì-rù SE ù-rù IG ò-nùnù KR ì-rũ

Appendix (4)

Voiced Alveolar Obstruents and Voiceless Alveolar Fricative

CS 7a *d = Igboid d = Edoid d, dz, t̪, c, ʃ, z = Yoruboid d, r.

CS 7b *dũĩ = Igboid dz, dv, z, v = Edoid d, dz, t̪, c = Yoruboid dʒ.

CS 8a *'d = Igboid d̪, r, l = Edoid 'd, d̪, r, l̪ = Yoruboid r, l.

CS 8b *'dĩ = Igboid l̪, r̪, n = Edoid d̪, d̪, l̪, n̪ = Yoruboid r̪, l̪.

CS 9 *s = Igboid s, r, ʃ, h = Edoid s, ʃ, h, z = Yoruboid s, r h.

PIYE Gloss	Igboid	Edoid	Yoruboid
*d̪ Ni fall SY = also subú	IZ, ON d̪à OW d̪h̪ EK d̪ā	DG deĩ IS t̪je < t̪ie ED, UK de IB dze UR ʃe MH ze	SY dá
*ɔ-de hunter ON, OW hunt (n) Idoma òté hunt (n)	ON (ń-tá) OW (ń-t<á)	IB, UK ɔ-de AU (à-gy)ò-de	IK, SY, IG ɔ-de Ebu (ádʒ)-ɔ-re
*dũĩ steal PWS gi, gia, giu PB -gíbì thief -yìb steal	IZ zí(tá) ON zú OW zũ EK zú(tú) OG dzú GK vũ	DG, UK, GH do IS ʈo IB dzo EH zo UR co	IK, SY, IG, KY dʒí
*ɔ-'du neck OW = throat AH (únk)ó-r̪ - throat PB - kodo	OW (ŋk)ó-r̪	DG è-d̪óú, ɪ IS u-rú(uhɔ) ED ù-r̪ù IB u-r̪í UK ó-d̪ó EP è-lélé!mú, ì	IK ɔ-r̪̃ SY ɔ-r̪ũ SE (ùgù)r̪̃ IG ɔ-l̪
*'d̪e eat PB dí PWS lì, lià	IZ, OW rí ON lí EK dí	DG d̪ɪ IS r̪i ED ɭc/ɭc IB re UK di GH e	IK, SY, IG dʒe KY ɖe
*'d̪ bite, chew Igboid bite (n) Yoruboid chew (v) PB -d̪úm- PWS lum	IZ é-r̪ú ON á-l̪ú OW á-r̪ú EK é-n̪ô GK ré!-n̪ô	IS ɹ̪ú ED (l̪e)? UK n̪ómí UR ʀoβo MH nomũ	IK r̪̃ SY r̪ũ r̪ũ IG l̪ó
*sĩã pay Igboid = pay fine IS, IB = pay debt ED ò-sá debt	IZ ré(+r̪ré) ON rá(+r̪rá) OW há(+r̪há)	IS hwa(+úsa) ED ha IB (r̪i)ó-sa UK ɹ̪ĩã UH sia EH sĩã	IK hã SY s̪ SE s̪ã IG ra

*v- sōī body/skin Edoid = skin Yoruboid = body	IZ è-hó ON à-ró OW à-hó EK è-lí KW è-só GK è-hî	IS ó-hóma ED ò-hyà IB è-hòà UK ì-jì UR ò-hó lóma UH ì-sì	SY (ara) IG (óla)
*sō roast (over fire) AH hó ER f́ PJ toń-a = to burn PB -tùmb roast, (boil) PWS tùà, (tò) rosten	IZ hú (be) ON ró OW h ^w ó EK (dó f́) KW só(mé) OG rú	DG (tò)? ED (t̃)? IB (h̃u)? LM (h̃u)? EH (s̃)?	IK h̃ SY s̃ SE s̃ IG r̃ IJ s̃

Appendix (5)

Palatal Obstruents

CS 10 *c = Igboide c, t<, t, t̃ = Edoid ɟ, t̃, ts, s = Yoruboid t̃, t̃f, f, s.

CS 11a *'c = Igboide c, t<, t, t̃ = Edoid c, 'k, k, t̃, x = Yoruboid t̃, t̃f, f, s.

CS 11b *'cĩĩ = Igboide ɟ, d̃, z, s = Edoid c, 'k, x, ɲ = Yoruboid t̃f, f, s.

CS 12 *ɟ = Igboide ɟ, d̃, ɟ = Edoid ɟ, ɟ̃, dz = Yoruboid ɟ̃, d̃.

CS 13 *'ɟ = Igboide dz, z, ɟ = Edoid ɟ, 'g, g, ɟ̃ = Yoruboid d̃, ɟ̃.

PIYE Gloss	Igboide	Edoid	Yoruboid
*ca slash/cut with Knife or scissors	IZ tyà ON,OW t̃à EK t̃át̃à LG t< à AN cà		IK sá SY f́ IG t̃f́ KY t̃á
*ɔ-ca soap		IZ ní-tyà ON,OW ní-t̃à EK í-t̃à/í-t̃f́à LG ní-t< à AN ní-cà ? DG ón-só IS ó-t̃à AU à-tsà UR o-ja ? IK ɔ-sɛ SY ɔ-fɛ SE ɔ-fɛ ?? *'cɛ expect, wait ? IZ,ON,OW t̃f́ EK séd̃í LG t< í AN cé/t̃f́/c ^w é IS héré ED xèé EM xɛɛ	

		AU 'kè	
*V-'ce waterpot DG,SY,KT = cooking pot IG = pot KY = mud pot AU = pots HH = iron pot	HH (n-d3à)	DG á-kí, í- IS ò-té ED à-xé UR ò-cé, ì- LM yá-cè, ló- AU á-'ke, é-	KT ù-sà SY ì-fā ijasũ IG ù-tfà KY ù-tà
*'cĩV walk, go IK = journey PWS kia(+Nasal) PS gĩa	IZ,ON d3é OW d3hě EK zé AN,LG jé	IS ɲǎ ED xĩ IB kia [cà] UK kĩa [cǎ] AU 'kia	IK (àd3ò)
*'c ĪV housefly PJ = hyĩ (ki-/i-) PB -gĩ -gĩgĩ	IZ,ON,AN í-d3í!d3í LG í!d3í d3í OW í-d3hĩ!3ĩ EK ó-d3í! d3í	IS ó-ɲé ED ì-kĩǎ IB è-cà UK ì-cǎ AU á-'kià, í- UR ú-yě, ì-	IK esisi SY e-ĩĩĩ IG á-tĩ tĩ KY i-ĩĩĩ
*ε-ɟɔ lawsuit, case Igboïd = dispute, struggle for	ON,OW (z3)? AN,LG (j3)? OG (dz3)?	UR é-ɟ3 ED é-z3 AU è-dz3	IK,SY ε-d33 IG à-d3ɔ KY ε-d3 GG à-3ɔ
*ε-ɟɔ fetish, sacrifice DG = fetish, idol, devil IS = fetish	IZ,EK ε-d3à ON,OW à-d3à AN,LG è-jà KA è-d3ǎ	DG è-d33 IS,UR ε-ɟɔ	
*V-'je chief AH n-d3ε king OW also -n3ε	IZ,ON,OW,EK é-zè OG é-dzè	ED ò-giè AU ò-gyè PH ò-yè GH o-gie [òjè] UN ò-'giè OP ò-rójè	IK,SE (òd3)ò-yè SY (id3)ò-yè KY (ùd)òd3è
*'je send (someone to do something)	IZ,ON zì OW zì EK zì(+ú3ĩ) GB zĩ(ó3ĩ) OG dzi	UR 3e ED gie UK yi AU 'gie OP je	

Appendix (6)

Velar Obstruents

CS 14a *k = Igboïd k, k^w = Edoid k = Yoruboid k, k^w, tʃ.

CS 14b *kUV = Igboïd k^w, kf, pf = Edoid k = Yoruboid k, k^w.

CS 15a *'k = Igboïd k = Edoid 'k, k, x, h = Yoruboid k.

CS 15b *'kUV = Igboïd k^w, pf,kf,h^w,h = Edoid k^w,x^w,w = Yoruboid k^w.

CS 16a *g = Igboïd g = Edoid g = Yoruboid g.

CS 16b *gUV = Igboïd g^w, gv, bv = Edoid g, g^w, h = Yoruboid g^w, w.

CS 17 *'g = Igboïd g, γ = Edoid g, 'g, γ = Yoruboid g, γ, w, ø.

PIYE Gloss	Igboid	Edoid	Yoruboid
*ε-kr'de frog IG toad	ON à-kèlé OW à-kirì HH à-kirí	ED é-kùé EP ɪ-kùrekùrē UR o-kere	IK,SY à-kèré SE é-kèré IG à-kèlé
*keGɪ become rotten ON,OW = ferment, become sour (e.g. soup)	ON kò? OW kʰò(+òfù)?	ED keke IB,GH ke UK kéyà	IK kè SY kè IG tʃè
*kõã push, hit against ED = to jostle one another, e.g. in a crowd	IZ kʷá(+éká) ON kʷà OW kʷhã FG pfã EB kfã	ED kũá	
*V-kõã cry, tears Igboid = cry	IZ é-kʷá ON á-kʷá OW á-kʷhã EK í-kʷá EB é-kfã		IK,SY ε-kũ SE a-kũ IG a-kʷú ~ a-kú
*'ka say, tell UK,AO = story VB = stories PS ká sagen PWS ká, kán sagen	IZ kàró ON,OW kà EK kã	ED xàá UK ó-kãmì AO ó-xà VB é-'ka	IK,SY,SE,IG kà
*V-'kr'kɔ chicken SY,IG = cock	IZ ó-kò ON,OW ò-kókò GK (ó-tʃɪtʃɪ)? KL ò-kúkò	DG ó-hóhó, í- ED ó-xóxó IB ò-kò, i- UK ò-kókò LM ó-'kò, í- UV ò-óò AU ó-'kò, é-	SY à-kùkɔ IG à-ikɔ
*'koa pack ED = pack into a limited space SE = move house	IZ,ON,OW,EB kʷá EK hʷá/há OK kʷá/pfá	IS kʷá UR kua[kʷa] ED xʷàxʷá GH wá	SE kua [kʷa]
*go tall, long UR,ON = long ED = a very tall man SY ga = be tall	IZ,OW ógólógó ON ógónógó	UR o-grogro ED ógòlógó	OD go
*gua dig, hoe (v) PB gúnḡù	IZ bvú ON gwú/gú OW,EK gʷú	ED gua IB gua PH ú-gwá 'mi MH hua	IK gwà SY wà IG gʷà/guà/
*è-guà beans	ON,OW,EK à-gʷà HZ è-gʷà	EP a-gua, ɪ-	IK è-gʷà SY è-wà IG è-gʷà /èguà/
*'gɔ bend, be crooked	IZ,ON,OW gò	ED gó IB 'gò'gò AU gò	SY wó
*'gɔ look at	IZ gè (ṅgè)	DG gen EG geni ED yèé	IK,SE yò /ghò/ SY wò IG gò

			IJ ò KR hò
*ɔ-'go, i- money, cowry	ON é!gó OW é!g ^h ó KA é-yó	UR i!-yo ED i-yo OP i-yo	IK,SE o-yó SY o-wó Irun é-ó

Appendix (7)

Labial-Velar Obstruents

CS 18 *kp = Igboid kp, p< = Edoid kp = Yoruboid kp.

CS 19 *'kp = Igboid kp, p< = Edoid 'kp, kp = Yoruboid kp.

CS 20 *'gb = Igboid gb, ɓ = Edoid gb, kp = Yoruboid gb.

CS 21 *'gb = Igboid gb, ɓ = Edoid 'gb, ɓ = Yoruboid gb.

PIYE Gloss	Igboid	Edoid	Yoruboid
*kpə call, summon ED = to shout, scream	ON,OW p<ɔ EK kpɔ	ED kpèé	IK,SY,SE kpè
*o-kpə- i- Path, track, road	OW ò-p<ò EK ò-kpè GB ò-kpóò ND à-kpâ?	ED ò-kpá	SY ò-kpó IG i-kpa
*V-kpe bark (of tree)	ON,OW ní-p<ò EK ó-kpó(!ji)	ED i-kpakpa (+eṙã) UK í-kpīkpā	SY èè-kpo SE e-kpikpe(gĩ) IG é-kpá IF kpokpo(egi)
*'kpə peel	ON,OW p<è GB kpè	DG kpəɾɔ ED kpàlɔ VB ú-'kpâ EG kpa	SY kpa
*V-'kpə heart HZ = 'chicken breast'	IZ ò-kpómà EK é-kpémà GK ní-kpómà HZ ò-kpómà	PH ù-'kpò VB ù-'kpò EG i-kpè(bi)	
*gbē plant (e.g. tubers)	ON,OW ɓá	EG gbou IS è-kpó UR è-xwóró ED gbe	IK,SE gbè SY gbì IG gbè
*V-gbɔ thigh	ON ɔ-ɓɔdɔɓɔ EK,GB ò-gbò	DG ò-gbɔ, i- IS u-kpé(hówo) UR e-kpó(yówò), i-	OD ɔ-gba(tã) SY gbudugbudu
*'gbə think	IZ gbà EK gbe	AU 'gbà PH ú-'gbálé'mì	
*V'gbɔ witch, Witchcraft ON spirit SY elf	ON ò-ɓòma KW ɔ-gbɔme	AU ó-'gbò UH ɛ-gbé	SY e-gbé

8. A Socio-historical Account of the English Language in Nigeria

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This paper explores the development of the English Language in Nigeria from the pre-colonial to colonial days and up to its concretization as a Second Language (L2) in the country, it deposes the fact that the language was introduced as a contact Language through European traders and blossomed at the inception of the lucrative but obnoxious slave trade. The abolition of the slave trade was immediately followed by the advent of explorers, missionaries and industrialists who opened up the interior of the country and through various acts of commission or omission propagated the development of the English Language.

The paper highlights the key role played, particularly, by the missionaries and colonialists in accelerating the establishment of churches and schools through conquest and persuasion which invariably necessitated the training of teachers and local interpreters in the English Language. The attendant problems which influenced the initial non-susceptibility of the North and the susceptibility of the South to the incursions of the missionaries and colonialists have been examined.

Finally, the paper discussed the various Education Ordinances and Codes, and their impact on the growth of the language. It, therefore, made the point that the present pride of place enjoyed by the English language is not by any fiat but through a conglomeration of factors over the years.

I

No one can claim with exactitude the initial introduction of English in Nigeria. However, Adetugbo (1978: 61-73)¹ had presumed that the use of the English Language in Nigeria must predate both the first known written use of the language by Equiano published in 1789 and the use of the language by British missionaries and administrators. He further quoted both Ayandele and Ajayi's accounts on the emergence of pidgin English, in the Calabar Kingdom, and the fact that as far back as 1767, the Calabar rulers kept records of events in their kingdom in good English, but noted that Warri, Brass and Calabar were some of the earliest to have contact with the English, some even before the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.

It was, therefore, his contention that what happened in Calabar might as well have taken place in any of the other coastal towns. According to him, the fact that English is taken as the base of pidgin which emerged as a contact Language that was used between the aborigines of the coastal towns and the European traders, gave further credence to its early implantation side by side with other European languages, notably Portuguese. Consequently, though Portuguese was judged the earliest European language to have achieved prominence especially in the Benin Kingdom during the century, there was

another claim that a group of British sailors² amongst them Thomas Windharn and Nicholas Lambert arrived Benin in 1553 and the speculation was that they might have used a form of English in their communication with the indigenes.

There is no doubt that the Portuguese might have monopolized trade with the Benin kingdom but this was more or less ephemeral as the British came and surpassed them in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. With this development, England became a net exporter of slaves from the ports of Benin, Lagos, Bonny, Calabar and Warri. For instance, it is the presumption that some form of English may have been used between the British slave dealers and their coastal middlemen. It has been noted that the slave trade led to the development of the English language in a number of ways. First was the training of interpreters abroad and when the slave trade was abolished, most of the slaves who returned to Nigeria and settled in places like Lagos, Badagry, Abeoku and other areas had acquired formal education in English.

Then came the explorers, missionaries and industrialists who opened up the interior of the country and embarked on a legitimate trade with the people. These were later followed by the colonialists. Each of these groups promoted the development of English in Nigeria in varying degrees, the most potent of which were the missionaries and the colonial administrators. It behooves us to, perhaps, mention also that this was the consequence of the non-equivalence in the acquisition of formal education between the North and South. For instance, whereas, the South was readily susceptible to the influences of the intruders, the North was impervious to such influences. We shall here, examine some of the factors responsible for this development.

II

The missionaries' initial adventure into the North produced little or no results. They were seriously resisted by the people and were only overpowered by the intervention of the colonialists through mainly the application of brute force, and later persuasion. For instance, the missionaries and explorers who were moving hand-in-hand, arrived there only to find that Islam had established very concrete roots through Uthman Dan Fodio's Holy Jihads. And entrenched in its doctrinaire is the element of monotheism, so Christianity had nothing new to offer. Besides, it has got its own type of formal education (i.e. Islamic) which in all respects correlates with that of the Western formal scholarship. And this they had done by establishing Quranic schools in every mosque. To cap it all, they had got a common language (i.e. Hausa) which is used for inter-ethnic communication; Hausa acts as an overall unifying factor for all people in the North. In essence then, the missionaries and traders had nothing to offer; rather the people felt they had come to disorganize them. The pervasion of these factors which ensured homogeneity were so Strong that the much needed impact was only made after the amalgamation of the North and South in 1914.

With the South, there were no such unifying factors rather, we had heterogeneity at its optimal manifestation. Hence, they regarded everything that was brought by the missionaries and their business counterparts as novel and superior to theirs. For instance, they had no common religion (even though traditional religion was in vogue; it had no

common mode of worship), so Christianity coupled with its monotheistic attributes was something new to them; they had no formal education, so the introduction of the Western type of education was also marvellous to them; they had no common language that is spoken across ethnic boundaries, so the introduction of the English language was a welcome relief. This led to the establishment of as many schools as possible in the South, and as Ejiogu (1986:7)³ noted, through rivalries among the Christian missions, mushroom schools were established. Thus, the Northern resistance seriously retarded educational development in the North and placed the South very much ahead in the acquisition of Western education.

The aim of the missionaries for establishing schools was to train Nigerians to acquire the English language in order to read and understand the Bible, so that Christianity would flourish. Hence, English language was compulsory with reading and writing having primacy over listening and speaking. English was vigorously taught in various aspects such as composition, comprehension, writing, dictation, reading and grammar. Thus, the Bible was the main focus of study. The teachers were mostly native speakers of English, and those who acquired English abroad. The Christian missionaries held sway the educational scene of the country till late 1880's when the colonial administration got involved in charting the course of education in the country.

We should, however, note that the missionaries' continued enthusiasm in opening more schools was tied up with the evangelising role they played, through which the docility of the indigenes was maintained, while the exploitation of their natural resources was perpetuated. Hence, though we would claim a near-native like competence of the English language for the learners, theirs was mainly an acquisition of what may be described as the biblical or liturgical style.

The incursion of the colonial administration into the scene further consolidated the primacy of English over all other subjects till this day, and had some very important developments in the educational sector. The colonial government's primary interest in education was to train lower cadre of workers such as clerks, accounting assistants, copyists, messengers, interpreters, telegraph probationers and so on, to assist them in the administration. Their continued involvement in this sector resulted in the promulgation of a number of Education Ordinance and Codes in 1882, 1896, 1916 and 1926. It was within the span of these various ordinances and codes, the certification system as introduced into the main-stream of education.

It also led to the straining of relationship between the missionaries and the colonial administrators due to conflict of interest. For instance, most of the graduands or budding elites from the missionary schools now went for white-collar jobs in the colonial government in order to earn high remuneration. Since English language was the subject, without which certificate would not be awarded, its acquisition was now for economic rewards rather than for proselytization. Besides, the colonial government, through these ordinances and codes, set up secular schools side by side with the mission schools.

This led to the missionaries' very great disenchantment with the activities of the colonial administration. It is the assumption in some quarters that these conflicts might have partially informed the missionaries' avid diversion of interest to education in the local

languages (especially the scriptural translations), though people like Welmers (1974)⁴ had claimed that interest in the local languages had been from the onset.

Furthermore, whereas some linguists have laid emphasis on the fact that both the missionaries and colonial administrators were not genuinely interested in the promotion of local languages, others like Omolewa (1975)⁵ and Spenser (1974)⁶ have blamed it all on the indigenes as they were all out for the acquisition of the English language due to the economic and social benefits accruable from it. This school of thought was emphatic of the fact that The Phelps-Stokes Commission Reports and the Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa decried the mis-use of the indigenous languages in the education process; hence, the colonial government actually tried to encourage the study of local languages. But this was vehemently opposed by the people who accused the government of trying to deny them the much-cherished civilization. Yet some others like Ejiogu (1986: 17-19)⁷ had exonerated the missionaries by stating that they “cherished the teaching of the local language as an instrument for quicker evangelisation”, and wholly blamed the colonial government for relegating the local languages to the background. He quoted the statement credited to the then Colonial Education Officer, Mr. Metcalf Stinter, that local languages were only interesting to the comparative philologist and never likely to come of any practical use in civilization so far as British interest are ever - likely to be concerned. Hence, his subsequent authoritative pronouncement in 1891 that:

Let English be the language. If of course the vernacular can be used to explain English. I can only say. Do so.

Be that as it may, the English language has since occupied a pre-eminent position in Nigeria, in all parameters of national life. For instance, it is the language for our national and international communications (e.g. interpersonal interactions, official documents, mass media - print and electronic; judicial system except probably at the level of customary court proceedings, etc.); language of education (viz.: the writing of books and the sole medium of instruction from about primary three to the University level), commerce, industry, religion and, in fact, for the individual, advancement in its acquisition is a passport to a prestigious employment and higher social mobility in the scheme of things.

Despite these multifarious functions and the dominant position it has been occupying, it is a second language (L2) to almost all Nigerian users. Earlier, we had mentioned that it must have been introduced into the country, initially, through trade just like the Portuguese. Also, it might have overtaken Portuguese then the English dominated the Trans-Saharan Trade with the coastal towns of the Niger Delta area after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. This domineering role continued up to the 19th century when the slave trade was abolished and the introduction of legitimate trade, and thence to the achievement of independence. At the attainment of independence, Nigerians had no option than to adopt English as both official and national language, due to the multi-ethnic situation in the country, and this has ensured the corporate existence of the country. The fact of English as a legacy of the colonialists is aptly opined by Whitley (1974)⁸.

III

It is interesting to note that the contact situation between English and the local languages has produced at least two major linguistic phenomena, which would need further exposition, though, not in detail. For instance, we had earlier on mentioned that Nigerian Pidgin English had widely been taken as having the English Language as its base and Nigerian languages and Portuguese as substrates. Nigerian Pidgin, for instance, has since outgrown its initial role as a business language through contact, to assume such monstrous roles that are almost unimaginable despite its inherent problems of standardization.⁹ For instance, it has many varieties, depending on the geographical area it is spoken and apart from its widespread use by the people in inter-ethnic communication, it has surpassed the indigenous Language through its profuse use in the programmers of the electronic media and articles in the print media.

Another major linguistic consequence of the contact situation is the evolution of what is now known as ‘Nigerian English’¹⁰ which is taken as a dialect or group of dialects of the English Language spoken and of course written in Nigeria. Though, some linguists for example Salami¹¹, had denied its existence by stating that the differences observed in some Nigerians’ use of English compared to British usage are differences due to mistakes of some sort; they should not be regarded as ‘typically Nigerian’ since they have not been proved to be general. But other linguists such as Walsh (1967), Banjo (1969), Adekunle (1979), Adesonaye (1980), Awonusi (1987)¹² and others have clearly characterized the various varieties involved. Adetugbo (1977)¹³ appropriately summed up the emergent factors which led to the evolution of Nigerian English as language change both in space and time, sociolinguistic factors of bilingualism and mode of acquisition of the second language.

Conclusion

Here, we have seen from the analysis that the English language had occupied a pre-eminent position in Nigerian soil right from its inception through contact between the British traders and the indigenes, and this continued through the eras of missionaries-cum-explorers, colonial administration to the achievement of independence. Its importance was institutionalized through the introduction of the certification system by the colonial government, which had been given a primacy of place since then. Therefore, the importance of the English language in the socio-economic-cum-political life of the country would continue as long as the toponym-Nigeria exists.

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9. A Socio-historical Survey of English in Igboland

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This paper attempts a brief history of the foundations of English in Nigeria and Igboland. It surveys the institutionalization of English in this part of the world through the roles played by trade relations, missionary interests and the colonial government. It observes that each of these eras laid the foundation for different varieties of English used in Igboland in particular, and Nigeria in general. The paper also illustrates the sociolinguistic situation in Igboland, paying particular attention to the various variables that affect the use of English in the region.

1. Introduction

English is today in daily use by not less than 800 million people all over the world (Todd & Hancock 1986) – and only half of them are native speakers of the language (Quirk, 1995:3). This figure ranks it together with Chinese, Hindi-Urdu, Russian, and Spanish as the world's most widely used languages (Crystal, 1987:287). What marks English out from other most widely used world languages is that it is a global language in each of these three categories—English as a Native Language (ENL), English as a Second Language (ESL), and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) (see Görlach 1999; McArthur 2001; Kachru 1986; Schmied; 1991; Quirk 1995 and Igboanusi 2002). It may be necessary to mention that Nigeria, like a few countries in Africa (e.g. Ghana, Kenya, Republic of South Africa, Gambia, Sierra Leone), South Asia (e.g. Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) and Southeast Asia (e.g. the Philippines, Singapore, and Malaysia) belong to the ESL countries.

The functional range and the norms of correctness are the essential criteria for a classification of societies as employing English in any of the ENL, ESL, and EFL categories (Görlach 1999:8). With the spread of English among non-native users of the language, it seems to enjoy the widest geographical spread, and is the most important language of more countries than any other language has ever been.

There are many varieties of English spoken worldwide. Each of these 'New Englishes' (Pride 1982; Platt, et al. 1984) reflects the social and physical environment in which it is used. The growing interest in non-native varieties of English increases the attraction for a study of the historical and sociolinguistic situations of various nations and locations in which English is used either as an institutionalized second language variety or in 'highly restricted domains' (Kachru, 1986:19).

2. The History of English in Igboland

This section attempts a brief history of the foundations of English in Nigeria and Igboland. It surveys the institutionalization of English in this part of the world through the roles played by trade relations, missionary interests and the colonial government. It observes that

each of these eras laid the foundation for different varieties of English used in Igboland in particular, and Nigeria in general.

2.1 Trade Relations and Missionary Activities

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to visit the West African Coast. On arrival, they soon realized that communication was a serious problem. The Portuguese made various attempts to communicate with the natives, and the mixture of Portuguese variety of English and the various indigenous languages gave rise to what is today known as Pidgin.

The influx of the English-speaking missionaries into the country started as from 1842. This, therefore, marked the emergence of non-standard or 'working English' (Omolewa, 1979:14-15) which was widely used in Nigeria between 1842 and 1926. The 'Coast' English, which was already in existence following the arrival of the Portuguese traders into some parts of Southern Nigeria as from the 15th century spread to other parts of the country with the arrival of the missionaries.

By the middle of the 19th century, legitimate trade had developed considerably along the coast of what was later to become Nigeria, especially around Lagos in the west and in the Niger delta in the east (Osae, et. al. 1973:105). With time, trade in slaves gave way to trade in palm oil, which now became the principal commodity. Increasing industrialisation in various parts of Europe led to an increasing demand for palm oil, which was available in several parts of Nigeria. The British merchants, whose interest became the concern of their home government, dominated the trade. Apart from its commitment towards the total elimination of slave trade, Britain also had missionary interest. During the course of the first half of the 19th century, British Christian missions had become active in various parts of Southern Nigeria: in Lagos and Abeokuta in the west; in Bonny and Calabar in the Niger delta; and in Onitsha deep in Igboland.

The coming of the British and English-speaking missionaries in large numbers to the Southern part of Nigeria as from 1842 brought up the question of a language to be adopted for communication between the indigenous population and the visitors. Omolewa reports that English did not immediately replace the indigenous language for two reasons. Firstly, the Missionaries had among them the Saro 'repatriates' from Sierra Leone who were versed in both English and the Nigerian indigenous languages and who could therefore serve as interpreters for their English-speaking colleagues and the indigenous population. Secondly, many of the missionaries began to learn the local languages in order to reach the people and spread Christianity. This was in compliance with the principal aspects of the missionary programme enumerated by Bowel in 1857 as quoted in Ajayi (1965):

Our designs and hopes in regard to Africa are not simply to bring as many individuals as possible to the knowledge of Christ. We desire to establish the Gospel in the hearts and minds and social life of the people, so that truth and righteousness may remain and flourish among them, without the instrumentality of foreign missionaries. This cannot be done without civilization. To establish the Gospel among any people, they must have Bibles and therefore must have the art

to make them or the money to buy them. They must read the Bible and this implies instructions.

These guiding principles of missionary activities in West Africa—the introduction of literacy, the training of missionary agents and the acquisition and interpretation of the Bible—meant essentially that the missionaries must have to develop and learn the indigenous languages of the people or train local people in English. In either way, the Bible must be read and understood by the people. So, many of the missionaries studied West African languages, and also translated the Bible and the Prayer Book in those languages.

The missionaries were later to build up a pattern of primary education at practically every missionary station. The schools had the common aim of propagating the ideals of Christianity and some of the basic doctrine of the particular denomination while teaching literacy and a little arithmetic.

The first question that arose was: What language were the children to be literate in? For most missionaries, the demand by the people themselves for English was decisive. Moreover, when the first mission schools were established at most of the large centres the majority of the missionaries had still to learn the local languages, which were being reduced to writing. Ajayi reveals that emigrant schoolmasters had themselves been brought up in English, which they saw as the language of commerce and civilization, and the road to success and advancement. The vernacular was seen as the language of religious instruction.

To further demonstrate the interest of the Christian missionaries in learning and developing Nigerian languages, Ajayi reports that when arrangements were being made for the Niger Expedition and a mission was planned for the model farm at Lokoja, the Rev. J.F. Schon was charged with the duty of training interpreters and himself learning the languages he considered most essential. He chose to study Hausa and Igbo. For the same purpose, Samuel Crowther intensified his study of Yoruba, his own language. The results of these studies were published in 1843. Crowther later took over the responsibility of studying the Igbo language when Schon concentrated his effort on Hausa. Following his numerous commitments, the Rev. J.C. Taylor, who volunteered for the Onitsha Mission, relieved Crowther in 1857. Taylor was born in Sierra Leone of Igbo parents who did not speak the same dialect of Igbo. When he arrived Onitsha he still had to preach through an interpreter but he quickly learnt enough Igbo for his missionary duties. He was later to be discouraged by the problem of dialectal variation in Igbo.

Although English may be said to have come into Igboland from 1857 following the expedition of 1857 and the establishment of a new mission station at Onitsha (the heart of Igboland), it was possible for the Igbo to have come in contact with English much earlier through Calabar, a neighbouring community which was dominated by English traders. When Hope Waddell arrived Calabar in 1846, he found a flourishing busy trade in palm oil, which had brought the town as much prosperity as in the period of slave trade. English was the only European language spoken by Calabar traders, perhaps as a result of the predominance of English traders. While Portuguese was fairly widely spoken in Lagos. Warri and Benin, English was used in Brass, Bonny and Calabar. In fact, in Calabar, the

19th century missionaries found people who were keeping regular accounts and dairy in Pidgin English, and might have been doing so for at least, half a century.

Unlike the missionaries who worked hard to study and develop the local Nigerian languages, a new breed of Nigerians emerged who ‘sought to establish close relations with the white man’ (Omolewa, p. 17). With the collapse of the initial strong resistance to the missionary influence and cultural imposition in Igboland as well as the ‘falling apart’ of the strong ties that held the Igbo society together, some Igbo people either joined the Missionaries or sent their children to work for the white man for obvious benefits. These Nigerians who embraced the new religion attended missionary schools, obtained treatment in the newly established dispensaries and health centres and found employment with the European establishments. At whatever capacity they were employed—as cooks, gardeners, stewards, interpreters, clerks, guards, teachers, etc. – they must be able to communicate with their white-employer. It is pertinent to note that these Africans were eager to learn the English language primarily because it guaranteed a paid employment for them, which was far preferred to the less rewarding but more tasking farm-work.

It was not only the domestic staff of the Europeans that needed to speak the English language. Many Nigerian chiefs and influential potentates also realized the need to be able to communicate with the white man who brought them expensive gills, household items and luxury goods. Omolewa (p. 18) observes that with the coming of imperialism, the chiefs began to recognise the need for communicating with the European rulers in English.

The Christian Missionary Society (C.M.S.) who arrived and settled in Onitsha in 1857 was the most important missionary group in Igboland. Apart from their evangelistic and educational aspects on the lives of the Igbo, they studied and developed the Igbo language and also encouraged the Igbo to produce literature. And as has been noted earlier by Emenyonu (1978: xiii), the most important contribution of the Christian missionaries was that they provided the Igbo with the tool for preserving their literature in writing, and thus helped decisively to bring about the emergence of written Igbo literature—whether in the Igbo language or in English.

2.2 The Role of the Colonial Administration

The initial contact of Africans with different trading partners was ‘restricted’ (Schmied, 1991:8) and so, only rudimentary knowledge of languages was necessary to ensure communication. The developing lingua franca for these early contacts incorporated features of the languages used in the early Portuguese merchant ships and was enriched by African and other European languages. As has further been noted by Schmied, the variety of English spoken by the British sailors and their African crewmen in those days was characterized by many non-standard forms. On the other hand, the missionary era introduced the teaching of Standard English to West Africa. The colonial era saw many mother-tongue speakers of English migrating to these areas.

Trade relations and missionary activities could be said to have been the remote causes of the implantation of English in Nigeria by providing opportunities for early contact between the Europeans and the Africans. But the most important factor in the implantation of English in the country is colonization. By the beginning of the 20th century,

the colonial administration had been effectively established in many African states. The colonizers imposed their system of government on the indigenous people of Nigeria and expectedly, the language of the colonial administration. The acceptance of the British leadership also meant the acceptance of the English language.

Before 1882, the British government did not participate directly in formal education. It was after this date that the government stepped in to establish guidelines for the organization of education and to emphasize the learning of English in schools. In 1897, for instance, one of the conditions the government laid down for giving grants to schools was the “effective learning and teaching of English language”. In 1887, the education ordinance of 1882 promulgated in Gold Coast (now Ghana) was made to apply to Nigeria. Following this development, special grants were given for the teaching of English language.

‘The colonial administration remained the single greatest carrier of English language and culture’ (Odumuh, 1987:10) and it was within this period that English became a second language in Nigeria. Odumuh observes further:

The language of the Colonial Administration (the Civil Service) was English. Not only did the administrators help to ‘spread’ English language using bureaucratese and officialese: but more importantly in their homes they again did in their interaction with domestic staff-guards, gardeners, stewards, etc. In India these were the nurturing places, which manufactured Butler English; in Nigeria they were responsible for the rise of Nigerian Pidgin, non-standard Nigerian English, and NigE (p. 11).

The colonial rule witnessed the emergence of several newspapers and periodicals in English. The amalgamation of 1914 also facilitated the adoption of English as a medium of communication in the vast colony.

The problems of dialectal variation of the Igbo language and the prolonged Igbo orthography controversy encouraged the Igbo to embrace English as a medium of correspondence and the language of literature. Official letters and communication were in English. Many Igbo writers (based in Onitsha) who would have written their creative works in Igbo opted instead to write them in English. Their ‘pamphlets’ and creativity have resulted in what has come to be known as Onitsha Market Literature. And as Obiechina (1971: 84) has pointed out:

The fact that this mass of home-produced literature is the work of people with relatively meagre formal education must have greatly encouraged the better educated and literarily-inclined Nigerians to go a step further than the popular writers and produce literature of a more elevated kind.

Many Igbo parents were proud to communicate with their children in non-standard English. Those who could not speak any form of English were happy to hear their children speak some English.

But perhaps the most important influence on the establishment of English in

Igboland is the application of colonial administration in Igboland. The application of colonial administration was different in Igboland from the way it was applied in Hausaland and Yorubaland. The Hausa and the Yoruba already had 'entrenched monarchical institutions' (Onyekiaonwu, 1986:129) which facilitated the adoption of Indirect Rule system by the British. But the Igbo administrative set-up was 'socially fragmented' (Afigbo, 1972:7) and 'politically disintegrated' (Green, 1947:3). To be able to implement the Indirect Rule system in Igboland, the colonial administration selected certain natives who they thought were traditional chiefs' (Afigbo, 1972:6) by virtue of their possession of some English language. Some other individuals who had acquired some Western education and could understand the English language were also recruited to serve as interpreters to the white man and as clerks in offices. The consequence of this was the rush for the acquisition of Western education by many Igbo people who then saw it as the key to power and opportunities. This rush to Western education and its consequences was vividly captured by Hair (1967:99) in the following way:

The Ibo experienced an upsurge of interest in literacy—but it was not a genuine and continuing interest in vernacular literacy. Ibo children, having been taught to read through vernacular primers, were hurried on by their parents to acquire, and to read English, the language of opportunity; in this way the Ibo gained a position of power in the colonial and post-colonial social and administrative order in Nigeria, but the Ibo language was neglected.

Engrossed in the excitement of Western education and its gains, many of these Igbo people relegated their language and culture to the background, and even developed some resentment for the study of Igbo language in schools. The direct consequence of this action was the proliferation of literature written in English in the late 1950s and 1960s. This era marked the beginning for the emergence of such Igbo writers as Ekwensi, Achebe, Nwapa, etc.

After the independence of India in 1947, the British began to realize that self-government would one day come to Africa. To further secure British political and economic influence, the colonial government started putting African colonies on the path towards modernization. In Nigeria, for instance, this modernizing programme brought developments, particularly in the areas of transportation, communication, 'extensive agricultural and industrial schemes and expansion of educational system' (Schmied, p.17). In the educational system, the new development policy saw the establishment of many secondary schools and a University College in Ibadan. Of special importance to us are the Government College Umuahia and the University College, Ibadan—two institutions through which many of the pioneer Igbo English writers passed.

What is important in all this is that the British policy of modernization was implemented through the medium of English. At this stage, English began to acquire enormous prestige as the language of modernization and the key to success.

3. The Sociolinguistic Situation in Igboland and Nigeria

It may be helpful to briefly state the linguistic situation in Nigeria before proceeding to describe the sociolinguistic situation. Several past studies have provided some insightful observations on the linguistic situation in Nigeria. For instance, Bamgbose (1992) notes that Nigerian languages are often grouped into ‘major languages’ and ‘minority languages’ based on such factors as number of speakers, status in education, acquisition as a second language, and availability as written materials. Major languages include Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, while minority languages comprise all other languages spoken in the country. Bamgbose has, however, pointed out the inadequacy of the dichotomy (major-minority) as applied to languages since some minority languages are more equal than others. For example, Efik is taught as a subject up to School Certificate level, while Fulfulde also enjoys a special status as a language spoken in several countries outside Nigeria, just as Hausa and Yoruba. While the major languages—Hausa (in the North), Igbo (in the East) and Yoruba (in the West) are used as *lingua francas* for regional communication, the minority languages are used for “local (often) rural communication” (Schmied, 1991:26) and are functionally marginalized to the “primary domains of life” (Webb, 1994:181), such as family and friends, local markets and domestic services, traditional social institutions and religion.

Apart from the indigenous languages, which are the mother tongues of Nigerians, there also exist non-indigenous languages. They include English, which has become a second language: Nigerian Pidgin, which derives from the contact between English and the indigenous languages: Classical Arabic, which is learnt by Muslims: and other foreign languages such as French, German, and Russian, which are taken as academic subjects at the secondary and tertiary levels of education. Although a population of not more than 20 per cent speaks English, the linguistic situation in Nigeria reveals the dominance of English in terms of spread, acceptance and its official role (Igboanusi, 1997:23).

English has continued to play many roles in Africa, and particularly in Nigeria, a former British colony. Here, it serves as the language of education, the language of administration at different levels, and the language of organized commerce and journalism. It is also the language of legislative debate and international assembly, the medium of literature, a means of communication between individuals from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. English lives alongside the Nigerian languages, interacts with them and adapts itself to the ‘new’ environment.

The official status of English, as stipulated in the constitution or other documents, determines the position of English in such a country. The language provisions for education in the National Policy on Education (NPE) and the 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which grant ‘official status’ to English, may have contributed immensely to the importance attached to the knowledge and use of English in Nigeria.

Whereas English is a *lingua franca* in Nigeria used in both national and international communication, Igbo (like Hausa and Yoruba) is also used as a *lingua franca* for regional communication. The Nigerian minority languages are used for ‘local (often rural) communication’ (Schmied, 1991:26).

It is difficult to state the exact number of Nigerians or Igbo people who speak

English, but this number has been put to between 12 and 20 per cent of the over 120 million Nigerians. What seems more obvious is to state that because many Igbo people are found outside Igboland as traders or workers, they are compelled to learn to speak some English, including non-standard English and Pidgin, to be able to communicate with their hosts and their immediate neighbours.

The educated Igbo are better placed to speak the Standard English. English is, in fact, taught as from the later part of primary education. And as from the secondary school to the university, all subjects, including, sometimes, the local languages such as Igbo are taught in English. With the constantly expanding educational systems in Nigeria and Igboland, there are more speakers of English among the younger ones than the older ones. The introduction of English teaching even in the kindergarten and early nursery schools is now enough attraction for parents to send their children to such schools. Ability to teach good or near-standard English is usually a parameter to determine a good school. Today, children are exposed to the English language early enough, but the falling standard of English performance in our schools is a proof that ability to use good English is not dependent on early exposure to English but on how well the language is taught.

In contrast to Schmied's (1991:30) observation that in Africa, schools' intake is often unbalanced between the sexes in favour of males, it is today the case in most of the Igbo states that while more females now attend schools to enhance their chance of getting good husbands, more males drop out of school and get into self-employment early in life for fear of unemployment after school. This trend is likely to place more number of females in a position to learn to use the Standard English because education is a major factor in the development of form and functions of English in Nigeria.

Closely related to the factor of education in the development of forms of English in Nigeria is religion. The South, which is Christian-dominated and more exposed to Western education has a larger number of speakers of different varieties of English than the Muslim-dominated North, which is often described as being 'educationally disadvantaged'. But in Igboland, religion plays no role in influencing the number of speakers of English because the population of Muslim Igbo is insignificant, and where they exist alongside Christians and traditional religion worshippers, this has not been found to affect the people's education.

English is more likely to spread in the urban areas than in the rural areas. Nigeria's urban centres attract a high concentration of educated people and educational institutions, which will likely have influence on the people's mode of social interaction. These urban centres, which offer greater employment opportunities and are associated with modernization, also attract people from other ethnic groups and foreigners alike. In contrast, the rural areas often inhabited by old and poor people and associated with backwardness, thrive in tradition. Rather than promote the English language, the rural dwellers in Igboland, for example, are closer to the centre of Igbo rhetorical devices and so tend to speak Igbo better than those in the urban areas.

Language use in Nigeria in general, and Igbo society in particular, is also dependent on such variables as the mode of discourse, audience, context and the topic. Much of written communication – literature, letter writing, minutes of meeting, invitation cards,

journalism, etc. – is done in English. The involvement of technical vocabulary requires that English be used in the hospitals, the law court and in the schools. In most churches in the urban areas, English is also used as the language of service while the sermon and a few announcements may be interpreted in Igbo. English is, however, rarely used in the contexts of traditional religious practices and family relationship. There may be a few exceptions where English becomes the language of communication within the family. Such cases may involve ethnically mixed couples or where parents see early exposure to English as an advantage to the children. Otherwise, family life and family meetings fall within the Igbo language domain because intimate family relationship is better expressed in Igbo. Family meetings are also seen as opportunity for socialization between the ‘wise’ elders (who feel more comfortable with the use of Igbo proverbs and other rhetorical devices) and the ‘learning’ youth who must succeed the elders.

English is the language in use in most formal situations in Nigeria, particularly in Igboland. Conversations among friends or colleagues may be done in either Igbo or English depending essentially on the topic and the context. While English has so far dominated the print media in Igboland, both English and Igbo are used in radio and television broadcasts. News is cast in one language and usually followed by a translation in the other language. Announcements, advertisement, discussions, plays, take place in English and Igbo. It is important to observe here that the situation, particularly in respect of the print media is interestingly different among the Hausa and the Yoruba, where the publication of newspapers and news magazines in mother tongue is on the steady increase. Among the Igbo, English is associated with sophistication and progress. Those Igbo people who can read newspapers written only in the Igbo language are shy to buy and read such newspapers, no matter the quality, price and information. It is often jocularly said that those who cannot read English often buy newspapers written in English and pretend to be able to read them even when the newspapers are turned upside down.

It must be pointed out that within the Igboland, the use of pidgin is not widespread because the Igbo society (like the Hausa and Yoruba societies) is ethnically homogeneous. Many Igbo people use English or Igbo. The use of pidgin in Nigeria is more popular in states that are ethnically heterogeneous, such as Edo, Delta, Rivers, Bayelsa, Cross Rivers and Akwa Ibom States. Apart from its popularity, particularly among lower ranks of the military and paramilitary forces, it is now used in radio and television broadcasts and in poetry and drama. However, the problem with Nigerian Pidgin lies in its image as ‘bad’ form of English and its inconsistent writing spelling (Elugbe & Omamor 1991, & Elugbe 1995). The heterogeneous states in Northern Nigeria use Hausa rather than pidgin as the common language. Pidgin is also popular in Abuja and Lagos because of their status as Nigerias Federal Capital Territory and the economic capital respectively. This position does not deny the fact that many Igbo people use and speak pidgin because of their contacts with other ethnic groups or because it is considered ‘fashionable’, particularly among university students and the youth.

4. Conclusion

This study has so far examined the history of the implantation of English in Igboland as well as the sociolinguistic factors that influence the use of English in Igboland in particular and Nigeria in general. The present study is motivated essentially by the premise that historical and sociolinguistic dimensions to the study of English in non-native situations will provide some insight into the functions and characters of World Englishes. English is the language of most important domains in Igboland. Even the strongest opponents of the role and function of English in Nigeria's language policies do encourage their relations and loved ones to embrace the language because of the benefits that follow the mastery of English.

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10. On the Use of Indigenous Languages for National Development in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects

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Introduction

Two preliminary remarks. First, the focus of the paper is on Nigeria and the debate that has frequently taken place on the use of indigenous languages as an instrument of national development. It is, however, taken that what is said about the linguistic situation in Nigeria is no less valid and relevant for its neighbours, such as Ghana, Benin, Togo, Sierra-Leon, Cote d’Ivoire, Liberia and indeed all sub-Saharan Africa, where foreign languages typically occupy the pre-eminent position of the official language of government and business.¹ In all these countries, the issues at stake are conceptualized, formulated and debated in virtually identical ways, whether in newspapers, academic conferences or government circles, and they centre around national development, political sovereignty and linguistic nationalism. Therefore, although Nigeria is the focus of the paper, it is taken that the case is generally representative of those in the various countries that make up sub-Saharan Africa and which are ultimately under consideration here.

And secondly, if the topic has a familiar ring about it, especially for Nigerian linguists, it is because the subject area has often been discussed in different contexts since the early days of Nigeria’s independence in 1960. It was a major point of discussion in the second session of the First Parliament of the House of Representatives (1961-1962), Das Gupta (1968), Bamgbose (1976, 1977 and 1982), Ikara (1982), Amayo (1985), Elugbe and Oyelaran (both in 1989), among many others, have all discussed matters that related to this subject, and have together produced overwhelming evidence to the effect that the development of our indigenous languages can contribute significantly to our overall national development. But it must be noted that the attitude of successive governments at the federal, state and local levels in Nigeria have not shifted markedly to show that they want to accord local languages the pride of place they deserve in our national development effort. For me, and I believe for all Nigerian linguists, and indeed for linguists from other countries where similar situations are reported, this means that we have to keep talking about this subject until such a time that there is a positive change in government policy.

Evidently, therefore, what we shall say here will bear strong reminiscences of ideas already adduced to combat official neglect of our languages. But, as linguists, we cannot afford to lay the old subject to rest until we have achieved our objective of creating awareness of the benefits of the use of our local languages in our national development. In addition, I hope to throw new light and make my own contribution to the debate.

National Development

One weakness that I have found to be common in many of the discussions on this issue in Nigeria and elsewhere is the low priority accorded to the meaning of *national development*.

Many contributors to the debate seem to take the definition for granted. But if we reflect deeply, we will see that our local languages have not been allowed to play their proper role in our development effort because of the prevalent ignorance of the true and complete meaning of *national development*. My argument is, therefore, that the appropriate starting point in discussing this subject-matter is the proper definition of the term *national development*.

Many government policy-makers and many people outside government as well tend to think that national development should be measured primarily in terms of gross national product (GNP). The United Nations appears to hold this view, as its 1985 Status Report on the emergency situation in Africa makes abundantly clear:

The severe drought conditions of the last few years have brought sharply into focus the long-standing, underlying and deteriorating social, economic and ecological conditions in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa which can best be described as a crisis in development. A large-scale ecological breakdown, a decline in food production, distribution and delivery, deficiencies and deterioration of basic infrastructures as well as the lack of essential inputs and services, had already brought millions of Africans to the brink of disaster. It was the successive years of drought which pushed many of them over the edge and into the famine emergency.²

But national development must mean much more than this. Elugbe (1989), one of the very few people to see the relevance of a clear definition, says (p. 14):

National development refers to the growth of a nation in terms of unity, education, economic well-being, mass participation in government, etc.

This list is by no means exhaustive, but it does indicate that national development covers a multiplicity of areas, each of which needs to grow in order to foster rounded national development. I would stress one important area that Elugbe's definition omits, i.e. cultural knowledge. In my view, a nation seeking development must possess a dynamic knowledge of its cultural identity in order to orientate its developmental efforts appropriately. This cultural knowledge is embedded in the constituent languages of the nation. It is evident, therefore, that the study and promotion of these languages are an essential ingredient in national development. It is in this light that Pike's *Talk, Thought and Thing*, 'the emic road toward conscious knowledge' deserves our proper attention.

Arguments in Favour of the Development of Indigenous Languages

Now, as I said earlier, a strong case for the development of local languages for national development has already been made over the years. Some of these arguments adduced can bear repetition because of the persistent need to make the case in favour of the massive development of local languages.

One argument that has been made by Bamgbose (op. cit) and others is that the

development of local languages is in line with existing government educational policy, indeed the National Policy on Education of 1977, amended in 1981, states that the language of instruction at the primary school level should be initially the child's mother tongue or the language of the immediate community. This will not happen unless the local languages are developed to fulfil that role, the aim of which is to give Nigerian children sound culturally-rooted education.

Another existing government educational policy is mass adult literacy. This policy has functional literacy as an adjunct. Because the success of this policy depends on the use of local languages as medium of instruction, it evidently makes sense for government to promote local languages.

It has also been argued that the multiple development of local languages eliminates the danger that is posed to national unity by the enforcement of one national language on the different ethnic groupings in the country. The reference here is to the fact that language choice is a highly emotive issue, and language imposition is now regarded as counter-productive and unacceptable in these days of democracy, equality of opportunity and cultural pluralism. It is interesting that in Nigeria, the various arguments that used to be put forward in favour of a single national language no longer carry so much weight. On the contrary, the current mood is to promote mass participation in government by the people and reaching out to the people by government through the use of local languages. In this way no group of people will be excluded from the development process. And more important, as Elugbe (1989:15) put it, 'nobody will think or feel that he is being left out' of the scheme of things. The argument is therefore that a policy of linguistic pluralism promotes national integration, which is one facet of national development.

To these arguments, I may add one of my own which I consider to be a major reason for linguistic pluralism. When people think, they do so essentially in the language they are most familiar with. For most Nigerians, the thinking process takes place in their first language (L_1), whichever that language may be. This is because thought involves memory, where words, concepts propositions and inferences with their cultural baggage are stored for processing as culturally acquired knowledge. Since language is part of that knowledge in the form of words and propositions, there is an important link between language, knowledge and thought. Consequently, the dominant language in which knowledge is processed is a crucial factor in the learning, thinking and expressing process, and grown-ups should not be expected, or made, to think and express themselves primarily in a language other than the one in which they have already acquired and stored their knowledge in the memory as children, that is, in their L_1 . It is clear that the operational language medium has grave implications for development capabilities for any society.

Problems

But linguistic pluralism does have serious problems, not only at the level of implementation, but also at the conceptual level. For instance, it is not universally agreed that linguistic pluralism can promote national integration. Indeed this idea is open to debate when one bears in mind the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, even in its diluted form. For I have sympathy with the view that our perception of reality is somehow coloured by the language

we speak, and that no two fundamentally divergent languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. As Sapir put it (1929:209):

The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.

In other words, different languages point their speakers in different directions. It is perhaps for this reason that many nations prefer mono-lingualism to multi-lingualism for their people. But as the case of Somalia has shown, language is not the only factor in the promotion of national integration (Amayo 1985; Elugbe, 1989).

But it is at the implementation stage that linguistic pluralism really faces grave problems. One such problem for Nigeria is the sheer cost of developing over 400 languages, in these times when resources are in short supply.

And it is not certain that those in authority are willing to abandon their limited understanding of national development for its more comprehensive meaning which includes the promotion of linguistic pluralism.

Furthermore, language policies take a long time to bear fruit. In the case of Nigeria, which has such a large number of languages, a policy of linguistic pluralism may take centuries to mature. Nigerian political leaders have so far not shown that level of far-sightedness or patience that a policy of this kind obviously requires.

Finally, developing an unwritten language to a state of viability requires a lot of work and dedication. It is my view that only a native speaker is well placed to do that job, and with the cooperation of his fellow-speakers. I am not sure how many languages in Nigeria can provide linguists for this assignment. The problem is a hard nut to crack.

Prospects

At a first glance, therefore, the prospects for a policy of linguistic pluralism in Nigeria and in plurilingual African countries are not bright, which would explain to some extent the failure we have so far recorded in tackling unwritten languages and the issue of national development.

In the past, the growth of languages as vehicles of consciously organized social communication was facilitated as much by its political promotion as by liturgical and theological promotion. Missionary promotion of languages was mainly confined to the creation of practical orthographies for use in translations of the Bible. The effort is continuing, although at a much slower pace than hitherto. Those missionaries who are involved in this work have better access to linguistic science, and their work, such as that of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, based in the U.S.A., is of very high quality. Their work in Nigeria is administered under the Bible Translation Trust at Jos. Their new strategy is to involve the language community in their translation projects, and to make the community feel as if the project is its own. An agreement has just been signed between the Yakurr Bible Translation Committee and the Bible Translation Trust at Jos to promote the translation of the Bible into Lokaa. A pastor was engaged as Translator some years ago with a small monthly stipend paid by a U.K. sponsor. Some discussion has been initiated

for the National Institute for Nigerian Languages to co-sponsor a workshop to train the pastor and a few more translators in Lokaa orthography, thereby bringing the work of the Bible Translation Trust under the linguistic expertise of the National Institute for Nigerian Languages. This is a good example of cooperation between the Nigerian government and a religious body interested in developing a Nigerian language. It is to be hoped that this kind of cooperation can be replicated in other parts of the country and in other countries of the region under consideration. There is the need to stress the joint responsibility of government and the community in this task of language development throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

The National Institute for Nigerian Languages is already doing a lot to promote local languages in Nigeria. But it cannot do it alone. We need to encourage speakers of different languages to take up the study of their own languages and to work to develop these languages to a point where they can be used as medium of instruction and tools for literature and for thinking and solving problems of modern technology. This is already being done for the three major Nigerian languages, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. There is no reason why speakers of smaller languages in Nigeria and other countries cannot similarly modernize and standardize their own languages for effective use in our modern society.

Of course, as we mentioned earlier, funding is a big problem, but as Kay Williamson has clearly demonstrated with the Rivers Readers Project, much can be achieved with little capital outlay (Williamson, 1976:135-153). The essential ingredient for success would appear to be dedication.

This is not to say that the present policy of government of limited investment in language development is the correct one. In view of the potential contribution of indigenous languages to national development, making money available for work on local languages is a prudent and farsighted policy. Language is at the heart of human activity, and no investment, however, huge can be said to be excessive.

Proposals

Before I conclude, I would like to put forward a number of proposals designed to promote indigenous languages for national development.

First, I would suggest that the Federal Government of Nigeria and the governments of other countries in the region should provide and maintain facilities, equipment and personnel, for the study of indigenous languages in all colleges of education. Zonal colleges of education should be set up with facilities for studying the specific languages of each zone. The government should assist these colleges to maintain their facilities for language learning and analysis. Zonal colleges of education assisted by linguistic institutions, such as university departments of Linguistics, – in Nigeria, the National Institute for Nigerian Languages and the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Centre (NERDC), – should form core centres for the study of local languages and for training teachers to handle them. A situation where a college of education, such as the Cross River State College of Education, has no functioning Department of Nigerian languages is really unacceptable. In my view, it is the Colleges of Education that should be encouraged to play their proper role in the educational scheme of the countries under

review.

One of the anxieties of university linguistic students is that there seems to be very little for them to do at the completion of their course. I know that linguistics graduates are not the only category of people for whom job prospects are bleak in Africa today. But restricting the use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction to the first few years of primary school, as does the National Policy on Education in Nigeria and elsewhere is not exactly encouraging linguistic studies of local languages. I propose, therefore, that as a first step, the mother tongue be used as medium of instruction beyond the first few years to cover the whole of primary education. The general impression from the Ife Six-Year Primary Project is that the use of Yoruba as medium of instruction throughout the six years of primary school resulted in a better educational, cultural, psychological and social foundation for the children (Afolayan 1976:113-134). Indeed such an extension of the use of indigenous languages is likely to have a positive impact on the students of these languages and it would boost the morale of all those concerned by this field of study. It would also strengthen the cultural base of the children before they leave primary school.

My last proposal has to do with the mass literacy campaign on offer in several countries of the region. The outfit should be better financed to cover many more languages in each country. In Nigeria, the Agency for Adult and Non-formal Education with an Executive Director in each State should be encouraged to do more than it is doing at the moment. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is assisting these agencies, but the loans it provides are rarely used entirely for literacy. And some, if not most, of the Directors of these agencies are civil servants who are usually armstrung by bureaucratic principles. A lot can be achieved if the right sort of personnel are recruited to cover this assignment. In the Local Government set-up in Nigeria, the supervisors should be encouraged to take up linguistics and to apply their new knowledge in their adult literacy work. The Mass Literacy Campaign slogan "Each One Teach One" (EOTO) has not really caught on. Perhaps a change of personnel and an injection of funds might do the trick. My own feeling is that in the case of Nigeria, a shake-up of the Agency for Adult and Non- Formal Education is required right now.

Conclusion

My position in this paper is that language pluralism benefits national development in many ways, in strengthening the cultural identity of the nation, in consolidating the spirit of national integration, in promoting a sounder education for all learners, and above all in facilitating the thought process of the people. Given these advantages, surely, no investment can be said to be too much for developing our local languages. I, therefore, urge the Government of Nigeria and the governments of sub-Saharan Africa to play their part in promoting indigenous languages in the interest of national development.

Notes

1. Florence Doiphyne's 'Note on the English language in Ghana' gives a good summary of the fate of indigenous languages in Ghana. The account paints a picture that is very much like the linguistic situation in Nigeria and other countries of the region.
2. Status Report on the Emergency Situation in Africa as of 1 October 1985 (New York, United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa), p. 3 quoted by Kwamong, 1992:35.

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11. On the Socio-cultural Dimension of Language Use: Evidence from Efik

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This paper examines the role of language in some cultural practices and social settings among the Efik people of southern Cross River State, from a sociolinguistic perspective. It describes the style and features of these socially specialised uses of the Efik language, in an attempt to show the interplay of language, culture and society, which are inextricably interwoven. The paper discovers that apart from performing its communicative functions in any society, language also plays an indispensable role in expressing, sustaining, preserving and promoting our cultural values, religion, native law, worldview and social order.

1. Introduction

Sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society (Hudson 1980). It studies the interaction between language and the society; including the nature, functions, and scope of language use within the social context. Akindele and Adegbite (1999:4) view sociolinguistics as the relationship that exists between language and languages and the culture and tradition of a particular society. This interaction is mutually dependent given the social, informative, educative and other essential functions of language in the society. The relationship between language and society is vividly captured by Sapir in Wardhaugh (1989:212):

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in a world of social activity as ordinarily understood but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society....

The society owns language and sets out socially established norms, which are employed in discourse. Apart from intuitively acquiring grammatical competence, members of every linguistic community know, though implicitly, the cultural rules in relation to the social uses of language. This is referred to as pragmatic competence. Among the Efik people of southern Cross River State, language in all its forms (verbally and non-verbally) is put into different uses within the social milieu; it provides a medium for discourse, reflects the status and identity of speakers and forms a vital aspect of the sociocultural behaviour which in turn forms part of the society's value system and patterned way of life shared by the people. Such language uses are clearly evident in phatic communion, oral traditions like lyrical poetry (ùtó), praise poems (àsè) and proverbs (nké) among others, and in traditional cultural practices like the pouring of libation (úduòk mmìn), sacred writing

(nsìbìdì), oration (útàná èkpìd) and so on. In what follows, we will examine the sociolinguistic import of some of these socio-cultural uses of the Efik language.

2. Language use in Phatic Communion

The term 'phatic communion' is used to refer to the expression of politeness and courtesy in our social relationship with others. Malinowsky in Crystal (1987:11) describes it as an important social function of language, which merely signals good relationship and friendship, and where silence would be interpreted as discourtesy. In Efik, phatic communion is mainly subsumed in greetings, which represent a vital linguistic behaviour and constitute an essential aspect of the norms of the society. Many variables such as age, sex, relationship and social standing influence the direction of greetings, which merely involves the application of stereotyped linguistic expressions, which the culture adopts to meet certain social demands and needs. Crystal (1987:40) maintains that the social setting of the conversation, its subject matter and the history of contact between the participants may affect the choice of the short utterances that typify greetings. The physical positioning and the social distance between the participants are other factors that come into play in the greeting pattern of the Efik people.

Greeting is a verbal cum cultural behaviour, and is passed down from one generation to another through a process of socialization. Its pattern is shared by the people, not through a formal process of learning, but as a matter of unwritten laid down convention. Nanda (1984:67) affirms this position *inter alia*:

The difficulty in seeing the importance of learning in human behaviour is that much of what is learned is not consciously taught or are we consciously aware of learning it. Culturally distinct ways of thinking, behaving, feeling and responding become habitual very early in life.

In other words, greeting as an individual and social possession is culturally transmitted.

Efik greetings take two main forms: verbally (by the use of short utterances) and non-verbally (through gestures and paralanguages such as handshake embrace, waving and so on). Efik greetings can be classified into two broad categories: time-related and occasion related greetings. Time-related greetings are those that function in relation to the time of the day:

- | | | |
|---------------|---|-----------------|
| 1(a) Émèsìèré | – | 'Good morning'. |
| (b) Esierè | – | 'Good night'. |

The form of greeting in 1(a) extends from dawn to midday, and is said once to a particular person. It forms the opening statement of any conversation or discourse, and does not naturally require any handshake or embrace, except where the participants have not seen each other for sometime. 1(b) covers the dusk to midnight. It may optionally be accompanied by handshakes or embrace, and is usually appropriate on a parting note. The response to these time-related greeting pattern is merely the addition of the form *ńdè* 'also'

to the original form:

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---------------------|
| 2(a) Émèsièré ndé | – | ‘Good morning also’ |
| (b) Esierè ndé | – | ‘Good night also’. |

Occasion-related greetings are those that are employed in the event of joyful or sorrowful occasions like success in examinations, marriage, buying a property, illness, bereavement or business failure. The following forms of greetings can be used to console one that is undergoing or had undergone a sorrowful experience:

- | | | |
|---------------|---|--------------|
| 3(a) sòn ésit | – | ‘Take heart’ |
| (b) Inhí-inhí | – | ‘Sorry’ |

There is no generally agreed format of greetings in showing appreciation or gratitude. The structure can be any of the following:

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 4(a) Amánám tùtè | – | ‘You have done so well’ |
| (b) Amánám ákáhá | – | ‘You have done very much’ |
| (c) Sósón étí-etí | – | ‘Thank you very much’ |

It may be accompanied with handshakes or embrace, but typically, do not require any form of response. However, the recipient may decide to reply in this way:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------|
| (5) Ékóm ényénè Àbàsi | – | ‘Thanks be to God’. |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------|

The Efik society sees greetings as a mark of respect, an expression of politeness and a way of showing consideration for others. It is also a form of class superiority, and failure to exchange it, particularly among relations, neighbours, friends and the rest, is a sure sign of bearing grudge against one another. This could be interpreted as a mark of ill breeding. It is antithetical, and the culture abhors it. On the whole, language provides the basic tool, which the society explores to carry out this social responsibility.

3. Oral Literary Tradition

Revd. Hugu Goldie developed the orthography of the Efik language in 1862. In his monumental work *A Dictionary of the Efik language* the first dictionary to be compiled in a Nigerian language (Ward 1933). Prior to this period, literary heritage in the language was mostly sustained and transmitted from generation to generation orally, and executed in the forms of proverbs, story telling, poetry, and so on. In the following analysis, we consider the nature of language use in each of these genres:

3.1 Proverbs (Nke)

These are pithy saying condensing the wisdom of experience, adage, and maxim. They are forms of literary expression of the people as they make observations about the practical

experience of life. In Efik, just as in many other cultures, they may be used to advise, warn, teach, admonish, mock or intimidate. They constitute an important ingredient of language use within the socio-cultural framework. The language of Efik proverbs is usually short, unreserved and emphasizing hard facts or home truth. The vocabulary is nourishing, colourful and vivid, and the use of figurative expressions is common:

- (6) Ubók ótúk èdèm, èdèm ótúk úbók – ‘The hand washes the back, and the back washes the hand’

is an alliteration emphasizing the need for teamwork as the hallmark for unity given the combined benefits. Efik proverbs have different shades of meaning: philosophical, literary and contextual. At the philosophical level of meaning, the meaning of the resultant proverb is not related to the meaning of the individual words. In other words, the meaning is said to be opaque:

- (7) Kúbára íkán ùtièné ntè úruk-íkòt ónióndé – ‘Do not reinforce the fire based on the length of the snake’.

implies that one should not react to situations, take actions, or pass judgments sequel to the gravity of others’ offences or misgivings.

The literary meaning is accentuated when the meaning of the individual words determine the meaning of the resultant proverb. In other words, the meaning is transparent, that is, it is brought out exactly the same way the proverb is expressed:

- (8) Odún úfòk ìbà ímùmké inó – ‘One who lives in two houses cannot apprehend a thief’

The contextual meaning is one that is found in the context of situation. For instance, we can distinguish the different meanings of *unen* ‘fowl’ base on the context of its usage in the interpretation of the following proverbs:

- (9)(a) Ikim ísónké únèn ítókké – ‘Urine is not difficult to pass but the fowl cannot accomplish it’.

- (b) Sé ítódé ké ífĩa únèn óyókòn – ‘Whatever (insect or pest) comes out of firewood must be consumed by the fowl’

In 9(a), the fowl represents mankind, who encounters seemingly easy tasks that pose insurmountable challenges, and in 9(b), the fowl symbolizes the society (family, school, church, etc.), which seeks to overcome personal acts, which go beyond the limit of good behaviour, or humanity.

On the whole, proverbs are important accompaniment of language. They serve as tools for cultural integration by bringing out deeper meaning than what is actually heard. The effectiveness of proverbs in performing these roles totally depends on language.

3.2 Folktale (Ekon-nke)

Story-telling as an oral literary genre, is a way of life of the Efik people, and forms part of the social value of the society. The tortoise is generally regarded as the wisest character in Efik traditional folktale, and it employs various intrigues in its language to outwit, suppress, humiliate or defeat other characters in spite of its slow movement and physical disability. The success of the story depends largely on the ability of the narrator to manouver language effectively, and intelligently in order to bring out the didactic implications of each story. Children constitute a larger proportion of the audience, and the aim of these stories is to educate and entertain, in an attempt to strengthen their intelligent quotient, as well as directing positively their daily endeavours.

The narration technique employs rich imagination, in the form of picturesque to sustain the audience interest from the beginning to the end of the story. The event, scene and characters (which may be human, animal or a mixture of human and animal), and dates are unknown. The narration follows logically, and the plot is usually built and developed around the personality of the protagonist. Sometimes it justifies the origin of some animals, places names or events. Every story is typically punctuated with elements of song or chant, which may be danced round by a proportion of the audience. Every story begins and ends with a call by the narrator, and response by the audience (opening and closing formulae):

10(a) Call:	Ékòn nké-e-e	-----	Story! Story!
(b) Response:	Ñké ékòn àbàsi	-----	Story!

According to Akpagu (2000:54),

The purpose of the preliminary formula is to provide transition from the everyday world in which the audience is situated into the fantasy world of tales into which they are to be plunged. It announces a shift from the factual world to the fictional experience about to be evoked by the narrator.

In addition, the opening formula is a formal courtesy by the narrator, which draws everyone's attention and evokes an air of calmness. It is re-echoed mid-way into the narration to obtain fuller attention and concentration, and also ensures audience participation.

3.3 Traditional Praise poetry (Ase)

This type of poetry is specifically used to praise someone for achieving an eventful feat. Occasions that warrant the need for *ase* include the coronation of Obong (an Efik king), conferment of chieftaincy titles, appointment or election to a political office, distinguished awards and honours among others. This poem is rendered in the form of call and response:

the soloist (usually a female) recites the lines, a brass gong is sounded and the company chorused *ase-o* in response, as a sort of a period. The language of *ase* is laudatory, lucid and musical:

Nkpó àmá òdòt ówó, èyàk ènó
 èyàk idáhá ndèm ènò
 Éyò èmà
 ètém íkòt ké ósúnkú úmònkò
 etè ìmò ítémké ñndèm édinàm ìmò nsò?
 Kp-----oooooooo-----mmmmmm (A sound of a gong)
 Asé---o

If one deserves a feat let's reward him
 Let's confer our founding ancestor
 with the title of the priest of the deity
 He who clears the bush at Osunku Umonko
 if he does not clear it what will the deity do to him?

This poem celebrates the achievements of one of the Efik founding fathers, Eyo Ema. It extols his prowess, might and brevity, which are appreciated by the present generation. The significance of *ase* is to make reference to the past achievements of the ancestors, and to identify with the phenomenal background of the Efik origin, relating the ancient deities, history, ancestors and families to the present. *Ase* may also be used to announce publicly the death of an *Obong*.

Another type of traditional poem that is popular among the Efik is *Uto*. It may be used to praise someone's achievement (panegyric), attack certain behaviours or practices in the society (satire), or even create awareness among members of the public, in explaining government policies and programmes such as political education, social orientation, healthcare information and so on. Unlike *ase*, it does not require a company to chorus any response. An orator who may be male or female usually recites it. The language of *uto* is short, simple and with a lot of syntactic constraints:

Atim Ndisi ùkó érènwò
 Òdúk íkòt ènyé òwòt ékpè ibà
 owóro mmón ènyé ásáná yè òfiòm
 àdá òfiòm únàm mmòn ódók Ébùrùtù
 òfiòm únàm mmòn ósió mkpó
 Ètè ké éyén Atim ówòt ìmò. (Cf. Amaku 1951)

Atim Ndisi a man of courage
 if he enters the forest he kills two lions
 if he comes from a river he brings a crocodile
 and takes the crocodile to Efik land

The crocodile screams and acknowledge
that the son of Atim has killed him.

This poem appreciates the virtue of courage as the hallmark of manhood, given the society's belief that a man ought to be brave and strong to provide security for his family, cultivate large farmlands and engage in vigorous communal activities like the construction of roads, maintenance of streams and so on. Women usually recite such poems to their husbands to invigorate them while undergoing any strenuous task. In other words, it serves as a tonic to increase efficiency and productivity during manual labour.

4. Language use in traditional cultural practices

Language transmits the essential pattern of knowledge, belief behaviour and social structure in varying degrees and in certain types of situations or companies. In Efik, cultural institutions, ceremonies and related components depend largely on language performance and behaviour. In the following analyses, we will consider some of these cultural elements:

4.1 Nsibìdì

This is a form of sacred communication by means of gestural codes, which cannot be interpreted without formal instruction. It involves the use of the hands in a conscious verbal manner to express the same range of meaning as would be achieved in speech (Crystal 1987:220). During the 15th and 16th centuries, the *nsibidi* script was used in recording epithet on tombstone, court proceedings and for recording ritual ceremonies and in painting. Today, it is more restricted in function, as an integral component of an initiation cult (Ekpe society). It is a form of communication among the *Ekpe* initiates. It serves to integrate and to foster loyalty, solidarity and togetherness, as well as keeping non-initiate from finding out what is going on. A knowledge of *nsibidi* is a yardstick for measuring one's level of advancement and social standing in the *Ekpe* cult. Hence, a mark of class distinction among the members of the group. The higher one's ability to interpret the signs of *nsibidi*, the greater respect he commands from the members of the group. The language of *nsibidi* is manifested in signs, which employ the use of the hands and other bodily expressions to communicate complex conceptions, in the form of puzzles that need to be interpreted or unravelled by a rival group or individual through the same conscious manipulation of the hands and other bodily postures. The signs are expressive, mimic, symbolic, technical and highly coded, for example, the hand may be gesticulated to symbolize snake; head drop and head upright position may be used to express certain kind of sentiments or bias, and hand gestures can also be used to externalize certain feelings and needs among others.

4.2 Pouring of Libation (úduòk mmìn)

In most formal ceremonies in Efik land such as traditional marriages, reconciliation meetings, dedicating a new house, or property among others, the culture demands the pouring of libation, in which case, the ancestors are requested to mediate with the God to

grant success and peace. Aye (2000:160) argues that the Efik people are not ancestor-worshippers, but in their cosmology, the ancestors are petitioned to mediate between the people and *Etinyin Abasi* or *Akwa Abasi Ibom* (the supreme God). To the Efik man, good harvest, journey mercies, success, good health and wealth can only be guaranteed by *Etinyin Abasi*.

The language of libation combines clarity and conciseness with elegance and vigour. The initiator of the libation (usually an elderly man) with a glass of a spirit in one hand recites some prayers, which are spiced with proverbs. The style is simplified and the formulation ethical, following laid down norms. Short sentences are preferred, and simple everyday expressions used. The prayer is uttered in two sections: an unpleasant presentation is made for the wicked ancestors who may not be in support of the event or occasion that warranted the gathering. God (*Akwa Abasi Ibom*) is pleaded to use his power to harm such people, make them suffer hardship and misfortune. Here, the drink is poured to the supposed evil ancestors (on to the ground) with a left hand. Conversely, *Akwa Abasi Ibom* is requested to bless and prosper everyone that sanctions the reason for the gathering, and meant well for the occasion and to grant peace while it lasted. The right hand is used here to pour the drink to the right-minded ancestors, after which the initiator drinks the remnant in the glass, to prove to the ancestors that the drink was not poisonous.

4.3 Oration (útàná èkpíd)

During the display (*nyóró*) of certain masquerades (like *Ekpè*, *Nnùk*, *Ibó* etc), one member of the group (usually a male) holds a pair of rattle (*èkpíd*), a hourglass-shaped instrument made up of wood with two little pieces of wood tagged on to produce a rattle effect when it is shaken (Akpabot 1986:15). The orator faces the masquerade, shaking the rattle and chanting, to add rhythmic colour to its dance movement and to inspire it to develop an appropriate emotive state of mind, and create the right psychological atmosphere for *nyóró*. The following are simple echoes:

Nkéd èmèdè ídáp úsèn úbòk édèrì
 Idem ánàm mì ntè mmìn úkàbàdisuá
 mmà bàn ékpè mmà bàn òbòn
 nká bàn ékpè ké Usàkèdèt
 ébàt itá ndièn ébàt inàn
 ókpón íbùot éyèn ábíák ekà ùmàn

I woke up on a sunday morning
 I felt intoxicated by Christmas wine
 I'm Ekpe initiate I'm Obon initiate
 I was initiated into Ekpe at Usakedet
 We count three before four is counted
 A big headed baby gives the mother painful labour

The language of *ekpid* is highly artistic, musical and full of proverbs and metaphors. There may be no logical relationships between sentences, as some are merely chained together as

they flow into the orator's mind. The chant functions to strengthen the masquerade or increase its creativity and activity while displaying. The rattle may also be used in timing the movement or steps of the masquerade.

Another instance of cultural significance of language use can be found among the *Ekpři Akata* or *Akata* group. This is a special kind of cult that makes its appearance only in the dead of the night between November and January. Akpabot (1986:17) believes that it is used for purely ritual purposes, and as instrument for social control. Members of the cult are usually subjected to an initiation process that involves the taking of oaths. Through the instrumentality of *akata*, evil deeds like having illicit affairs with another person's wife, or husband are exposed, and this group also reports major gossips and scandals in town. A flutelike instrument is used by the narrator to feign his voice to avoid being dictated. This is more so, because *Akata* purports to be a spirit that sees and knows everyone's secret actions or inactions. Hence, its voice is not that of a man. The language of *akata* is usually fierce and most times very blunt and confrontational. It employs the use of taboo expressions and proverbs. Elements of ritual utterances, myths and songs are other prominent features of the *Akata* performance. It is a taboo for non-initiates and women to see the face of *akata* on display.

5. Conclusion

Language is a product of the mind that gives meaning to every human enterprise, be it social, cultural, religious, educational or political. In Efikland, it provides a channel for the preservation of the values of traditional Efik life, which have metamorphosed from old foundation of society to face the test of the new times, and still remain relevant in a fast changing world. The types of language use in cultural and social settings are registers, and cover a wide range of activities. Through these registers, a unique form of identity is recognized and the social and cultural orientations of the people are better understood and appreciated. In all these, language stands out as a veritable channel for the expression of the peoples' traditional culture, therefore, it should be cultivated, nurtured and nourished to continually project these values.

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12. Varieties of the Leggbo Language: A Preliminary Report

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The Leggbo language is an *Upper Cross* language spoken by the Aggbo community of Cross River State of Nigeria. It has six varieties – Letatama, Lebamma, Lekuleku, Lemmabana, Leyigha and Lenyima. Linguistic classifications have consistently excluded Leyigha and Lenyima from the Leggbo language, as they are listed as separate languages (Faraclas 1989, Crozier/Blench 1992). The aim of this paper is to present preliminary evidence to show that Leyigha and Lenyima are varieties of Leggbo. Comparative data is presented and reconstructed. There are obvious segmental resemblances, which point towards regular correspondences and close relationships.

1. Background

1.1 The Aggbo People

The Aggbo people live midway along the *Cross River* basin in the Cross River State of Nigeria. They are surrounded on the south by the Bahumono¹ and Yakurr people, on the east by the Mbembe and on the north and west by the Ibos of Ebonyi and Imo States. They form a homogeneous clan which speaks a homogeneous language inhabiting the towns Itigidi, Adadama, Ekureku, Immabana, Assigha and Inyima. Although four of these towns are in Abi Local Government Area (L.G.A), two of them are in Yakurr L.G.A.

They are non-Igbo-speaking people who for many years were under Afikpo division. Oral tradition has it that these people originally lived near the southern bank of The Benue with Tiv neighbours. They were driven out by the Tiv who dominated the area and they thereafter migrated to their present settlement after many stops. Most of the villages, originally twelve in number were lost along the way.

They have been a minority group for centuries, with the Tivs first and with the Ibos. With the 1976 Local Government Reform, many new L.G.As were created in Nigeria, with a view to bringing development nearer to the grassroots. They have felt the effect of the many political reforms in the country. With the creation of so many L.G.As, the Aggbo people were not left out in the splitting up of homogeneous communities that such political exercises create. Some Aggbo towns like Inyima and Assigha still form a minority in Yakurr L.G.A. which is a largely homogeneous Lokə-speaking L.G.A, while Itigidi, Adadama, Ekureku and Immabana are in Abi L.G.A.

Abi is an acronym for the communities Aggbo, Bahomuno and Immabana. One might wonder why Immabana is represented as a separate entity here. *Iggbo-Immabana* is another name for *Immabana*. Among the *Aggbo* communities, Immabana and Ekureku have the word *Iggbo-* attached to their names. *Iggbo* refers to the land or town, *Aggbo* refers to the people, while *Eggbo* refers to one person. If *Iggbo* should form part of the name for this town, then it is surprising that this Aggbo community should be represented

separately, and it does not make much sense to separate Imbabana from Aggbo in the ABI acronym. However, this separation may be for political convenience. Imbabana is on the other side of the Cross River, but although it is on the same side with Bahumono, it is separated by many Yakurr towns.

While bearing in mind some of these political complications, we will like to point out here that there is no dispute regarding the choice of the language under consideration here. Our position is that Lenyima and Leyigha should not be listed as separate languages, and we present preliminary data in support of this position. The apparent division created by political sub-divisions in this case is neither linguistically nor sociologically significant.

The Aggbo people live in fairly compact villages of between five hundred to a thousand people. Two or more of such villages can adjoin as some kind of township, with smaller settlements scattered loosely around them. The villages are made up of varying sizes of compounds and the communities traditionally lived real communal lives with common bathing streams, toilets, playgrounds, farmlands, yam barns, etc. With modernisation, this tradition has changed as families now build compounds with a lot of grounds for a garden behind and space for other private facilities.

The primary occupation in these communities is farming. Yams, rice, cassava, palm products are the main staple food, and they constitute the cash crops. Garry making from cassava is a local industry.

The Efik language was the main trade language, but now, English (the official language in Nigeria) is used as the language for education and business, while the Nigerian Pidgin is very popular among the youths. As a homogeneous community, the Leggbo language is commonly used in the community.

In this paper, we attempt to throw more light on the varieties of Leggbo. Using segment similarities/semantic likeness and reconstruction from the core lexicon, we initiate the process of establishing that Leyigha and Lenyima may be varieties of Leggbo. This is part of a larger work geared towards providing some evidence for the internal re-grouping of the Upper Cross languages.

2.1 The Leggbo Language

The Leggbo language is the language spoken by the Aggbo people living in parts of Abi and Yakurr L.G.As of Cross River State of Nigeria. It is in close contact with many other Upper Cross languages like Bahumono (spoken in Ediba – Abi LGA), Lokə (spoken in Ugep – Yakurr LGA) and Mbembe (spoken in Obubra – Obubra LGA). Some varieties are also in close contact with Igbo, like the Letatama and Lekuleku in Adadama and Ekureku who live near the Igbos of Ebonyi State.

2. Classification

Previous classifications have been consistent in classifying Leggbo as an Upper Cross language. Faraclas (1989) classifies it as an East West, Central language of the Upper Cross group. It is listed under Mbembe (U12) as (U13) with Leyigha (U14) and Lenyirna (U15) as its varieties (p384). However, in the inventory, Letatama and Lebammal are listed as the major dialects while Lenyima has neither an estimated number of speakers nor major

dialects. In fact, Leyigha and Lenyima are suspected to be under (U9) i.e. Lokə.

Crozier/Blench (1992) appears to be the latest classification of the languages in this group. It classifies Leggbo, Leyigha, Lenyima as separate languages under East-West, Central of the Upper Cross Group Central, under Delta-Cross of the Benue-Congo family.

These attempts at the classification of Leggbo indicates a very hazy picture deriving from lack of inputs from the field to help update revisions. Faraclas' listing of Letatama and Lebammal as the major dialects of Leggbo is correct, for these two terms are both the Leggbo names for the dialects spoken in Adadama and Itigidi respectively. Leyigha and Lenyima of course have no major dialects because they are themselves dialects of Leggbo. The suspicion that Leyigha and Lenyima could be grouped under Lokə could have arisen from the political and geographical facts that they are on the same side of the Cross River as the Yakurr people who speak Lokə, and are currently in Yakurr L.G.A. on the eastern bank of the Cross River. They form a minority group here where Lokə dominates as a *lingua franca*, to a point of almost assimilating Leggbo in this environment.

Crozier/Blench's 1992 classification appears to have been based on Faraclas and previous works which have not been updated for a long time.

2.3 Previous Works on Leggbo language

The Leggbo language has not enjoyed much scholarship. Spreda/Sprede 1966 is a phonological description of the language. It has a proposed orthography and presents a comparative wordlists in four dialects spoken in Ekureku, Immabana, Adadama and Itigidi. This work also excluded data from Lenyima and Leyigha. It is an interim work with a lot of loose ends.

Bendor-Samuel/Sprede 1969 treats the fortis and lenis prosody of the present continuous verb in the language. This is the first report of the fortis/lenis contrast in Leggbo. Both works erroneously refer to Aggbo which is actually the name of the people who speak the Leggbo language.

Ekpa (1983) is a preliminary Bachelor of Arts Project of a description of Leggbo phonology. Besides these few works, there is very little work on the language.

3.1 The Varieties

The Leggbo language has six varieties spoken in six major villages which have assumed the status of towns with the creation of the Abi L.G.A. These varieties are named after the towns where they are spoken. However, some of these towns have different Leggbo names from the names others call them. For instance, Itigidi is known by the Aggbo people as Ibam, and Adadama Gheta. All the varieties have the prefix *le-*² attached to the names of the towns to indicate the language.

Lebamma refers to the variety spoken in Ibam. While Ibam is the Leggbo name for the town, its official name is Itigidi. Itigidi is the capital of Abi L.G.A. It is derived from Ibam, the Leggbo name for the town, and the people from this town are known as Abamma, i.e. people from Ibam. The word *ibam* is derived from the verb *bamma* which means 'settle'. Oral tradition has it that the people who lived in this town were quite restless, and they had to be admonished by the others in the group at some point to try and

settle down where they now inhabit.

Letatama refers to the variety spoken in Ghetā i.e. Adadama. Adadama is in Abi L.G.A. It is derived from Eta or Ghetā, which is the Leggbo name for the town. (Gh)eta is an adjective which means ‘old’, ‘big’, ‘original’, something that exists as first’. This is apparent in words such as (gh)etakkpon (literally ‘big mountain’) meaning ‘world’, (gh)etawadum meaning ‘old man’, (gh)etame meaning ‘aging’, etc. Although the history of this tribe is not our focus here, this etymological information is worthy of note. The people from this town are referred to as Atatama, and Etatama refers to one person.

Lekuleku refers to the variety spoken in Ekuleku i.e. Ekureku. Ekuleku is also in Abi L.G.A. It is derived from Ekuleku, the Leggbo name for Ekureku. The people from Ekuleku are called Akuleku, and Ekuleku for singular.

Lemmabana refers to the variety spoken in Immabana i.e. Iggbo-Immabana. Iggbo-Immabana is in Abi L.G.A. It is derived from Immabana, which is incidentally both the Leggbo name and other people’s name for them. The people from Immabana are called Ammabana, and Emmabana refers to one person. Even though this is an Aggbo town, it is on the other side of the Cross River, very close to Ekorī, a Yakurr town.

Lenyima refers to the variety spoken in Inyima i.e. Inyima. Inyima is in Yakurr L.G.A. It is derived from Inyima, and the people from here are called Anyima, and Enyima is the singular form.

Leyigha refers to the variety spoken in Assigha i.e. Assigha. Although they are Aggbo-speaking, they are, like the Assigha, in Yakurr L.G.A. The people, like the language are called Assigha, and one person is called Essigha.

All of these varieties are highly mutually intelligible and their relationship is neither in doubt nor in dispute. If we stick strictly to Leggbo linguistic data we will classify them as dialect clusters. But linguistic matters are often tied down to ethnic matters which have a lot of political undertones. With the creation of Yakurr L.G.A, it would appear that the varieties spoken in Inyima and Assigha are Lokə because these towns are in Yakurr L.G.A; but they are not. Their co-existence with Lokə-speaking people naturally makes these Aggbo communities to speak Lokə fluently, as Lokə is the lingua franca in the area. By virtue of contact with Lokə and Mbembe in the south and south-east, the Leggbo varieties on this side of the Cross River, viz, Lemmabana, Lenyima and Leyigha are gradually setting more divergent from their counterparts on the other side of the river, Lebamma, Letatama and Lekuleku. Even on this other side, the north and north-west, the Ekureku are more in contact with the Igbos with whom they also share a common boundary, and their variety is also getting more divergent because of this contact.

However, these communities do not need an interpreter to communicate with each other. In fact, as I was collecting the data, my discussion with each of the groups was done in Leggbo.

3.2 Varieties of Leggbo and their distribution

The six towns presented here make up the Aggbo towns. Each town is made up pockets of villages closely knit together. In some cases, a few villages are far away from what may be regarded as some kind of ‘township’. All of such villages that make up one town speak a

common variety. The details of the villages and their distribution is given in the table below.

S/No.	Varieties	Towns		Villages	Number of Speakers'	L.G.A.
		Leggbo name	Official name			
1	Lebamma	Ibam	Itigidi	Levachel Lekpochel Ikkamina Aggba Emin Ebbo	8,628	Abi
2	Letatama	Gheta	Adadama	Ekkpo Ivonne Ettani Imina Ibalebbo Eminkwo Isonginyang Ibendda	7495	Abi
3	Lekuleku	Ekuleku	Iggbo-Ekureku	Ittigheve Emmin Ekkpon Akpoha Ekureku-Be Akarafor Akara-Ezeke Ezeke-Anong Mbalake-Anong Likpo-Anong Anon-Letafor Egboronyi Ngarabe Agara-Ekureku	21,592	Abi
4	Lemmabana ⁴	Immabana	Iggbo-Immabana	Ikpalegwa Mboti Itakano Iggbo-Lehagha Ebo		Abi
5	Lenyima	Inyima	Inyima	Inyima Ekpenti		Yakurr
6	Leyigha	Assigha	Assigha	Letafong Afrekpe		Yakurr

4. The Data

The data in 4.1 were collected from the speakers of the different varieties of Leggbo. Twenty lexical items were used and each speaker gave his dialect's version of the gloss presented in English. These items were made up of some numbers and core vocabulary. The lexical items were compared and proto-forms reconstructed. These proto-forms were then compared with the versions of the two varieties in question.

Our aim is basically to formally begin to establish that these varieties are dialects, especially Lenyima and Leyigha which have consistently been listed as separate languages from Leggbo (Faraclas 1989, Crozier/Blench 1992). The segmental resemblances in these

data point towards correspondences whose regularly is currently being investigated. The results of this investigation will be presented at a later date.

4.1	1	2	3	4	5
	one	two	three	four	five
Lebamma	wòní	àfóŋ	àtàn	ànáŋ	àtʃén
Letatama	wòní	àfóŋ	àtán	ànáŋ	àzén
Lemmabana	wòní	àfò	àtá	ànà	àtʃén
Leyigha	wòné	àfòŋ/mfòŋ	àtàn	ànàŋ	àsén
Lenyima	wòné	àfòŋ	àtá	ànà	àsé
Lekuleku	wòní	àfò	àtá	ànà	àté
PL	*wòní	*àfóŋ	*àtán	*ànàŋ	*àsén
	6	7	8	9	10
	six	seven	eight	nine	ten
Lebamma	àtʃén à wòní	àtʃé àfóŋ	àtʃé àtán	àtʃé ànáŋ	zó
Letatama	àzén à wòní	àzé àfóŋ	àzé àtán	àzé ànáŋ	zó
Lemmabana	àtén à wòní	àté káfóŋ	àté katán	àté kánáŋ	zò
Leyigha	àsén à ní	àsén àfóŋ	àsén àtá	àsén àná	dʒó
Lenyima	àsén à wòní	àsé àfóŋ	àsén àtá	àsén àná	zó
Lekuleku	àtén à wòní	àtén àfò	lènàŋàlànà	èmòbòsò	zò
PL	*àsén à wòní	àsén káfóŋ	àsén kàtàn	àsén kánáŋ	*zò
	11	12	13	14	15
	head	mouth	eye	leg	stomach
Lebamma	lètól	èmà	dèn	gèvè	lívól
Letatama	lètól	èmà	dèn	gèvè	lívól
Lemmabana	lètól	èmà	dè	gèvè	kèhó
Leyigha	lètól	èmà	dʒèn	dòfè	ífó
Lenyima	lètó	èmà	dè	géfè	lífól
Lekuleku	lètò	èmà	dè	kèw ^h è	kèhó
PL	*lètól	*èmà	*dèn	*gèvè	*lífól
	16	17	18	19	20
	hand	finger	teeth	car	nose
Lebamma	gèvò	nònóŋ	lèsàl	gítón	ñzún
Letatama	gèbò	nònóŋ	lèsàl	lító	ñzún
Lemmabana	kèbó	ènònò	lèza	kètó	nhú
Leyigha	gèbó	nònò	àgà	lítóŋ	wũ
Lenyima	gòbó	ènònóŋ	téha	lító	ñwũ
Lekuleku	kèbó	ènònó	lèsà	kètò	nhu
PL	*gèbó	*ènònòŋ	*lèsàl	*lítóŋ	*ñwún

The data show striking phonological similarities between the varieties. Lexically, some words are exactly the same as in 4.1(8). Majority of other lexical items however are almost the same with differences only in one or two segments as in 4.1(1, 10, 12). Deletion seems to have accounted for most of the variations as segment loss especially in initial and final positions appears widespread as in 4.1(2, 4, 7, 13, 16) etc. The compounding mode shown in the counting pattern is the same in all the varieties (see 4.1(6-9)). Apart from Lekuleku whose items 4.1(8, 9) are totally different, all others are very alike.

There are obvious correspondences like:

4.2	t : tʃ : s : z	as in 4.1(5, 6, 7)
	d : dʒ	as in 4.1(13)
	g : d : k	as in 4.1(14, 16)
	l : k	as in 4.1(15)
	s : z : g : h	as in 4.1(18) etc.

The regularity of these correspondences cannot be tested on the data which is quite inadequate for such a test. However, the results will be presented at a later date as has been mentioned.

5. Comparison with the Proto-forms

One way of recovering a ‘common source’ is reconstruction, based on consistent similarities. The comparative technique is best used to reconstruct aspects of a proto-language already understood to be related. On the basis of this assumption and evidence of the data, we reconstructed in 4.1 the proto-forms of the Leggbo data based on regular segmental phonological resemblances. The assumption here is that we have captured the relics, as it were, of the original Leggbo language. In 5.1 and 5.2, we present the comparison of the Proto-Leggbo (PL) forms with both Leyigha and Lenyima versions.

5.1	1	2	3	4	5
Leyigha	wònè	àfɔ̃ŋ/mfɔ̃n	àtàn	ànàŋ	àsèn
PL	*wòní	*àfɔ̃ŋ	*átán	*ànàŋ	*àsén
	6	7	8	9	10
Leyigha	àsén à ní	àsén àfɔ̃ŋ	àsén àtà	àsén ànà	dʒó
PL	*àsén à wòní	àsén kàfɔ̃ŋ	àsén kàtàn	àsén kànàŋ	*zó
	11	12	13	14	15
Leyigha	lètól	èmà	dʒèn	dɔ̃fɛ	ífó
PL	*lètól	*èmà	*dèn	*gɛvɛ	*lífól
	16	17	18	19	20
Leyigha	gèbó	nònò	àgà	lītóŋ	wũ
PL	*gèbó	*ènònòŋ	*lèsàl	*lītón	*ñwúŋ

The Leyigha versions are very similar to the Leggbo proto-forms. Of all twenty lexical items, only one appears really different from the proto-form, (5.1(18)). Most of them are exactly the same segmentally, as in 5.1(2, 4, 11, 12, 16). Even when there are slight variations, such variations border on the deletion of the final or initial consonants, as in 5.1(8, 15, 17, 20). There are also variations in the tones, as in 5.1(2).

5.2	1	2	3	4	5
Lenyima	wònè	àfòŋ	àtá	ànà	àsé
PL	*wòní	*áfóŋ	*átán	*ànàŋ	*àsén
	6	7	8	9	10
Lenyima	àsén à wòní	àsé àfòŋ	àsén àtá	àsén ànà	zó
PL	*àsén à wòní	àsén kàfóŋ	àsén kàtàn	àsén kànàŋ	*zó
	11	12	13	14	15
Lenyima	lètó	èmà	dè	géfè	lifól
PL	*lètól	*èmà	*dèn	*gèvè	*lifól
	16	17	18	19	20
Lenyima	gòbó	ènònóŋ	téhà	lító	ñwũ
PL	*gèbó	*ènònòŋ	*lèsàl	*lítóŋ	*ñwúŋ

The Lenyima versions also vary along similar lines as Leyigha. Again 5.2(18) is the only item whose form differs from the PL. Deletion of final consonants also accounts for most of the variations between the Lenyima versions and the PL forms, as in 5.2(3, 4, 5, 11, 13, 19, 20).

On the basis of the evidence from the data we can tentatively make two claims:

1. Leyigha and Lenyima may be so close that they should not be classified as two separate languages.
2. Leyigha and Lenyima may be so close to Leggbo that they should be classified as dialects of Leggbo.

6. Conclusion

Examination of the data shows striking resemblances between the six varieties under investigation. They may indeed be closely related versions of one parent language. The correspondences between them show variations only along closely related parameters. For instance, with regard to the consonants, the differences centre around voicing, place of articulation and loss of some of the segments in certain environments, particularly in initial and final positions. Segment by segment similarity and semantic likeness as mentioned earlier are pointers to regular correspondences. Although similarity is not enough proof for cognacy, it strongly suggests that there may be true and regular correspondences.

More importantly, the reconstructed Leggbo proto-forms are very similar to the Leyigha and Lenyima versions. If we follow the assumptions that reconstructed forms are relics of an earlier version, then these two varieties are very closely related to Leggbo.

The variations that exist however, do not hamper intelligibility and speakers of these varieties have no problem with the name of the language they speak, which is Leggbo. Therefore, Leyigha, Lenyima, Lekuleku, Lemmabana, Letatama and Lebamma should be tentatively classified as dialects of Leggbo.

Notes

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¹ *Bahumono* here refers to the ethnic group/language which has been erroneously, but consistently referred to as *Kohumono* in the literature. It is the Anglicised form of *Ohomono*. *Akomolo* (i.e. the people), and *Ekomolo* (i.e. the towns, specifically Ediba or a native), are actually only Leggbo names for these people and their language.

² This prefix marks languages. It is also attached to other surrounding towns to indicate the languages these communities speak. For instance, *Lememe* refers to *Lokə*, spoken in Ime (Ugep); *Lekoli* refers to the variety of *Lokə* spoken in Ekoli (Ekori), *Lekomolo* refers to the *Bahumono* language spoken in *Ekomolo* (Ediba), etc.

³ These figures are taken from the 1996 projection of the 1991 census figures published by the National Population Commission of Cross River State of Nigeria.

⁴ There were no population figures for Imabana, Inyima and Asigha. However, a rough estimate would put the population of all the Agbo communities at about 60,000.

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13. Towards Language Planning for Poverty Alleviation

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Introduction

We may begin this discussion by accepting the proposition that the point in the history and development of a society at which a certain issue begins to attract public attention, to generate debate and to promote a search for resolution (if it is a conflictual issue) is the point of awareness of the problems such as is made possible by the development of concepts and terminology to grasp the nature of the particular phenomenon. Thus, in the immediate instance of this paper, we consider that disparities in fortunes between man and man had always existed in societies but were not of concern until, let us agree, the English language in its semantic sub-component; categorized people in society as ‘the rich’ and ‘the poor’. But the rich are not focus in this paper for, first, they are usually a minority in every society through a powerful segment and second, we may assume that they have no personal problems. It is also possible for some to see them as not constituting obstacles to the development of the society. The poor however are the scum, the dreg of the society as individuals and a drawback on the development of their entire society.

The study of the wealth of a nation or the poverty of its people is a matter for the economist or the sociologist; how does it become the concern of the linguist as the linguist? In answer, we may quickly and briefly identify two broad orientations in linguistics, the structuralist (from its earliest beginning to the now much venerated Chomskian linguistics) and sociolinguistics including sociology of language. The matter announced in the title of this paper will only hopefully be tangentially linguistic to the structuralist, but from the perspective of linguistics as a social science, a science that is socially responsive (in many dimensions of social responsiveness) the issue to be addressed in the paper will make our discipline more relevant to the development of our society.

Studies in Poverty

Two studies separated in time (about 25 years) and space (Nigeria, America) serve as the motivation for this paper. Early in 1995 two colleagues, an Agricultural Economist and a Human Nutritionist, approached this writer to help with the translation, into Yoruba, of first, a questionnaire which sought people’s perspectives on the nature of poverty in Nigeria (its causes and perceived solutions to its alleviation) and later; the findings.² It was a project initiated and funded by ETC, ODA and the World Bank. The report (No. 14733 UN) titled **Nigeria, Poverty in the Midst of Plenty: The Challenge of Growth with Inclusion, A World Bank Poverty Assessment** was published in May, 1996.

In the typical terminology of economic surveys, the report descriptively (and with hard statistics) presents the profile of poverty in Nigeria in GNP, GDP, per capita in indices. It depicts poverty in a broad context where regional disparities and sociological

factors combining with differential impact of economic and social policies have accentuated poverty in different areas of the country.

Cardinal among the factors which cause and identify poverty is education, especially its quality which for the poverty segment of the society poor, in content and on account of its inaccessibility to the poor. Asking 'who is poor' the report (p.ix) defines the poor saying

Poverty in Nigeria, in addition to its overwhelmingly rural and regional characteristics, is also strongly influence by education, age, and the nature of employment... (The children) and their parents consider that the quality of education (particularly in rural areas) is very weak and that the prospect of education increasing employment prospects is minimal.³

Most of the children therefore spend more time out of the school learning traditional vocations or engaging in petty merchandise to make ends meet. Even when those who have attended school with some regularity are tested, the performances show that "they have learnt little and are generally not interested in school" (p.xi). The views of the parents were also sought. Their responses indicated widespread dissatisfaction with the quality of education, and they would not be motivated to send their children to school unless they can see that their children and their families would benefit from the schooling.

In describing priorities for improving education (p. 110) the report prescribes as minimum that

The basic routine operations of the school must be maintained. This requires that qualified teachers attend school at the specified hours, that they be paid regularly and on time, that dilapidated school facilities be rehabilitated and that school supplies including textbooks and other instructional materials be made available.

The items in the prescription are essential for meaningful education but notice that the minimum here stated does not (a) directly address the curriculum, not (what the linguist and the language educator would consider of great importance), (b) the medium of instruction as catalyst in the acquisition of the desired quality of education. If the professional educationists were consulted (which we doubt) certainly the expertise of the linguist was not sought, nor the role of language in education considered. But so much for the Nigerian study; it is hoped that the concluding view expressed here has indicated the direction this paper will explore.

The American study was undertaken by the Institute for Research on Poverty of the University of Wisconsin. The establishment of the Institute was pursuant to the provisions of the Economic opportunity Act of 1964. The Institute undertook a project, a type all subdisciplines in language and education in Nigeria might consider for replication, if we were so burdened, to translate knowledge gained through research on language and language education into bases for policy making in attacking the problem of poverty which is so starkly pandemic in our society.

The Poverty Cycle

Basil Bernstein's Deficit Hypothesis

Sociologists of language are familiar with the works of Basil Bernstein, a Sociologist of Education whose postulation of the Deficit Hypothesis dominated sociolinguistic circles in Britain in the mid-1960s. To state it briefly, Bernstein postulated two codes, each respectively a product and usage of children from different sociological or socialization process pedigree. The Elaborated Code is typical of the person-oriented, consultative middle class homes. It is a discourse – or thought processing code (therefore relatively slowly delivered), code with flexible and expansive syntax featuring clausal embeddings and rich innovative lexis, all of which facilitate explicit communication and therefore more effective. It thus facilitates successful learning and delivery of subject contents, say in examinations. The child born into the middle class, having so acquired this code, is endowed with the linguistic asset to make a success of schooling and to enter into high income employment; and as it were, into an inherited wealthy middle class membership.

The Restricted Code, on the other hand, features in the poor regulatory working class families. It is a discourse or thought-processed code, predictable 'public' language, fast delivered, with stilted clichés, fossilized vocabulary and simple syntactic structures, often preponderantly using the didactics and simple demonstratives, all of which produce implicit meaning and impedes learning and effective communication.

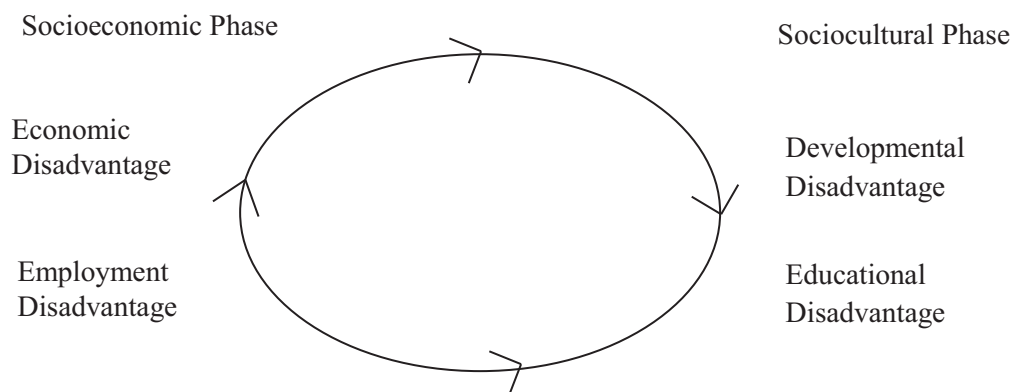
Bernstein relates his hypothesis to socialization and especially to educability. The acquirer and user of the Elaborated Code is easily educable to enter the class of wealthy successful people. The acquirer and user of the Restricted Code enters the work life at a deficit. The code he acquired is deficient for education. The multiplier affect of this is that he is not only most likely to be poor but that his poor linguistic background might perpetuate poverty in his family.

The Poverty Cycle

Frederick Williams (1971: 1-9) has modelled the Poverty Cycle in a way that resembles Bernstein's Deficit Hypothesis. He situates the boundaries of personal fortunes in life in the subcultures into which an individual is born or in which he finds himself. Says he

Individuals in a poverty group can be defined by their common socioeconomic problems, and these, in turn, are typically associated with an equally common range of sociocultural features – ways of life, education, attitudes, desires, and above all, language and the ways of using it. Much of the attention given to the sociocultural aspects of poverty which are often linked as parts of an overall *poverty cycle* (see figure). In this cycle, the old and familiar, and less euphemistic, label of being poor is at the point which we now usually call being *economically disadvantaged*. This simple picture is broadened slightly, and a first part of the cycle recognized, when the causes of economic disadvantage are sought in some type of employment disadvantage. Backtracking from this point in the cycle was one of the key marks of the War on poverty. Just as employment disadvantages underlay economic disadvantages, it was reasoned that educational disadvantages

underlay those of employment. And when causes for educational disadvantage were explored, speculation led to a kind of developmental disadvantage associated with being reared in a home suffering from economic disadvantage. Thus a cycle was fully defined – one which seemed logical and replete with interventional implications.



(Poverty Cycle; Frederick Williams, p. 2).

Language deficiency is at the root of the poverty cycle. It underlies Educational Disadvantage and from there the vicious poverty cycle is completed, and perpetrated.

The Language Difference Position

As Williams however realizes, language deficit or deficiency is only one account of ineducability; there is also language or dialect difference which could equally be responsible if we would extend and relate economic disadvantage to cultural disadvantage, a subcomponent of which is language difference. Briefly stated, it is that certain children are unable to derive maximum benefit from the school system because the medium of instruction is different from their home language in which they have ambience and versatility. This viewpoint has been argued severally in works by Cazden (1966), Steward (1971) and in several language variation studies by Labov (1971) and Shuy (1971) in their urban language studies. The issue may be described as part of the politics of medium of instruction in the school system. In America the controversy surrounds the stigma on Black English Vernacular (BEV). For instance Labov argues and admonishes that BEV be not seen subjectively as substandard English but simply as nonstandard. It is a variety of English, different from the standard but equally effective and appropriate in certain contexts. So, rather than stigmatize it as a linguistic form inadmissible in the school system and hence a cause of poor educational performance and subsequently the cause of economic disadvantage among its black American users, BEV should be recognized as a variety at par with the standard variety.

The next section will deal with what language planning designs can be explored to break the poverty cycle. The language deficiency hypothesis suggests

that the child is linguistically not ready for school. He is in that regard handicapped and cannot benefit from school instruction unless his deficiency is remedied. The language difference concept posits in contrast that it is the school that is not ready for the child by adopting as medium of instruction, a language in which the child has no or not much competence. Where then does the language planner come in?

Language Planning for breaking the Poverty Cycle

If not before, certainly since the appearance of Joan Rubin and Bjorn H. Jernudd (1971), linguists have become familiar with goals of language planning as stated in what has become its standard definition (p.xvi), i.e. that of bringing deliberate change(s) into language structure and use. The same definition has been subjected to rigorous critiques with regards to the procedures in its design, for instance, the sequencing of planning and implementation activities, and the extent to which this 'received' or as described by Bamgbose (1982) this canonical model can, with promptitude meet the communication needs of a developing multilingual society (see also Omamor 1994). The quick observation to make here is that hitherto to most of the scholarship on language planning has concentrated more model building, on macro theoretical issues such as the national language question, the roles of indigenous and foreign languages, etc. Only some have managed to relate the design of language policies and language activities to the personal fortunes of individuals in a polity. In line with the direction being suggested here, it is useful to consider an alternative perspective on language planning.

Bjorn Jernudd (1982:1-3) proposes language correction as the goal of language planning. The language correction perspective asks "what communication problems or what kinds of trouble... or inadequacy... are perceived in language use?" Jernudd applies the correction framework to the entire society and thus deals globally, quite rightly of course, with issues of language choice, script choice, with language treatment issues much as the provision of primers, spellers, dictionaries, etc.

Neustupny (1984:1-4) includes the concept of language correction in his paradigm for language planning. According to him, the correction model makes it possible to integrate "language planning with grammatical linguistics" as it focuses on features of language structure which for certain reasons need to be corrected, for instance, by simplifying the structure to facilitate its learning. We will say that where deficiency in a particular language is the problem with a child user, such deliberate structural simplification and other language elaboration or development activities is a step in the direction of ultimate poverty alleviation.

In general what ideologues of language planning have not done or not adequately addressed is how language policy and planning activities affect the fortunes of individuals in the society. In this writer's view the concept of language planning as language correction should be explored in an individual's repertoire to discover wherein the troubles, the problems or the inadequacies are and to design remediation measures to make effective learning and communication less difficult for him and thus lift him out of the low income or poverty category. The question of what such measures should be in specific terms is

beyond what the linguist alone, qua linguist, can resolve. It is a language planning concern for interdisciplinary collaboration requiring the expertise of the structural linguist, the sociolinguist, the psycholinguist and the language education. For instance, communication disorder may feature in a child and be put down as language problem or deficiency, but it is a type of disorder or deficiency located somewhere within the functioning or acquisitional sequence of the child's communication behaviour (Yoder 1971:401). The disorder may be in speech (articulation, stuttering) or hearing (ranging from slight loss of hearing acuity to profound deafness), etc. A disadvantaged child inflicted with such disorder if not remediated remains infantile into his adulthood; he therefore cannot benefit profitably from the school system. Yoder (p. 409) quoting Raph (1967) puts it as follows:

Disadvantaged children's pronunciation and articulation, vocabulary, sentence length and use of grammatical and syntactic structures resemble the language of privileged children of a younger age level. Such children lack the language facility required to do independent thinking and problem-solving. Unless new strategies of intervention are introduced at an early age, this gap in ability to manipulate symbols is seldom narrowed sufficiently to enable many of these children to succeed in school. We then see that language correction for a child in this category calls for the expertise of speech clinicians in their different specialization to collaborate with designers of language treatment.

Language Planning with regard to Language Differences

Language policy to take care of language differences have come a long way in our country. The thrust of language policy having sociolinguistically accepted the communicative parity of all languages within their respective culture, has been to adopt the child's mother tongue as the ideal medium of instruction for meaningful education. Two famous experiments in Nigeria have established the validity of this position, the Rivers Reading Project and the Ife Six Primary Project (in Yoruba). The design and objectives of the projects are in consonance with the policy statement in Nigeria's National Policy statement in Nigeria's National Policy on Education as regard the medium of instruction in primary education. The adoption of the findings of those experiments and the implementation of the national policy have however not been total, even when ready-made instructional materials were made available.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to describe a sociological phenomenon in our society, poverty. It is not normally a subject of concern for linguists but its root cause has in part been traced to low quality education which in turn has been traced to a child's deficient or different language. It is therefore to be hoped that linguists would begin to see their discipline as relevant to poverty alleviation and respond appropriately through language policy and language formulation for which the discipline best suits them. It has not ever been difficult to get the conventional social scientists (economists, sociologists, political scientists and now human nutritionists and agricultural economists to take up research in poverty and

other social issues, and to do so often with handsome material advantage to themselves beyond being just research for intellectual development only; but not linguists. As this writer has argued elsewhere (Adeniran, 1990) linguistics is and must be showed as a social science that is responsive to the aspirations and needs of the people from whom it derives data.⁵ In this regard, that joke related by Professor Bamgbose in his 1973 inaugural lecture together with his observation on it is a good one to end:

Suppose a Minister reporting to his constituency were to say ‘Last year, the Government spent £2000 on the Yoruba verb’. Would this have earned him the gratitude of his people? Would they not have preferred the money to be spent on roads or electricity?

The question of relevance, therefore, becomes important especially in respect of the non-technological disciplines such as linguistics. The discipline has been relevant especially in the areas of language teaching and the remediation of speech impairment, but in a developing country, its application can profitably be more diversified.

Notes

1. For the relationship but also the distinction between sociolinguistics and sociology of language, see Adeniran (1994) and especially, Trudgill (1979).
2. The translators acknowledge the token honorarium paid for the exercise. More importantly, I am grateful to Professors Jim Akinwumi and Olaolu Akinyele of the University of Ibadan for making available to me summaries of the reports their team submitted to the ODA and the World Bank.
3. The same frustration stated in different terms is also on p. 110.
4. This section has relied more heavily on some of the papers in Williams (1971).
5. I found in either the 1948 or 1949 calendar of the University College, Ibadan, that Linguistics was originally intended to be undertaken in the Faculty of the Social Sciences.

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14. Dialect Communities & Language Vitality

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1. Introduction

Emenanjo (2002:3) in a recent paper on language policies and cultural Identities demands that “Language policies must be democratic enough to accommodate all cultural diversities, all linguistic varieties and all repertoires identified in any nation”. He proposes “Egalitarian Multilingualism” as a solution to linguistic diversities by which he endorses a policy of integration rather than assimilation in the spirit of the new world democratic order and respect for the linguistic rights of persons and communities, predicated on the symbiotic relationship between language and culture.

In this paper, we provide an extension of the tenets of “Egalitarian Multilingualism” unto dialectology by which we propose “Dialect Vitality”, as a democratic solution to dialect conflicts, using the dialect conflicts in Igbo as a case study. It is assumed, in line with Emenanjo (2002), that the norm is neither monolingualism nor monoculturism but multilingualism and multiculturism or cultural and political pluralism; and that as there is a symbiotic relationship between human language and culture so is there between (sub) languages or dialects and subcultures; and whatever affects a language and its culture(s) also affects its varieties (dialects) and its subcultures. Thus, dialects, like languages, are peoples’ heritage. The main concern of the “Dialect Vitality Option” is for the dialects and the people who speak them as well as the (sub) cultures they express. The purpose is to preserve the linguistic rights of people, stem conflicts, loss of language or dialect and cultures by suggesting sociolinguistic justice which encapsulates balanced language planning and radical socio-political actions. By this, we hope to achieve people, integration (even) in dialect diversity. Although the focus on dialects is uncommon in political linguistics, it is none the less intriguing to investigate inter-dialectal and subcultural levels as we undertake to do in this work.

2. The Igbo Dialect Conflict: An Overview

The multidialectal Igbo language has numerous linguistic groups which are all-time restive and calling for serious attention, integration and empowerment. Indicators to this follow below. First, I recall a hot debate in which we were engrossed during the recent Ogbalu Foundation Seminar held at the University of Nigeria in June 2002. It was about the adequacy or otherwise of the present Igbo official orthography. Dr. B.M Mba who sat close to me grumbled aloud. “My dialect is not represented” by which he lent his opinion to the inadequacy of the orthography. Others complained of the inability of the orthography to enable preservation of records in some dialects vis-à-vis others. In another development, Dr. M.K.C. Uwajeh (personal communication) recounted the trauma’ one of his uncles went through while trying to learn Igbo (Standard Igbo) to enable him to earn a pass in a certificate examination. They speak a variety of western Igbo and feel the learning of the

standard variety was little short of learning another language. Generally, students from that dialect background tend to shy from studying Igbo in schools for similar reasons.

Ogbo (1984:103) articulates a bitter plight which is presented below: “We have to admit that in and outside the schools, the Central Igbo language is a foreign language to all Igbos west of the River Niger, and in the old Onitsha, Awka and Udi districts. To all students of these areas the Central Igbo is a cruel imposition...”. With all its emotions, however, the foregoing represents an undue exaggeration as it seems implicit with unintelligibility, but Emenanjo (1995) reports a high degree of intelligibility among the various dialects. All the same, the need for sociolinguistic justice remains and cannot be anymore over sighted as these cases show.

In an angry criticism against Emenanjo’s review of *Aka Weta*, Achebe (1984:94) refers to standard Igbo as a “straitjacket”, and as an “instrument of torture” for poets who write; and concludes that the “tragedy of Igbo is to have been saddled one generation after another with egoistic school men who have been concerned not to study the language but to steer it into tracks of their particular pet illusion. That, and not dialects, has been at the heart of our long black out”. This represents both a resentment for language planning efforts and for the outcome of such in Igbo land, the standard dialect. Such dissatisfaction with language planning efforts prevailed against the language development for more than 70 years (cf. Uwalaka, 2001) as it centred around the prejudices and preferences for one orthography system over another and crippled the development of Igbo and creative works and publications in the language (see also Onwuejeogwu, 2002). Most passionate, perhaps, is the submission of the Late Professor Armstrong (in Uwalaka, 2002) as he noted that writing Olu, Owerri and Ohuhu in Onitsha sound systems suggested by the Catholic orthography may be regarded as an abstraction and such would hamper the writing of literature and poetry as most poetic subtleties would be lost.

In the spirit of democracy, two facts stand clear among others; these include:

- (i) that dialect loyalty is real, hence the outcries, and
- (ii) that dialect communities and (their) elites are restive about perceived deprivations or exclusion

Thus, we can no longer gloss over the feelings of (fellow) citizens who have strong emotional attachments to the dialects they speak. Dialects, like languages, are as we see a people’s heritage and instruments for the expression of (sub) cultures as well as markers of self-image and group identity (cf. Emenanjo, 2002). We should therefore recognize the negative feelings against Central Igbo or its successor(s), the feelings of oppression or complaints of imposition, among others, and try to address them with democratic solutions. Moreover, since some dialect communities feel oppressed by those who seem to have some advantage via the development of Standard Igbo, it implies that such are left with no choice but to lose pride and shift from their ancestral dialects. Such lack of pride in a speakers dialectal heritage may lead to linguistic attrition and/or amount to loss of speakers’ general linguistic heritage, and loss of linguistic diversity at a high rate across human society (see Mufwene, 2002). A recognition for social-political and linguistic

independence is an imperative in the new world democracy, especially as such issues were crucial to the breakup of the federated units of USSR. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (cf. Emenanjo, 2002) and the cruel massacre of East Timorese by Indonesian army (Lutz I t5). The “Dialect Vitality” option. We suggest here, promises to provide the needed citizens personal and collective linguistic rights, among others.

3. Previous Experiments

The earliest attempt at Igbo literacy was the Conception of protestant missionaries and the Igbo ex-slaves resettled in Sierra-Leone. Their effort led to the emergence of the Isuama Igbo, an Igbo-based pidgin which was rather foreign to the Igbo homeland and was therefore rejected.

Next was an attempt to create an Igbo variety that may command wide acceptance, the Union Igbo, which tried to build a synthesis, as it were, of noncontiguous Bonny, Owere, Onitsha, Arochukwu and Unwana dialects. Again this multi-dialect amalgam created by the protestant mission with its base at Egbu (Owere) failed to resolve the dialect .diversity problem in Igboland as it was said to be an Esperanto of a sort (cf. Achebe 1972, cited in Uwalaka 2001; Capo 1990), even though it survives in the protestant Bible and liturgy now as a religious register, and very much intelligible to its user-community (see Uwalaka 2001).

The quest to evolve a ‘pan-Igbo’ dialect or a standard Igbo dialect was pursued by Ida Ward and others who adopted the Central Igbo dialect: that is, the dialect(s) of the area geographically central to the Igbo nation. It represented implicitly an attempt at resolving the dialect conflicts by adopting the variants which seemed naturally evolving to become a pan-Igbo dialect(s), to serve literacy needs, among others. This attempt seemed particularly more promising because both the Northern and the border dialects show much more affinity to the Central dialects than to Onitsha dialect which was the only possible rival, being promoted by the Roman Mission which had settled at Onitsha by the 19th century. This dialect, had the advantage of dispensing with (the notion of) dialect abstractions or creation of artificial dialects to evolve a standard dialect.

The greatest opposition to the central Igbo experiment came from the Roman Mission which adopted Onitsha dialect; and the fact that the Onitsha variety was phonologically less complex than the central dialect gave it more advantage as it was easier to deal with the Onitsha dialect than the Central dialect. But as Armstrong (cited in Uwalaka 2001) argues, having to write Olu, Owerre, and Ohuhu dialects in the much simplified Onitsha dialect would result in much ambiguity and loss of poetic subtleties. While, as Uwalaka (2001) observes, a study of the central dialects may amount to the study of Onitsha dialect the reverse is not true.

Thus, the central Igbo solution failed to receive wide acceptance as shown in the orthography dispute between the protestant and the Roman Missions which lasted till the introduction of the Onwu orthography by the then government of Eastern Nigeria in 1961. By this, the standard Igbo was being given a footing. Following its development, the evolving standard Igbo no longer belongs to a given dialect community as its Onitsha-based phonology and central Igbo lexicalization has been enriched from different dialects

and loans from English as well as metalanguage development from the Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC).

The evolving standard and its wide use in publications since the sixties notwithstanding, dialect suspicion and conflicts with associated complaints of oppression, imposition or marginalization yet linger among dialect communities and elites who have remained restive as a result. This is already illustrated in section two in the debates of last year (2002) as well as in Ogbo (1984), Achebe (1984), and the call for orthography expansion implicit in Nwachukwu (1983), Ugorji (2002), among others.

Prof Chinua Achebe, an avowed critic of Standard Igbo and its predecessor advocates “Natural Selection” (Achebe 1984) as an option, by which he proposes that literary works should be carried on in all and every author’s dialect and in due course, one dialect may assert itself: that is, a survival-of-the-fittest kind of approach, which, of course, licenses linguistic anarchy, a dialect-Babel, which may be unproductive, as it may set back the hand of the clock to the earlier fiendish orthography controversies. He, however, does not spell out how this could be implemented: How, for instance, can say an Mbaise author write what could consistently be recognized as a linguistic property of his dialect if no orthography permits him to indicate contrastive nasality and aspiration. More precisely, if his piece of poetry contains a pun on /árá/ ‘breast’ and /árá/ madness, how does he indicate this difference in writing?

Uwalaka (2001), among others, notes that the conflicts have deep political underpinnings, as even the religious considerations that seem further to complicate the controversies are not in themselves apolitical. Yet not much is done to evolve political solutions to match. Since much of the conflicts or suspicions against one dialect or one orthography and another is not often linguistic, solutions to them might as well not be purely linguistic. “Dialect Vitality” thus, suggests, a democratic option to the problems, as it considers both the linguistic and the political parts to the problem and provides for the individual and collective rights of dialect speakers and preserves the respective subcultures.

4. Dialect Vitality Option

This solution builds on the assumptions of two recent postulations for world languages “Egalitarian Multilingualism” as presented in Emenanjo (2002) and the “Language Zones Option” of Uwajeh (2003) and extends their democratic principles into dialectology in the resolution of inter-dialectal suspicion, conflicts, marginalization or violence.

We expound this option through two areas of language processing namely, status planning and corpus planning.

4.1 Status Planning

Languages within nation states are assigned certain roles or status relative to the communication needs of the populace, usually by the political class; and such roles are coded in the language policy of the state or its constitution or, both, among others. Such policies, may generally promote or ‘impose’ one variety or language above others, discourage or prevent the use of one language among others; and the preferred language or

variety is thereby associated with prestige. Status planning is thus, a political action and not a linguistic one as such. It has implications for the esteem of linguistic groups, the linguistic rights of minorities and speakers of major varieties. Also language policies are usually directed towards certain ideologies of governments. These include linguistic assimilation, pluralism, internationalism or vernacularization (see Wolff 2000). Here, what is essential is integration which is achieved through due recognition for the equality of linguistic varieties and respect for the rights of dialect communities and general human dignity. The position of this paper then, requires that interdialectal levels should no longer be ignored but should be considered along the entire business of language processing or management. As Emenanjo (2002:3) demands, "Language policies must be democratic enough to accommodate all the cultural diversities, all linguistic varieties and all the repertoires identified in any nation".

The Nigeria national language policy contained in a number of government documents including National Policy on Education (NPE) 1977, 1981, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979, 1999: the Cultural Policy for Nigeria, 1976, etc., assign Igbo the status of a national language, alongside Yoruba and Hausa. It is a mother tongue (L₁) and/or language of Immediate Community (LIC) and serves as language of early literacy in its relevant domain, from pre-primary to Junior primary levels, and non-formal education as well as L₂. English remains the official language. This policy has been extensively criticized for its inadequacy and/or inexcusable flaws, lack of political will among others (See Bamgbose 2001, Uwajeh (2003), Jibril 1990, Emenanjo 2002. among others).

In presenting the tenets of Dialects Vitality option, we shall concern ourselves more with what is relevant to Dialect Vitality while also assuming the provision of the National Policy as given wherever it contains an advantage for our view point. The following steps are suggested:

I. Literacy and Education

The Language of Immediate Community (LIC) should be the variety or dialect that has optimal influence in a given community, not standard Igbo, except in urban cities and towns with larger population of variant dialect speakers. Let us illustrate this with a sample of communities: In Aboh Mbaise and Ezinihite where Mbaise dialect has optimal influence, the Mbaise dialect plays the role of LIC required for early education. But in Enyigugu Mbaise it may not be necessary to insist on the Mbaise dialect just for political reasons, since they generally have the Owerre dialect there as a dialect that has optimal influence. In Aba urban, the standard Igbo plays the role of LIC but outside the urban city the Ngwa dialect assumes the role, and so on. The standard dialect continues beyond early literacy. People who drop out of school about the junior primary would, by this proposal, have become literate in their own dialects while those who continue beyond this level would be literate in both their own dialect and the standard dialect. This is the spirit in Bidialectalism in Education (see Trudgill 1974, Mmadike 2000) which is analogous to Bilingualism in education. The main advantage being that the child learns more quickly

through his dialect than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (See UNESCO 1953 cited in Mmadike 2000).

Recommended texts may be written in the standard dialect but for literature texts which may or not be written in the standard dialect. Teachers in rural or local areas may adapt such to the relevant dialect of their pupils. This implies that teacher (re-) training programmes would include courses in comparative Igbo dialectology; and the posting of teachers to schools should take into account dialect competence particularly for rural schools. Students who opt for Igbo at tertiary levels may be given special grants and ready job offers.

At the secondary school level where the policy provides for Igbo as L₂ to non-Igbo speaking children, the standard Igbo assumes the role of L₂, not any other dialect.

II. Administration

The standard dialect or the dialect that has optimal influence becomes the language of local government administration. A local government chairman, for instance, addresses his staff in Standard Igbo, the local council meeting involving councillors is conducted in the standard dialect or the dialect of optimal influence. At the state level, the standard dialect is used, and translations are provided in English for non-Igbo residents like Federal government civil servants in the state. Accordingly, states and local governments and other employers within the Igbo nation shall require a credit pass in O'level or whichever relevant levels for job opportunities within their jurisdiction. Those already employed are to be given a reasonable time duration within which to obtain a credit pass in Igbo language or literature or face sanctions which may include delay or denial of promotion, etc. Such is already being done for English at the detriment of our national languages. Admission requirements for tertiary schools may also require a credit pass in Igbo or any other national language, especially for candidates seeking admission into social sciences and humanities. Compliance may count for patriotism. In this way, standard Igbo naturally becomes the language of the judiciary at least at the lower courts.

Village meetings and/or Ogbako Umunna, Nzuko Umuada which are usually conducted in the regional dialects can also be documented in the same dialects in which they are conducted and read in the same.

III. National Integration

Since national languages are both for national culture and integration, it should be obligated on industries, firms, government agencies, etc., operating in Igboland to write sign posts, notices, etc., in Igbo; such that, as one approaches the Igbo area, such materials suggest both the culture and the Igbo people to him. This is pragmatic enough to make visitors to Igboland want to learn Igbo. The variety required for this may be the standard variety only. Again, facile compliance may count for patriotism.

The political actions suggested here are quite easily achievable at state levels as the constitution assigns state governments and the federal government concurrent jurisdiction over language policies (see also Bamgbose 2001). The linguistic action that complements this for dialect vitality to be realizable is presented under corpus planning, below.

4.2 Corpus Planning

Corpus planning or linguistic planning is an internal planning (as against status planning which is external) and is directed towards establishing orthography, spelling and writing norms, norms for grammar as well as lexical expansion. What we consider crucial for the present purpose is orthography expansion, by which we suggest that dialects should be empowered for participatory literacy by permitting literacy in the dialects. For this, no new orthography may be expedient, notwithstanding any socio-political preferences and coercion and/or engineering as in the Ikwere experiment. What is essential for effective integration is to maintain the current Igbo orthography but expand it to include distinctive features peculiar to regional dialects. In this way, what is written can retain psycho-phonetic reality in the estimates of the natives of the dialect from where its oral form or so is drawn. To illustrate this, take an Mbieri form like /ṣṙú/ ‘work’ which contrasts /ṣrú/ ‘injury’ written in the present orthography. To say the least, reading this material back to the native speaker suggests ambiguity to his intuition but beyond this, he may fail to recognize the material as a linguistic property of his own dialect community. But introducing a letter or diacritic for contrastive nasality into the orthography would very much contribute to the vitality of the dialect and to literacy in the dialect.

Similarly, the inclusion of a letter for the ingressive t, perhaps ɾ for Owerre dialects, ə/ə̃ for the schwa in the Northern dialects, sw for the whistle fricative in Nsuka and other dialects in Ebonyi, ^ ~ etc., for contour tones in some border dialects like Ikwo (to mention a few) (see Nwachukwu 1983, Ohiri-Aniche 1985, Ugorji 2002, etc.) would enhance the vitality of dialects and facilitate literacy in them.

5. A Case for “Dialect Vitality Option”

The thinking behind the adoption of a child’s mother tongue as a medium of instruction in early literacy is first that he learns more quickly through an already familiar linguistic medium than through an unfamiliar one; the Ife six year project is a case in point: see Elugbe (1990:14). Moreover, the child is saved the problem of grappling with two ‘unknowns’ at the same time, as he would be torn between learning a new language and acquiring the knowledge which the language purports.

Secondly, the child’s mother tongue or language of immediate community is assumed to be the language most natural to the child, the medium of his early socialization, expressing of needs, affections and experiences, as it also conditions the child’s world view. Thirdly, his personality is created as it were in his mother tongue and his sense of identity is relative to his mother tongue. To displace him from this medium would mean his being culturally dispossessed and alienated (cf. Oyelaran 1990), by which violence is inflicted on him both sociologically and psychologically. Politically, it is a violation of his linguistic and cultural rights. Following the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (1996) (see Emenanjo 1999) such medium is part of the inalienable and non-negotiable possession and rights of those who own them as God’s gifts. In the opinion of this paper, the variety that best meets this expectation in multi-dialectal settings is the child’s regional dialect or (if you like) the dialect of the immediate community (DIC).

Accordingly, language planning and development would incorporate strategies that empower dialects to achieve basic literacy needs which include developing appropriate comprehensive orthography of the language in such a way that even most rural dialects can be written, as well as assigning roles to all dialects of a language. Such roles may include being used for early literacy, day-to-day interaction needs as well as being used a language of the lower courts (e.g. Customary Courts) among others.

Following these, Dialect Vitality promises to stem dialect suspicion, conflicts or marginalisation and foster integration of dialect communities across the globe. It also enables orature to be harnessed from rural communities with all peculiar subtleties intact, invariably, the standard variety gets further enriched by contributions from hitherto less accessible regional varieties. Altogether, language and dialect attrition, cultural and linguistic shift are checked.

Implicit in this solution is language use or performance (Williamson 1999, Uwajeh (2003). The Onus lies on language or dialect communities to keep their language or dialect alive. It is quite important to write a language and so preserve information for posterity but it is more important to speak or use a language or a dialect. Sanskrit, Classical Greek and Latin have rich literacy traditions but are today dead because people no longer speak or use them. Children should be taught to speak their dialects so that as parents and older people age and die, the dialect, as already handed over, continues.

This is the spirit in “Egalitarian Multilingualism” (Emenanjo 2002). “Language Zones Solution” (Uwajeh 2003) endorsed in Bilingualism in Education (Trudgil 1974) and Bidialectalism in Education (Crowley 1968, in Mmadike (2000) and proved in Nigeria by the Ife six year project. Chumbow (1990) also reports the success of such projects in Philippines, Mexico, Canada and so on.

6. Concluding Notes

So far, we have tried to show how we can possibly resolve conflicts, suspicion or violence emanating from dialect diversities by building on the assumptions of “Egalitarian Multilingualism” and “Language Zones Solution”, etc., in our so-called “Dialect Vitality” option.

The Igbo experience of several decades provided us a case in point. But the solution we suggest here is productive in the resolution of dialect conflicts across human languages and communities. In Yoruba, for instance, where the dialect question is already settled, the alphabet question is yet to be settled, as those in Yoruba oral poetry drawing texts from various dialects have problems with the current orthography... because of the one-dialect basis (Capo 1990:17). Also Gbe spoken in Togo, Ghana, Benin and Nigeria can benefit from this framework, as well as Efik-Ibibio dialect suspicion or conflict. The numerous dialects of London, USA and Canada also represent the vital socio-cultural properties of individuals and communities which constitute essential parts of the inalienable rights of their speakers and should not be wished away but assigned roles and empowered as suggested, to preserve both the dialects and the (sub) cultures they express. As it is natural, linguistic diversity is functional and sustains biodiversity. Let all languages and their varieties and peoples live! It is envisaged that the vitalization of dialects would further

enrich the more developed (Standard) varieties with a wider stock of wisdom and cultural values, increase communicative ability across dialects, enhance cooperation of dialect communities and facilitate exchange of (sub) cultural peculiarities and nuances as well as promote democratic citizenship. We thus suggest that as Europe celebrates linguistic diversity annually, dialect diversity should be accorded overt or deliberate recognition.

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15. Language, Tradition and Change in the Igbo Video Film

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Achebe (1958) observes that the art of conversation is highly valued among the Igbo. The importance attached to conversation derives essentially from the collective consciousness and appreciation of the cultural and blood ties that bind the members of the community together. Every activity, including conversation and public speech are fastidious, and deviations are often viewed as a violation of conversational principles.

Evidence from the Igbo Video Film, however, suggests that loyalty to established conventions of phatic communion is giving way to new ingredients of rhetoric. In this paper, we examine the emerging trends in the art of conversation among the Igbo of Nigeria as portrayed in selected Igbo video films, with a view to determining the course and causes of the perceived changes as well as evaluate the implications of such changes for Igbo traditional and social life.

Key words: Igbo, Tradition, Change, language, video film.

1. Introduction

The Igbo traditional society is a gregarious and integrative society in which the individual is seen and recognized only in the light of, and as part of society. The society is hierarchical in structure. At the peak of the social ladder is the community (Oha-na-eze), followed in that order by the village, the kindred, the family, and at the bottom, is the individual. By implication, the individual derives and owes his existence to the society. That is why ostracism is seen as the highest form of punishment that can be meted out to any body in the society. Interpersonal relationships are highly valued and every one strives to remain within the ethical codes and cultural values stipulated by the society. Communalism is emphasized as responsibilities, rights and privileges are collectively shared. As Ibagere (1992) observes about the Igbo traditional society:

The social structure is organized primarily around the relational points of kinship, local community, continuity with ancestors and the ordering of hierarchical relationships. While the individual is left without much room, there is room for collective objectives in the society (p88).

Everything, ranging from land to streams and forests are communally owned. Similarly, the language, Orature, and everything that form part of traditional performance are seen as the collective property of all. The individual can thus only find genuine fulfillment by identifying with the group of which he is part; participating in cultural and social observances and acquiescing in the beliefs and customs of the community. Participation in social observances necessarily includes observing the communally shared conventions

regarding conversation and phatic communion. In short, every member of society is expected to uphold and respect the fastidious rules of conversation and public speech as enunciated by the society.

2. Language Use in Igbo Traditional Society

Obiechina (1975:86) opines that ‘the social and political institutions of the traditional society have perfected the art of exacting conformity from the individual and discouraging deviations and subversion of the common will.’ This ‘art of exacting conformity from the individual’ extends equally to the use of language. Language is a communal property and the rules governing its use are made and protected by the society. Words mean what the society says they mean and any deviation from the convention results in a possible violation of the laid down rules. The individual is not at liberty to impose his own persuasions or interpretations on words during both interpersonal conversation and public speech. Tolstoy’s observations about the peasant Karataev applies *mutatis mutandis* to the average Igbo as far as language is concerned:

[He] did not, and could not, understand the meaning of words apart from their context. Every word and every action of his was the manifestation of an activity unknown to him, which was his life. However, his life, as he regarded it, had no meaning as a separate thing. It had a meaning only as part of a whole of which he was always conscious (in Goody and Watt 1963).

By implication, the traditional Igbo, like Karataev operates in a ‘speech environment which articulates a collectively defined tradition of which a major characteristic is the existence of fixed expressions that constitute the linguistic lore’ (Obiechina 1975:156). The mainstream of these fixed expressions are proverbs which ‘are the palm oil with which words are eaten’ (Achebe 1958:4). They encapsulate the wisdom and philosophies of the traditional people and serve as spices for seasoning speech. Being a collectively owned linguistic corpus, proverbs confer on their users a stamp of social acceptance as they situate the user’s speech within traditional context. Proverbs reinforce the user’s standpoint and confer validity and objectivity to expressed opinions. Thus, proverbs are to the traditional Igbo speechmaker what literature review is to a research reporter. ‘A proverb may be employed to produce a wide range of subtle distinctions in emotional reactions’ (Bascom 1955:251). There is hardly any occasion or human experience that cannot be encapsulated in a proverb or a string of proverbs. In the titanic clash between Akunne and Idejimba (in *Idejiramba*), the former is accused of personalizing and over flogging a matter that concerns the entire community. He responds by reeling out a string of proverbs: -

*Kama ehi anyi ga-agbanahu anyi ka anyi gbubiri ya odu. Ka anyi
were ehie chowa ewu ojii... Okenye adi ano n’ulo ewu amuo
n’ogbin... O bu ile oku na- agba uno o bu ile oku a na
agba uno ka mmuo m di mu na anwuru enwero okwu*

Rather than allow our ox to escape, let us cut its tail. Let us search for the black goat in the daytime. A goat does not give birth on the tether while an adult is around. It is a little spark of fire that consumes the house. It is this spark that consumes the house that I am after, I have no business with the smoke.

In this string of proverbs, Akunne creates vivid images of the different sides of Idejimba. He is an ox (a powerful person) a black goat (traitor) and a spark of fire (destructive). The references to the tail of the ox and daytime signify the need to restrain him while there is still time. By couching his response in proverbs, Akunne carefully avoids a direct confrontation with the powerful Idejimba but still succeeds in passing across his message very effectively. Similarly, when Tony returns to the village and tells his parents that he was dumping Ifeoma (his fiancée) for the diabolical Nneka (in Nneka the Pretty Serpent), his infuriated father reminds him:

*Nwata a na-akuru usurugada
o na-agba amaro na
usurugada bu egwu mmuo*

A child who dances to the drum beat of
Usurugada does not realize that
Usurugada is a dance of death.

When drums are rolled out in the extra-text, they are generally either for celebrations or for funerals. Marriages should ordinarily evoke celebrations. But the image of death evoked in the above proverb signifies that Tony's impending marriage to Nneka cannot elicit any other kind of dance than usurugada, the dance of death. This proverb turns out to be prophetic as Nneka all but kills Tony in the course of their ill-fated marriage, lending credence to Ikpo's observation (*Ikuku*) that:

*Okenye meghere anya naabo ma
nke ato ka o ji afu uzo*

An old man has two eyes open but
actually sees with a third one.

Apart from the use of proverbs, there are other conventions of language use that characterize the traditional Igbo society. These include the fixed expressions that mark the beginning and the end of speeches, such as the 'Igbo Kwenu' greeting, used not only as a form of greeting, but also as a clarion call for support and galvanization to action when the situation so demands. Other traditional conventions include the observation of minute courtesies and deference to the elders and title holders at public functions as well as the

kola nut hospitality. To miss out any of these is an indication of a breakdown in phatic communion, and whenever such breakdown occurs, efforts are made to restore the status quo as soon as possible in order not to cause any serious imbalance in the social equilibrium.

Apart from a few restrictions aimed at maintaining the sanctity of tradition, these repertoire of speech conventions are available to every member of society, and to ignore them is to deny oneself access to important socio-cultural privileges. But if the revelations of the Igbo video film are anything to go by, it can be said with substantial measure of certitude that a radical change is taking place in the extra-text with regard to the conventions of language use as pictured above.

3. The Emerging Trends

Urbanization has created a situation whereby even village settings are no longer what they used to be. Communalism, which used to be in vogue in the extra-text, has gradually given way to individualism. Now everybody seems to 'go the way of Cain' (Ogu 1995). The video text presents us with a motley set of characters that would do virtually anything to assert their individuality, and:

... the absence of a unified cultural ethos leaves them with an immense degree of individual initiative and they are much freer in their thinking. The chances thrown up by great social and economic change encourage them to be physically and mentally mobile. A combination of all these factors produces a prototype urban individual. (Obiechina 1975:102).

The result is that the well-known philosophy: 'Onye nwere mmadu ka onye nwere ego' (he who has people is greater than he that has money) seems not to hold any longer. Now, money seems to be the *de facto* king, and we are presented with the characters who speak 'the language of [the] nouveau riche class whose lifestyle seems to have invented the term conspicuous consumption' (Ekwuazi, 1997:76). Talking specifically about the nouveau riche, urban dwelling Igbo, Ekwuazi observes that:

... these monied individuals form a network of complex relationships. In their inter linking roles as members of a lodge or cult, as business magnets, as family heads and so on, each of them creates or defines a 'corporate' community. Thus, they operate in an environment of intense relationship, from which the films try to generate as much relevant action as possible.

The immediate fallout of the picture painted by Ekwuazi above is the 'sudden death' of time-honoured allegiance to blood and communal ties. With the exception of a few elders in the village settings, the characters we encounter in the texts are isolated individuals whose speech patterns feature virtually nothing of the society-sanctioned conventions of conversation and phatic communion. 'What obtains here', says Ekwuazi (1997:75), is Ali Mazuri's "transition from the constraints of collective village life to the relative

permissiveness of urban life”. Gone from the language of these characters are fixed expressions (as in proverbs) and stock greetings (with their stock responses) that are the hallmark of communal discourse. In their place are speech forms characterized mainly by ‘language mixing’ (Banjo 1982; Igboanusi 2002:42) between English and Igbo, or what has come to be popularly known as ‘Engligbo’. In what is for all intents and purposes one of the most traditional festivals in the extra-text, the people of Umuoka (in *Betrayal*) gather to celebrate the New Yam Festival, not in the city but in the village of Umuoka. The Special Guest of Honour, Ide, a traditional titleholder, is called upon to make a speech. His speech apart from not beginning with the time cherished and unifying ‘Igbo Kwenu’ (or Umuoka Kwenu, in this case) is a perfect example of ‘Engligbo’. The speech is rather long but we have decided to quote it in full to emphasize the point we are trying to make:

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen,

O o Ide na-ekene unu niine. Taa bu *New Yam Festival*. Mbosi

Anyi na-ekene Chukwu maka na O nyelu anyi ife, nye anyi, wee nye anyi nke anyi rigidelu rifoo. M wee na-asi noo ife nnukwute anuli na *upon these hard times* anyi na ‘celebrate’ *plenty*. Ma na o nwelu ife di n’obodo o na-abu m chete, o na-agba m anya mmili O nwelu ndi na-eli, ma nwekwee Ndi na-ebu onu, maka odachi di aghaa aghaa. Ndi a nunwa m na-ekwu okwu ya di uzo ato: nke izizi bu *the orphans* - ndi nne fa na nna fa nwulu mgbe fa di obele. nke ibuo bu *the widows*, ndi di fa nwunalili fa; nke ito bu ndi katagolu aru ma fa amuro nwa. O na-abu m chetesie ndi a niine o na-echu m ura. O wee buru ma ya; ibido na ndi *orphans*, ewepu- tego m ego, si na ndi nwelu isi akwukwo n’ime fa na a ga-azu fa n’efu. Nke ibuo bu ndi *widows*, ndi di fa nwuru mgbe fa di *young*. A rapu fa, *in their survival nature, the only thing* fa ga-emenwu bu akwuna kwuna – *prostitution- and prostitution destroys these young ladies both physically and spiritually and we will not allow that*, Nya bu maka nke a, ewepute m ego si na m ga agbazinye ndi niie di fa nwuru na nkiti ka fa wee muba afia. A bia na ndi katagolu aru ma fa amuro nwa, o na-abu m fu ndi nine katagolu aru o na- echetalu m maka mama nke m: *Oh, my mother*. Eweputago m egokwu si na ndi niine katagolu aru, *at the end of every month* fa bia ka m nye fa *allowance* nke fa. A bia n’ife anyi ji wee bia taa, *on behalf of Oliaku Ide, Oby, my wife; the love of my life*, ana m enye *a summary donation of five million naira*. (*Betrayal*)

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, Ide greets all of you. Today is New Yam festival; the day we give thanks to God for giving us, and giving is in abundance. So, I count it a thing of great joy that upon these hard times, we are celebrating plenty. But there is something that happens in the land that makes me shed tears whenever I remember it. While some eat, others go hungry because of certain misfortunes. These people I am talking about are in three categories. The first are the orphans – those who lost their parents

while still young. The second are widows; those who have lost their husbands. The third are the old people who have no Children. Whenever I think of these categories of people, I cannot sleep. Consequently; starting with the orphans, I have set aside money so that those of them that are brilliant will be awarded scholarships. The second are the widows, those who lost their husbands when they were still young. If uncatered for, in their struggle for survival, the only thing they can do is prostitution, and prostitution destroys these young ladies both physically and spiritually and we will not allow that. Because of this, I have set aside money from which I shall give interest – free loans to these young widows to start trading. As for the old, childless people, whenever I see these ones, it reminds me of my own mother, oh, my mother. I have also set aside money so that these elderly ones can come for their own allowances at the end of each month. And coming to the main purpose of our gathering here today, on behalf of Mrs. Ide, Oby, my wife; the love of my life, I am making a summary donation of five million naira.

With the possible exception of Ichie Akunnes's speech in *Idejimba*, every public speech in the twenty odd video films we viewed in the course of this study follows the same pattern as Ide's speech above. On the whole, language mixing in the texts manifests in the following ways: Igbonization, Substitution, Code-mixing and Complementation.

Igbonization is a form of borrowing in which English verbs are incorporated into Igbo sentences with the internal structure of the verbs altered to fit into the morphology of Igbo verbs. A few examples include:

- (a) O nwere mgbe m na-elecha gi anya 'like this' ya adi m ka m were gi *squeezie* gi tinye n'ime udu (Mrs. Ogbonna to her husband; *Nneka*)
(There are times I look at you like this and feel I should grab you, squeeze you, and put you inside a clay pot).
- (b) M tulie ya elu, mu ejide ya nga ahu *suspendie* ya, bia wedata ya (Ego, *Living in Bondage*)
(I will throw him up, hold him there, suspending him, before bringing him down).
- (b) Chetakwa ihe I *promiisili* m (Dorcas to Jonah, *Taboo*)
(Remember what you promised me).
Igbonization takes place when there is no Igbo equivalent for the English verb or when the English verb is more specific.

In Substitution, an English noun phrase (NP) is substituted for the Igbo one generally for the purpose of emphasis and brevity, as in the following examples:

- (d) O burn na unu nwelu a young boy malu mma nwee ezigbo ego, unu agwa m ka m puta gaa luo di (Reverend Sister Caro to parents, *Beyond the Vow*).
(If you have a young boy that is handsome and rich, tell me so I can come out and get married).
- (e) Ma mu emenyughi *that boy* anya nsogbu ga – adiri m (Idejimba; *Idejimba*)
(If I do not deal decisively with that boy, I will be in trouble).
- (f) Onye a bu Doctor Raymond ... o kariri gi. E mero ya *repatriate*, e mere gi *repatriate* (Ebenezer to Fred; *Osuofiasn*).
(This is Dr. Raymond ... He is greater than you. He was not repatriated; you were repatriated).

(Note that though *repatriate* is normally a verb in English, it occupies the NP slot in the Igbo expression above).

- (g) Rapunu ife di na *trouser* (Osuofia, *Ikuku*)
(Leave what is in *trousers* (men) alone).
- (h) I gbagotego na *the last bust stop* (thug to Obinna, *Taboo*)
(You have arrived at the last bus stop).
- (i) Adi m *too young to father any child now*. (Emenike to Ify, *Betrayal*)
(I am too young to father any child now).
- (j) Igwe ndi Umuoka no ebe a *in flesh and blood* (Master of ceremony, *Betrayal*).
(The Igwe of Umuoka is here in flesh and blood).
- (k) I ma gi yia ndi Fada, I mee avoid *unnecessary embarrassment* (Accurate to Stainless, *Beyond the Vow*).
(You know, when you befriend reverend fathers, you avoid unnecessary embarrassment).

A typical structure of Engligbo reflects a situation in which the interlocutor brings in English and Igbo at different intervals in the speech as was seen in Ide's speech above and the examples below:

- (m) Zelu umu *sugar daddy* na-eyi *French suit* na *boys who do not pass their Cambridge* na *Cantab*. Fa 'handulua' gi, I si na *yoghurt* puo buru okpa. (Osuofia to a lady, *Osuofiasn*)

Avoid 'Sugar daddies' that wear French Suit, and boys who do not pass their 'Cambridge' and 'Cantab' examinations. If they handle you, you will turn from

yoghurt (succulent) to beans pudding (hard food substance).

- (n) O diro mma munwa iji my own misfortune wee blokua' this girl's source of happiness. (Obinna about Ijeoma, *Taboo*)
(It is not good that I block this girl's source of happiness because of my own misfortune).
- (o) Emesigo m *all arrangements. From next week, everything ga-adi streamlined* (Obinna to Ijeoma, *Taboo*)
(I have concluded all arrangements. From next week, everything will be streamlined).

With regard to Complementation, English words serve as complements to Igbo verbs as in:

- (p) M mee ya, i ma na di ya ga-arapu ya n'ike, gbazia ya alukwaghi m *final* (Nneka, *Nneka*).
(If I do it, her husband will leave her suddenly and eventually divorce her).
- (q) Ijeoma adigo *contaminated* (Jonah, *Taboo*)
(Ijeoma has become contaminated).
- (r) Goolu nke m nyelu ka e ji choo itu *throwing* (Osuofia, *Ikuku*)
(The goal I scored is about to be converted into a throw-in).

It is significant to note that in virtually all cases of language mixing as portrayed in the texts, speech usually begins in Igbo while English is introduced along the line. This is possibly an unconscious indication by the characters that their competence in English notwithstanding, Igbo remains the L1 and an ironical admission that though they live "in a world structured by individualism, they nonetheless live with the memory and traces of another, communalistic world – an entirely different world only a heartbeat away". (Ekwuazi 1997:74). Thus, we see the characters throwing in a proverb or two sometimes, except that in most cases, such proverbs are distorted to suit the speaker's interest. Two examples will suffice to demonstrate what we mean here: in the first case, Ichie Million (Living in Bondage) in his attempt to convince Merit, Andy's wife, to sleep with him, says:

*I ma na a si na aka nni kwoo aka ekpe,
Aka ekpe akwoo aka nni, ife ewee na-aga.*

(You know it is said that when the right hand washes the left, the left should also wash the right, so that the world can move on).

The usual way of rendering this proverb is:

Aka nni kwoo aka ekpe, aka ekpe akwoo aka nni ha naabo ewee di ocha (when the right hand washes the left, the left also washes the right and the two hands are clean). But Ichie Million carefully avoids making reference to ‘clean hands’, apparently because he knows his own are already tainted.

In the second instance, Caro advises Merit not to cover up her physical endowments, but to use them to her advantage with the following proverb:

*Nkita si ihe ya na-eji anyuwa mmamiri
ya ewelie otu ukwu ya elu bu ka ya
zi umunna ya na o nweghi ibi dara ya.*

The dog says he raises one of his legs
while urinating so that his kinsmen may
see that he is not suffering from hydrocele.

The usual import of this proverb is to counsel the addressee not to lead a life of hypocrisy or pretence. But Caro twists it here to imply that one should flaunt one’s endowments.

It may be tempting to finger urbanization as the sole cause of this erosion of the hitherto cherished values. A closer look, however, reveals a number of other causes such as the impact of colonialism with its attendant exposure of the Igbo to a different culture, language and goals of success. All these combine to create an individualized personality who wants to be recognized as a person in his own right and not as a member of a group. The implication is that the era of “igwe-bu-ike” (unity is strength) codified by the “Igbo Kwenu” clarion call has given way to the present era of ‘aku-bu-ike’ (wealth is strength) which finds ample expression in Paulo’s declaration to Andy that: ‘ego na-achi uwa; aku na-etigbu okwu’ (Money rules the world; wealth suppresses opposition) and in the popular song of Oliver de Coque which has become the anthem of the millionaire club: ‘a na-enwe obodo enwe’ (the world does belong to some people). The fear is that Obierika’s lament (in *Things Fall Apart*) that the white man (with his language, culture and aggressive capitalism and individualism) ‘has put a knife on the things that held us together, and we have fallen apart’ has come home to roost.

4. Conclusion

The concern of this paper has been to juxtapose language use, along with the rules governing it, in the traditional Igbo society with what obtains now. It is observed that radical changes in the rules of discourse are taking place, the changes are as a result of urbanization, individualism and capitalism. The paper opines that if this trend continues, it might lead to a situation where an entirely new patois (Engligbo) would emerge. This, if it happens, would lead to the distortion of traditional values of communal integration and gregariousness for which the Igbo are known.

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16. Evaluation of Literature in Nigerian Languages

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All human endeavours need be evaluated to determine their strengths and weaknesses, and their successes and failures. This is necessary to facilitate continuous strategies that could be used to enhance success or to remedy failure. This paper intend to evaluate literature in Nigerian Languages with a view to determining whether it has actually achieved the purpose for which it is intended or otherwise. The paper gives the definition of evaluation, curriculum evaluation before spelling out the general purposes of evaluation, it goes further to carve out for itself the purposes on which the task at hand would be accomplished i.e. evaluating literature in Nigerian languages. The various aspects of that programme are evaluated on their own merit; prose, poetry, drama and oral literature. Finally, suggestions and hints are given to both teachers and students who utilize the programme materials.

Introduction

Human being all over the world have evolved over time a culture of judgement. At most levels of human action, individuals, groups, institutions and governments pass judgement about appropriateness and inappropriateness, goodness or badness, desirability or undesirability of events, decisions, performances, processes, objects, situations and the like. The general concept of evaluation can be perceived as frequent decision-making and judgments which individuals, groups, institutions and government pass on what affect their lives and those of others... (Ndubiusi 1981).

Urevbu (1990) also sees evaluation as ‘... simply a process of measuring the success of teaching in terms of pupils’ learning (product)’ while House (1973) on the other hand sees evaluation as:

‘... the process of applying a set of standards to a programme, making judgements using the standards, and justifying the standards and their application.

From the above, evaluation could be seen as the process of collecting information about an event or programme with a view to determining its merit, worth or adequacy.

What therefore is curriculum evaluation? According to Ndubiusi (1985),

Curriculum evaluation should be seen as a continuous process which may look for the diagnosis of strengths and weaknesses in the curriculum; or an identification of the results of instruction, or a recognition of the need for teacher education, or the selection of a new basis for changing educational policies.

For the purpose of this paper, we would like to view curriculum evaluation as a continuous process, which intends to diagnose the strengths and weaknesses in the curriculum. The question that arises now is what are the purposes for which any programme is evaluated?

The Need for Curriculum Evaluation

The educational enterprise today has become a powerful instrument of change and this has been realized by all the nations of the world generally and third world countries in particular. This awareness prompted the curriculum review of 1969 which resulted into the formulation of the National Policy on Education. The policy was formulated with the needs of the individuals as well as the Nigerian society at the back of the minds of the curriculum participants, in any case, when a curriculum is to be reviewed a vital decision is about to be taken and series of questions would come to mind. According to Ndubuisi (1985), questions like the following may be asked: How do you arrive at the best decision?; How do you determine the best choice?; How do you sort out, the objectives or situations on a rank order? Etc. This is necessary in order to choose the best out of a variety of alternatives.

Purposes of Evaluation

Bloom et al. (1971), pp. 7-8 suggested a broad-based approach to evaluation as follows:

1. Evaluation as a method of acquiring and processing the evidence needed to improve the students' learning and teaching.
2. Evaluation as including a great variety of evidence beyond the usual final/paper and pencil examination.
3. Evaluation as aid to clarifying the significant goals and objectives of education.
4. Evaluation as a system of quality control in which it may be determined at each step in the teaching - learning process whether the process is effective or not, what changes must be made to ensure its effectiveness before it is too late.
5. Evaluation as a tool in educational practice for ascertaining whether alternative procedures are equally effective or not in achieving a set of educational ends; and
6. Finally, evaluation as a means of giving feedback to learners, parents, school authority and government.

From the broad-based approach above, the purposes of evaluating a curriculum material should be:

- a. To assess the suitability of the programme vis-à-vis the aims and objectives for which it is set up;
- b. To decide whether the programme should be reviewed or restructured depending on whether it satisfies or not the criterion in (a) above;
- c. To see whether the programme lends itself to adequate and progressive implementation by its users, and

- d. To determine programme effectiveness as regards learner behaviour after an examination might have been written on it, etc.

Evaluating WAEC Syllabus for Literature in Nigeria Languages (SSS)

In the National Policy on Education (1987) it is specifically stated among aims of secondary school education that the secondary school should:

1. develop and project Nigerian culture, art and language as well as the world's cultural heritage, and
2. raise a generation of people who can think for themselves, respect the views and feelings of others, respect the dignity of labour, and appreciate those values specified under our broad national aims, and live as good citizens (NPE) p. 16.

In spelling out the core subject to be studied by students at this level, one Nigerian Language is included.

To develop and project Nigerian culture and language, students need to widen their horizon about the life of their people through reading of various literary works in Nigerian languages and this could only be done through effective planning and teaching of literature in Nigerian languages. This is so because literature in whatever language is the depiction of man in his environment. By offering literature in Nigerian Languages, products of secondary schools would be able to think rationally, respect the views and culture of others and thus becomes adults who would live as good citizens of the nation. To produce such citizens, the planning, development and implementation of a syllabus for Literature in Nigerian Languages must be adequate and be carefully taught by competent teachers. These make evaluation and re-evaluation of literature in Nigerian languages pertinent.

Criteria for Evaluation

For the purpose of this paper, the following criteria would be adopted.

- i. Structure: Is the structure explicit enough to facilitate its use?
- ii. Content: is the content adequate for the achievement of the purpose for which the syllabus is meant i.e. are the materials suitable for the ability level of students?
- iii. Aspects: are all the aspects of literature taken care of by the syllabus? If yes to what extent? Etc.
- iv. Outcome: will the content of the syllabus improve the spoken language, oral-reading, study skills and social skills of learners? Will it influence the social attitudes of learners? i.e. will it influence their concern for welfare of others, being their brothers' keeper, respect for law and constituted authority and respect for elders? Will it develop in learners positive adjustments to issues and pears?

Aspects

The three major Nigerian languages (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) are examined at the SSCE level in both language and literature by the West African Examination Council. Literature

in Nigeria languages with which we are concerned in this paper has four aspects: prose, poetry, drama and live traditions. Each aspect will be evaluated on its own merit.

Examination of the Various Aspects

a. Prose

This aspect appears in both written and oral literature sections of the WAEC syllabus for SSCE. At the oral literature level, only one text is recommended to be studied by the students while two texts are recommended for written literature. This cuts across the three Nigerian languages (Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba) in which literature in Nigerian languages is taught and examined at the SSCE level.

Structurally, the WAEC syllabus is not explicit as to how the literature teacher would go about teaching the recommended text to his students. It is not specified what to teach at SS I, II and III, how to teach, what method to use and so on. But the National Curriculum on Nigerian languages throws some light on how teachers should go about imparting the necessary knowledge needed to be acquired by students. The National syllabus supplied schools by the Federal Ministry of Education gives a breakdown of the WAEC syllabus into year One, Two and Three (SSI, II and III). Each year is again divided into units and each unit divided into columns showing topics, objectives, content, possible items, learning experiences, suggested methods and materials, and lastly evaluation. This is a right step in the right direction as the breakdown would guide the user of the syllabus. But that is not enough, the teacher who would utilize the materials to prepare his students for the SSCE must be a trained teacher who is knowledgeable in the language he is teaching.

Content

The content i.e. the three texts recommended we feel are adequate given the fact that at the end of the syllabus, a list of supplementary reading list is given which could be used by a competent teacher to organize extensive reading for his students. This, if well organized, would widen students' horizon (experience) and would enhance the quality of the feedback they would give during their examination.

b. Poetry

This aspect also features in both written and live tradition aspects of the WAEC syllabus. Though the WAEC syllabus does not give any guide as how to teach this aspect, the Federal Ministry of Education National Curriculum on Nigerian languages does. Structurally, the deficiency in the WAEC syllabus is taken care of by the National curriculum. But as we said earlier on under prose aspect, the teachers experience and competence would be required because the guide given by the National Curriculum may not work in some situations and a competent teacher would need to use his own initiative to adopt to a suitable approach to impart the required knowledge to learners. For instance, the teaching of poetry in oral literature e.g. 'Ijala' in Yoruba may require the use of a

resource person from the locality. A competent teacher would make use of his planning competence to organize this to the advantage of the students.

The content of this aspect at both oral and written literature aspects we feel is deep enough if not too much for this level. We have this feeling for instance, in Yoruba literature, four poems of about four hundred and twenty-two lines (422) are to be studied in written literature apart from the ones to be studied under oral literature. But under the guidance of a competent teacher, within the three years of Senior Secondary School, students should be able to cover enough ground before they write their exams.

c. Drama

This is an aspect that would demand much from the teacher and the learners. In each of three Nigerian languages, WAEC recommends two plays out of which one should be studied.

Apart from the fact that teachers are not given any guideline as to how to treat any of the two recommended texts, we feel that one text to be studied in three years is not adequate. Given the fact that most of the recommended texts are not available and that when available, the prices are prohibitive, we still feel that students need to read more than one play at that level. Government and school administrators should strive to salvage the situation by providing some of the recommended texts in school libraries. In addition, government should find a solution to the astronomical rise in the prices of reading materials.

d. Life & Traditions

This is about the richest of all the aspects under Literature in Nigeria languages because it encompasses so many areas of knowledge about the oral traditions of the people. Apart from the spoken traditions, it also consists of customs and institutions. For instance in Yoruba literature, customs and institutions include twenty topics to be studied:

1. Traditional occupations
2. Age grades and age groups
3. Cooperative efforts
4. Make-ups and adornments
5. Circumcision and facial marks
6. In-door and out-door games
7. Money lending
8. Funerals
9. Yoruba thoughts and beliefs about wizards and witches
10. Role witchcraft play in traditional healing and curing
11. Home training and advantages, hereditary rights and obligations in society
12. Politics
13. Crimes and punishments
14. Yoruba beliefs in life after death and the super-humans
15. Cults

16. Taboos
17. Wars and war fare
18. Yoruba food
19. Non-verbal communication
20. Ancestors (WAEC Syllabus) 1994 - 96 p.54

This aspect apart from enriching the students' language through proverbs and witty sayings in oral poetry, would also equip them with the norms and values of the society and thus make them fit into their various societies after the pen and pencil examinations which are the foremost aim of WAEC, the examining body. The ability of the students to master the language well, and being useful members of the society would satisfy one of the National Goals of Nigerian Education. This aspect is comprehensive but the content is desirable and necessary for the achievement of the philosophy of Nigerian Education as spelt out in the *National Policy of Education* (1981).

On a general note, we feel strongly that the syllabus is comprehensive enough and has taken adequate care of all the genres of literature. Furthermore, the content will in no doubt improve the spoken language of the students if carefully taught by competent teachers making use of various methods especially the discussion method which we shall discuss in detail under our hints for teachers and students.

Apart from passing their examination in Literature in Nigerian languages, students' oral reading skill will be enhanced through the experiences acquired in oral poetry. In the same vein their social attitudes towards their peers and members of the society will be positively influenced and they will thus become law-abiding citizens who will respect constituted authorities and elders. All these put together would satisfy one of the philosophies of Nigerian education i.e. the production of citizens who would be useful to themselves and the society.

Hints for Teachers

However, well-developed, well-constructed and comprehensive a curriculum may be, we feel it is just a mere blueprint. The blueprint would need a competent hand to implement. To actualize any curriculum, a teacher needs to be competent. According to Noel Ihebuzor (1986), a teacher needs to have three areas of competence: Content Area Competence, Pedagogic Competence and Relational Competence.

To effectively implement the syllabus on literature in Nigerian languages, a teacher must have a sound knowledge of the subject matter he or she is expected to teach the learners. He should equally be able to demonstrate a good knowledge of the social implications of literature in Nigerian languages. In addition, he should be competent enough to link what he is to teach to actual day-to-day events of the people of the society. This will go a long way to motivate learners under the guidance of the teacher to see the relevance of what is being taught.

As literature teaching and learning involves shared experiences, the literature teacher must be able to teach and share his experience with learners. To be able to do this, (the teacher) must be a good planner. Apart from knowing how to plan his work, he should

be able to select learning experiences that would enable him achieve his goal of teaching whatever he is teaching. Different aspects of learning would demand different approaches, a competent teacher for instance should know that literature in whatever language would need a lot of discussion (organized ones for that matter). Teachers should know that discussion aids mastery of course content, stimulates thinking about what is being learnt, effective at increasing student participation and through it, learners' attitudes are revealed and various contributions can lead others to change their attitudes to certain issues or force them to become active participants. Teachers should be mindful of educational objectives of discussion particularly in literature. In addition, apart from promoting students' rapport, discussion facilitates improvement of and acquisition of language skills by the students.

A teacher of literature should know how to frame questions on what he is teaching. This is necessary for teachers of literature as questions well-framed on what is being taught provokes thinking which in turn raises positive discussion and clarification of issues and attitudes.

If a teacher is good in the above, he would be a good implementor of what has been planned. He must also be a good communicator. This involves his ability to deliver his lesson well, be able to use instructional materials effectively. To implement well, the teacher should have good human relation. This will enable him to bring in resource personnel from the environment to teach some topics especially in oral literature. You would see that a competent teacher does not need to implement the programme of literature in Nigerian languages all alone.

Finally, a good teacher must be competent in evaluation. In addition to evaluating students' progress, learning problems, he must be able to evaluate his methods in terms of his own efficiency and effectiveness. A good literature teacher(s) must be competent in framing developmental questions and know how to utilize them in class.

For effective teaching of literature, a good teacher must have good rapport with his students, know how to create conducive atmosphere for learning and be able to organize and motivate students to engage in extensive reading of materials related to the course content he is implementing. He must also be good at keeping continuous evaluation reports.

Evaluation of what is Taught: In conformity with the National Policy on Education where it is stated that continuous assessment records of students performance during their courses should be used as part of the final examination, a teacher of literature in Nigerian languages should know how to organize evaluation tests and assignment at reasonable intervals during his teaching. This could be termed as a sort of formative evaluation. The knowledge of how to keep these records is very vital to the success of teachers generally and the teacher of literature in Nigerian languages in particular. Summatively, the teacher must know how to set good questions for the end of term, end of year and end of course examinations. Particularly, he should be able to give his own mock SSCE Exam in Nigerian languages before students are presented for WAEC SSCE Examinations.

For formative evaluation during the process of teaching the recommended texts and materials, the teacher should make use of both tests and assignments while the summative

evaluation at the end of term, session or course should be in the form of fairly standard questions. This will help prepare students for their final examination in literature in Nigerian languages.

To improve his ability in evaluation, a teacher of literature in Nigerian languages should be familiar with WAEC marking procedure by applying and marking WAEC examination papers in literature in Nigerian languages at the SSCE level. His experience during the marking exercise will enhance his performance in class.

Hints for Students

Students should be aware that literature in whatever language involves reading. They should be prepared to read not only prescribed and recommended materials but also related ones so as to widen their knowledge about the subject matter.

They should also be ready to share their ideas with colleagues, their teachers and resource persons when the need arises as literature is a shared experience.

Furthermore, they should be inquisitive. That is, they should ask their teachers and their peers questions about what is being taught or discussed. They should also be involved in organized discussions in class to benefit from the educational objectives or discussion earlier on stated on this write-up.

Students should not rely on the teacher alone but also make use of the environment as this is of vital importance in literature in Nigerian languages.

Conclusion

As we earlier stated, literature involves a lot of reading. To motivate our students to want to read literature in Nigerian languages, we must endeavour to create in them effective reading habit right from youth. To do this, all hands must be on deck; parents, school, government, libraries, and the media must contribute their quota.

Finally, developing a comprehensive programme in literature in Nigerian languages is not enough, but government should endeavour to make available recommended reading materials and train more teachers to handle the subject.

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17. A Syntactic Study of Ben Okri's *The Famished Road*

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This paper studied Ben Okri's *The famished Road* from the syntactic orientation. It analysed the various syntactic patterns of phrases, clauses, parallelism, sentences, - moods and tenses in order to reveal how Okri utilises these linguistic structures in revealing the tenor of the text. It was discovered that the phrases (including downgraded structures), sentences, tenses and moods are used as signifiers of contemporary issues – politics, propaganda and parochialism. This makes the reading of the text enjoyable and prevents the boredom or monotony that would have arisen if only one type had been used since the novel is bulky. Systemic linguistic model was used in the explication of the text as this helped in treating the surface and the deep realisation of the significant markers of syntax. Thus, we moved from linguistic description to aesthetic appreciation and arrived at the conclusion that Okri is a conscious stylist who utilises significant syntactic patterns in giving his narrative a simple rendition.

Introduction

Ben Okri's *The Famished Road* explores different syntactic devices. The author employs unique syntactic forms in the narration of the experiences of Azaro. Azaro, the spirit-child, explains in clear concrete sentences the various situations that make his existence in the human world (Nigeria) unbearable. His experiences are expressed in the competence conversant to children. He is an immature narrator who uses simple lexical and syntactic choices in revealing his world and his experiences.

In this paper, we shall examine the syntactic devices in the novel that are used as signifiers of contemporary issues in our society. The study of the syntactic properties in a work of literature entails a systematic, analysis of the components of grammar in order to capture the surface and deep realizations of the structures as meaning potentials in building tenor relations in the text.

Considering its effectiveness in the analysis of discourse and its ability in the exposition of the tenor, mood and themes of literature, we shall use Systemic Grammar in this syntactic analysis. Systemic model provides deep realization of message in a work of literature by relating mood and message to the experiential, interpersonal and textual functions of language. This model is text-centred in the analysis of linguistic realization in literature and discourse.

Syntactic Analysis

We shall examine the various realizations of the syntactic properties of the novel by explicating the novel at the different syntactic levels of analysis.

1. Group/Phrases

Pronominal

FR 1 '*We* are the strange ones with half of our being...' (4)

FR 2 '*I* watched it in mirror' (11)

FR 3 '*I* shook my head' (25)

FR 4 '*We* were silent for a while' (80)

There is the involving 'tone' of the spirit child, Azaro, as the 'we' in FR1 and FR4 show. He draws on everyone in his class of existence as a partaker in his nightmares, especially the poor people in a troubled country like Nigeria. One realizes the spirit child's choice of the 'powerful' pronominal 'I' in FR2 and FR3 that reveals his reaction to the decadence he portrays. The pronominals 'we' and 'I' are linguistic components of tenor in the text.

Noun Phrases

FR 5 '*The woman* carried me to my room' (20)

FR 6 '*This book* explains books' (409)

FR 7 '*The old man* can see what he wants to' (320)

FR S '*The first blow* has been struck!' he said (397)

In the novel, the Noun Phrase (NP) is the most prominently used because of Okri's interest at revealing and/or giving vivid pictures of the various situations of abnormalities in his country, Nigeria. He presents vividly the various intricacies of the facets of the lives of the weird and the inscrutable. FR5 and 6 show specification of subjects as the phrasal structure d+h gives direct exposure of the specific references. FR7 and 8 delve towards description of the state of the subjects with the structure d+e+h. The author is 'involved' in the task of making his readers to see the situations as vividly as possible.

Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrase is a group of words that begins with a preposition but ends with its complement, which is usually a noun group. Example 'in the car' = in (preposition) + the car (prepositional complement) noun group. Prepositional phrases do not function as prepositional phrases in sentences. The name pertains to the structure, which invariably begins with a preposition and not the function in terms of meaning. In sentences, it functions either as Adjectival Phrase or Adverbial Phrase. The following are some examples with their thematic positions in the novel:

FR 9 '*I* sometimes help her *with the clearning*' (20)

FR 10 '*It* became very hot *in the room*' (305)

FR 11 '*Madam Koto* turned to look *at Dad*' (304)

FR 12 '*She* smiled *at me*' (89).

Prepositional Phrases (PP) are used to complement the vividness of the mental realities in the novel. FR9 and 10 function as adjectival phrases exposing the state of want and

deprivation in the contexts above. The pronominal 'her' and the noun 'hot' are given more explanation as they relate to the environment of the narration. FR11 and FR12 function as adverbial phrases specifying clearer explanation of the verbs 'turned' and 'smiled' in the contexts specified in the actions of the narration. Okri utilizes these descriptive phrases in creating clearer pictures of the scenes of anarchy and poverty in Nigeria!

Generally, phrases are the vehicles of tenor in the novel and illuminate the absurd experiences of the odds and the inscrutable FR 1-10 are random selections from the vast groups in the text.

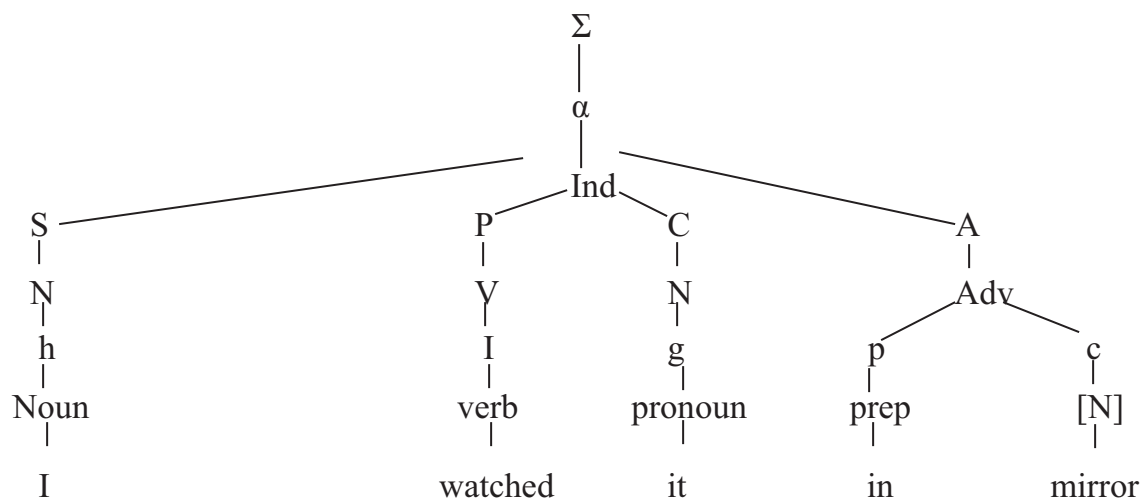
Downgrading

According to Systemic Linguistics, a group could function within another group or even a clause could function within a group, this is known as Downgrading or Rankshifting. Muir (1972) states that "If a grammar does not show that a structurally dissimilar items may be closely related and that structurally similar items may be quite unrelated, then the grammar is inadequate as a description of how language works" (12). The use of this in literature is a high linguistic experiment and places the work as a serious one with the objective of serving higher minds. Examples:

DG 1 --- FR 2 --- 'I watched it in mirror' (11)

S P C A

In a tree diagram, note the occurrence of downgrading:



[A Noun rankshifted to occur at C in the Adverbial Group]

The use of downgrading here signifies an artist's attempt at showing how unfamiliar structures can contribute to the ideas in his novel. It also shows that every element of language in the text is a conscious selection in order to capture the reality of the odd situations of politics and the travails of the hitherto unknown. The downgraded noun 'mirror' signifies the spiritual context of the story, which relates to the revelation of the

poverty in politics that makes the leaders unmindful of human conditions in their various atrocities. At this level, downgrading functions to give prominence to the theme of political frustration as signified by the 'mirror' in the story.

Clauses

A clause, according to Smith (1980), is "a part of sentence which contains a finite verb and does the same work as a noun, adjective or adverb" (118). There are three types of clauses. They are noun clause, adjectival clause and adverbial clause.

Noun Clause

FR 13 'He threatened /*that he was going to beat them up for harassing mum* (52)
[- β = NC]

FR 14 'It seemed/*they had an entire Orchestra with them*' (375)
[- β = NC]

FR13 and 14 contain independent clauses [β = noun clauses] after the transitive verbs 'threatened' and 'seemed'. The clause types function as complements in the extensive format where the structure is noun-headed. This means that the author's concern is the vividness of the situation presented in order to give the reader clearer understanding of the human conditions in an odd political state.

Adjectival Clause

FR 15 All those witches and wizards... /*who wash off*
Their customers and pour them on the road/... (119)
-- β =ADJ CL

FR 16 Dad/*who was caught in a barrage of accusations/...* (422)
-- β =ADJ CL

Most of the clausal structures in the novel attempts at clarity. FR 15 and 16 present extensive picture of the atrocities that are permeated in the various situations of the political state. One observes that 'witches and wizards' are elements of destruction used in this place as representative names for the political hooligans. The two clausal structures ADJ CL contain parallel structure of ideas, and occur at the sentence-final position as modifiers of the preceding nominals. FR 15 points at the spiritual 'inordinates'. While FR 16 presents a man trapped in the web of trouble caused by unavoidable dilemma. The clauses function as classifiers of the states of man. It paints clearer pictures of the scenes of human condition.

Adverbial Clause

FR 17 *When I woke* /the moon was still in the sky (113)
 β =ADV CL

FR 18 *When I saw him, / I was scared* (313)

β =ADV CL

FR 19 *When the glass fell into the room /it brought protestation
from the woman* (332)

β =ADV CL

Okri works with time. He uses adverbial clause of time to ensure incidences of time sequence. He carries his audience along with himself by one incidence following the other using adverbial clause of time marker 'when' and 'while' generously. FR 17, 18 and 19 are adverbial clauses of time giving sequential time situations in the novel. The structures β =ADV CL occur at the sentence-initial position because of the author's need to emphasise the time of the action for chronological effects.

Parallel Structures

Parallel structures juxtapose related ideas or words to give natural semantic connection between them as well as binding sentences together with their own structural rhythm. Okri uses parallel structures deliberately in *The Famished Road* to create musical effect in the text. Below are examples:

FR 20 IN THE BEGINNING there was river. The river
became a road and the road branched out to the
whole world and because the road was once a river
it is always hungry. (3)

P S = there was a river.
The river became a road... SPC
The road branched out... }

FR 21 I was coming down the road drinking, singing,
and the road said to me: 'watch yourself'. So I
abused the road. Then it turned into a fire and I
sweated. It transformed into a tiger and I killed it
with one blow.... (94)

P S = I was coming... drinking, singing +
It turned into a fire ... I sweated
It transformed into a tiger... I killed it } SPC+ (S+P)

Example 20 is an exposition of the entire theme of "The River" and "The Road" which represents the spirit- child, Azaro, and other forms he can turn into. The extract draws a parallel or similarity between the uncertain world of the spirit- child and Nigeria. As a spirit child has no stable life, so also Nigeria has no stable existence. Still in the FR 21,

there is a great analogy, which it shares with FR20. Here, Azaro is portrayed as a character that can change according to his background. Therefore, he is a spirit child with no stable existence. Such is the case of Nigeria. The repetition of the keywords in the first and second examples – ‘river’ and ‘road’ create a musical effect in the discourses for aesthetic value. FR 21 presents an analogy of the different experiences of Azaro in their mythical world. Let us examine the other types of parallelisms in the novel.

Pattern Repetition

Lexical Repetition

Okri makes use of lexical repetition to strengthen his ideas of political decadence and the odds of the mystical on man in the novel and for reinforcing the effects of situations:

FR 22 There was a woman standing ...
 her hair bedraggled and wet,
 her eyes distracted,
 her neck strung,
 her feet bare (27)

} Structure – NP = S (d+h)

The repetition of ‘her’ in the example above emphasizes and strengthens the deceptive nature of Abikus or spirit children. It portrays hatred as the repetition reveals the description of a woman in a terrible state of ugliness. It also shows the extent of Azaro’s language as a child’s language. The repetitive structure NP = S (d+h) has musical effect as the rhythm runs in concurrent tempo for aesthetic appreciation.

FR 23 With his lean face,
 his excitable eyes,
 his bony forehead,
 his sharp jaws, and
 his energetic gestures... (157)

} Structure- NP = (d+e+h)

This example also strengthens Azaro’s mood towards seeing his mother everywhere doing the middle of the market Labyrinth. This is a type of dance of purification, as the woman has to be cured from the curse of changelings or spiritual children. It is like a ritual dance for saving Nigeria from political anarchy. The structure d+e+h describes intensively the state of Abiku’s mother and her punishment by what ought to be her child.

Syntactic Repetition

A novelist may repeat a particular syntactic pattern to foreground his message. This repetition of structures might be partial where few words are re-echoed:

FR 24 *The figure in great mask moved*
 The statue moved (139) structure- α=S+P

FR 25 *The wind blew*

Trees bowed (428)

structure- α S+P

FR 26 *We could assume* numerous forms...

We knew ...

structure- α= S+P

We feasted much because we
were free (3)

These extracts FR24-26 are indicators of partial repetition of few words with S+P structure. The structure S+P which is independent clause [α] shows that the sentences are declaratives, explaining with emphasis, the human conditions that are revealed in the novel. Okri does not repeat the same group of words that has the same syntactic pattern in generosity. Viewing these sentence patterns closely, Okri uses syntactic elements of ordinary language to create ambiguities purposely to furnish the text with aesthetic value.

Mere Repetition

Leech (1969) warned that some patterns are merely mechanical and cannot be called parallelism because "Parallelism requires some variable pictures of the patterns- some contrasting elements which are parallel with respect to their position in the pattern" (66). A novelist sometimes makes repetition of some words or group of words in such manner that their repetitions may not be necessary but for the sake of being emphatic and to present how one event follows the other. Okri employs this in *The Famished Road*:

FR 27 *We long for* an early cave homecoming,
to play by the river,
We long to medicate on sunlight and
precious stone...(5)

FR 28 *How many times* had I come and gone...?
How many times had I been born and died young? (5)

FR 29 *When I turned to run*, I heard a dog bark,
When I woke again the wizard had gone... (115).

In the above extracts, the aesthetic dimension of the underlined words or group of words serve the purpose of emphasis. The repeated words or group of words has the structural beauty of clarity and aesthetic innovation. And, in FR 28 and 29, the time adverb markers are used for cohesion.

Syntax of Multiple Sentences

FR 30 I looked /and Dad was slapping her on the head,/
kicking the table, /shaking mum/ pushing her,/
muscling her around, /and her arms fold, /
and then she submitted herself to his anger /

and I got up and rushed at him and he shoved
me side... (151-152) → [α+α+α+α+α+α+α+α+α]

FR31 'He was very restless /and he kept moving,
/kept throwing left and right hooks in
the air. (95) → [α+α+α]

Okri's multiple sentence is always a direct presentation of facts. FR 30 is very exceptional as it contains 9 simple sentences strung together but portrays the entire ability of the author at giving details of actions and situations. He uses these multiple sentences in the description of the background and the dispositions of his characters. It is used by Okri to show the chronological processes of actions and situations, which capture vividly the various actions in the narration of the experiences of the mystic and the mundane.

Multiple Complex Sentence

FR 32 'Mum served him ogogoro /and the blind old
man made a libation /and drank the alcohol
down /as if it were a soft drink / and began to
play the accordion with astonishing vigour.' (361)
→ α+α+α+β+α

FR 33 'When I got back/ the photographer was staggering
about the place, quite drunk,/ diving behind the chair,
/shooting an imaginary camera,/ acting the part of thugs
and politicians,/ while mum and dad fell about
in laughter' (157) → β+α+α+α+α+β

Okri uses this type of sentence in lending brevity to his utterances in *The Famished Road*. His constant use of simple sentences also stems from his quest for clarity in his language. At times, multiple complex sentences can have more than three independent clauses thereby creating a multiple sentence of great complexity. Okri seldomly uses this sentence type unless it is occasioned by the mood of the character or the need for emphasis. From the foregoing, Okri makes a careful selection of multiple sentences in *The Famished Road* towards simplicity of the documentation of events in the text.

Cohesion

Cohesion is a property of the sentence that refers to the logical ordering of elements within the sentence. Failure to arrange the components or elements of a sentence in logical order results in lack of coherence, and therefore, lack of clarity. According to Leech and Short (1981) Cohesion is:

An important part of what makes a text, both in literary and non-literary writing, but it is not always an important aspect of literary style. In literary fiction it can most often be seen as a background to more significant style markers, just as the framework which makes a building hang together part of its architecture (*Style in Fiction*, 245).

Cohesion occurs in some ways in the grammar of the novel. Let us examine how it occurred in the novel.

Cohesion through Normal Syntactic Order

Here, the sentence adheres to the normal syntactic order of subject, predicate, complement and adverbial (S P C A) even though inversions are possible. Okri uses simple sentences that have the S P C A syntactic order generously. Examples:

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| FR 34 <i>His exhaustion had returned</i> (473) | → SP |
| FR 35 <i>He did this many time</i> (473) | → S P C A |
| FR 36 <i>The beggar girl began to cheer</i> (473) | → S P |
| FR 37 <i>His eyes were positively reptilian</i> (470) | → S P C A |

The use of the normal cohesion SPCA shows that the author is interested in revealing facts in clear concrete details. The patterns explain in clear and simple diction the events in the narration in sequential occurrence.

Cohesion through Links

A text is bound together with the help of linking words to ensure unity of the element of the sentence. Okri uses coordinate conjunction and time adverbial links to make his text a single whole.

- FR 38 I began to complain, weeping about how
 hard this world is. *Then* I came to a crossroad.
 I saw a tortoise crawling out of the bushes
 and crossing the road and I was to pick it up
 when it spoke to me.

The abundant use of the underlined linking words gives us the stylistic value of linkage, which makes the text a “logically articulated discourse”. This pattern shows how one event is linked to another in a wholistic rendition, thereby creating linguistic unity in the discourse.

Tense

A novelist captures his events through tenses, which reflect the time of the events. A story occurs in the past but the narration brings in varieties of tenses, as the narrator needed to capture the events in various tense locations in order to bring in reality in the sequence of

actions. Okri is not unmindful of this as *The Famished Road* contains various sentence patterns that are valid in capturing the themes of odd political and human frailties in the novel. Let us examine some significant tenses in the text:

Present Tense

FR 39 'Leave my son'
 'Play the game'
 'Use your brains not your mouth' (36)

[These patterns are Simple Present Tense]

FR 40 I went out searching for mum and dad (33)
 It is getting late (88)

[These patterns are Present Continuous Tense]

In FR 39 and 40 above the tenses are in the present. FR39 is a recapture of a dialogue in the narration, FR40 shows the progressive nature of the narration, as the actions are not restricted to the fiction alone but could relate to our present state in Nigeria. Progressive tense has the function of killing fiction as the events in the narration are related to reality.

Past Tense

Okri uses this simple past tense in his narrative because the entire events happened in the past. It is the basic style in story-telling as the narrator recalls the events in the past even though its present relevance is the focus of the narration. Examples:

FR 41 'I summoned up the image of my mother' (24)
 'You almost killed someone' (169)
 'He went and helped the other two' (194)
 'I couldn't bear it any longer' (55)
 'We couldn't want people like you' (168)
 'He wasn't crouching' (261)

Past Continuous

The past continuous verb form is important to relate the progressiveness of an action in the past. It also shows how one event relates to another in an event that has a present situation realisation. We notice this in FR42 and 43 below:

FR 42 '... but further down I saw him approaching' (66)
 'We were eating some pap and bread and in the room' (99)
 'We ran into one of the toilet' (63)
 'There were wooden poles jumping from the earth' (277)

FR 43 'We had finished eating... when the creditors came one after the other, as if they had planned it' (53)
 'When I had eaten, I climbed back into bed' (118).

Future Tense

FR 44 'When you wake up tomorrow all the rates will be gone. I will finish them off. I will use my powerful medicine and my secrete charms' (233).

The future tense has the effect of bringing the future events into a past or present happening as shown in FR44 above. It is one of the sentential means of verisimilitude as the future in the narration brings in reality into the fictional stance of the narration. It presents events as if it happened or about to happen.

Okri uses many kinds of tense in *The Famished Road*. Although the most important tense that strikes us is the simple past tense, which is the bedrock of any text that narrates a story. Hence, the way Okri says what he wants to say is part of what he says. The utilization of the varieties of sentences in the novel has shown Okri's creative tendency towards reflecting the various time situations in every human condition. It is a linguistic method of time realization in narratives.

Mood

Halliday (1970) sees mood as that aspect of grammar that indicates the roles of characters in a text. He further says that:

Language itself defines the roles which people may take in situations in which they are communicating with one another incorporates options whereby the speaker can vary his own communication role, making assertions, asking questions, giving orders, expressing doubts and so on. The basic 'speech functions' of statements, question, response, command and exclamations fall within this category. (159)

Mood, thus, reveals the various functions of speeches. How we determine the intention of a speaker in a given situation is the concern of mood. Okri applied various moods in giving texture to his story.

Statements

Statements are usually sentences that perform declarative function. They assert or state an idea that can be said to be based on facts. Structurally, a statement is always made up of a subject and verb, and sometimes an object or complement and adjunct. *The Famished Road* is replete with this type of sentence. Examples:

FR 45 '*They were responsible for the milk, not us*' (152)
 '*Only the driver was left in the van*' (154)

‘*We are now on the moon*’ (315)

The above statements perform declarative function. They indicate simple facts.

Sentence 1 of FR 45 gives us the real information about those that were responsible for the supply of the bad milk in the campaigns for political position.

Command

Discussing the formal classification of the simple sentence, Quirk et. al. (1976) defines command as “sentence, which normally have no other grammatical subject and whose verb is in imperative mood” (386). From this definition, it is obvious that the imperative mood is characteristic of the command type of sentence. This is common in *The Famished Road*. Below are some examples:

FR 46 ‘Come and visit me one of these days...’ (47)

‘Do not open the door for cowards’ (98)

‘Vote for Unity and Power!’ (123)

Sentences 1 and 2 of FR46 show the attitude of Azaro’s father towards his creditor who seized his table for the money he owed him. Sentence 3 of FR46 is persuasive. It persuades the electorates to cast their votes for the political aspirants despite the fact that they are deceptive. Thus, the imperative mood captures the deceitful and the troublesome in the style of the novel. The moods in the text are generally significant in the realisation of Okri’s style of narration.

Conclusion

Merely seeing *The Famished Road*, its volume weighs one down. But the style of the text, which is simple in diction with patterned rhythmic phrases, clauses and sentences, has solved the problem of its reading boredom, as shown in the syntactic analysis of the novel in this paper. The style of *The Famished Road* remains a distinct style based on the fact that all works of art should not be structurally complex to be termed great.

The use of certain sentence structures arouses the reader’s interest who finds out that different kinds of sentences, tenses and moods are used as signifiers of contemporary issues – politics, propaganda and parochialism. This makes the reading of the text enjoyable and prevents the boredom or monotony that would have arisen if only one type had been used. The reader, because of this blending of sentences, tenses and moods, feels a certain relief. Although, the simple sentence and multiple sentences are common in the text, this stems from Okri’s quest for simplicity and clarity. Other syntactic structures like the phrases are also well utilized.

The choice of striking images and political slogans are appropriate to the theme of the text. These have increased the quality of the message the text has for its readers. The use of parallel structures, like pattern repetitions, is as well very striking. All these varieties of syntactic forms help to boost the aesthetic potential of the text. The text is syntactically significant in the application of the narration of events and situations.

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18. Communicative Structure in Dyadic Bargaining: The Case of Buying and Selling

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Bargaining interaction is more than mere communication of offers and counter offers. Although offers exert profound effect on the process, if bargaining is viewed as an interactive process, the offers will best be regarded as part of the total make-up of the process. In this study, we examine the structure of dyadic bargaining, and we observe that the transactional and interactional effects of communicative actions in bargaining influence bargaining and bargainers. We thus see that patterns and regularities of verbal elements that occur in context generate subtle meanings that influence bargaining outcomes.

Introduction

In Nigeria, buying and selling of most essential commodities and consumables are primarily carried out in open markets. In these markets, varieties of items for sale are displayed in stalls and open spaces to attract the attention of potential buyers. These markets enjoy greater patronage because prices of items on display are not fixed but negotiable (in contrast to what obtains in departmental stores and supermarkets) thereby affording customers the opportunity to haggle, negotiate and arrive at mutually acceptable prices. Buying and selling, therefore, is achieved through interactive talk.

It should be noted, however, that arriving at a mutually agreed price does not necessarily constitute buying and selling. Since there is no obligation either on the part of the buyer to pay the agreed price, or on the part of the seller to part with the item, either of the parties can unilaterally breach the agreement.

Given that the rules and normative practices of bargaining include specifying preferred outcomes (either overtly or covertly) prior to agreement, exchanging proposals and counter-proposals, and engaging in dynamic movement through social interaction, bargainers have to take into consideration the perceived goal incompatibilities, the content and function of messages, to be able to interpret information about proposals, determine their opponent's preferences and interests, before employing strategies and tactics aimed at reaching mutually acceptable preferred outcomes.

Although existing relationships between bargainers, contextual features, as well as mode of communication are likely to influence the outcome of a bargaining transaction, it should be noted that since bargaining involves two independent individuals who are engaged in communicative action with incompatible goals, it is possible that the antithetical goals will necessarily give rise to mixed-motive relationship whereby the individuals compete for divergent ends. It is, therefore, the nature of the encounter in terms of contributions and the concessions they elicit that will determine what the outcome of the transaction is likely to be. Although each participant is expected to cooperate with the other in reaching a satisfactory outcome, the fact that each participant can freely block the other

from attaining the desired goal, contributes in making the outcome of the desired goal unpredictable.

It becomes clear, then, that not all bargaining encounters are bound to result in agreements that are mutually favourable. Where participants succeed in reaching an understanding on a particular proposal, that proposal constitutes an agreement, but if not, the disagreement point, the impasse, should be regarded as an agreement even though the bargainers have reached a deadlock.

In this study, we examine interactional structure of bargaining exchanges. Apart from being a contribution to discourse pragmatic studies of social phenomena, the study illustrates how word choice, verbal overtones and conversational structures embody the subtle nuances and complexities that characterize turning points in bargaining. By examining the patterns and regularities of verbal elements which occur in context, we are able to observe how the subtle meanings they generate alter bargaining process.

Theoretical Background

This study draws from a combination of ethnographic, socio-linguistic and pragmatic approaches to the analysis of discourse. In doing so, we are aware of the thin line of division between these approaches; in fact, it is the relatedness of these approaches that we want to capitalize on. For example, ethnographic approaches to the study of discourse, just like the others, are hinged on the sociology of language, which concerns itself with how social meaning is ‘conveyed, constructed and negotiated’ (Saville-Troike, 1987:660). Within such a perspective, language is seen principally as a phenomenon that is deeply ‘grounded in social experience’ (Anderson, 1989:95). Talk is dynamic, active and living, and has the potential for creating conflicts and resolution, cooperation and misunderstanding between the participants. As Adegbija (1995:225) states, “the pragmatic, social and linguistic context in which talk or discourse occurs, is therefore very crucial for arriving at the intention behind words and, also, for the addressees in deriving these intentions”.

As pointed out by Stubbs (1983), the domains and goals of linguistics and discourse analysis are slightly different. Although both are concerned with language, in a general sense, “linguistics studies language while discourse analysis attempts to study the organization and the actual mechanism by which communication, understanding and interaction are maintained by the speaker and hearer above the clausal or sentence levels” (Okolo, 1987:212). Therefore, it falls within the domain of discourse to study the way language is used in social contexts and the way in which information is selected, formulated, and conveyed between speakers. It is the ability of the speaker and the hearer to negotiate mutual understanding in spite of their different perspectives that makes interaction possible. The study of communicative sequences in bargaining will not only demonstrate what people do with words, but that interactional encounters are structured.

The Sample

This study is based on fifty-eight tape-recorded samples of dyadic bargaining transactions covering a wide range of sellable items in several markets in Benin City. In some of the

transactions I was involved while in others I was merely a passive observer. With the aid of a sensitive panasonic pocket tape-recorder, it was easy to capture contributions without being detected. Although the tape-recordings contained lots of extraneous materials such as shouts, laughter, other conversations, and the like, in presenting the sample below, attempt has been made to sift out the unwanted materials.

This working sample differs slightly from some others in terms of contributions (for example, interactions between close friends will differ from that between strangers), but the structure and content of bargaining exchanges are the same. As revealed in most of the samples, the heterogeneous nature of Benin City has given rise to the fact that pidgin, the most popular bargaining lingua franca, features prominently in the encounters, often mixed with English and some other local languages. (In the sample, S = Seller, and B = Buyer).

1. S: (calls buyer by title): Doctor, yu kọm market?
(You came to the market?)
2. B: Yes-o. Good afternoon.
3. S: Good afternoon. Haw famili?
(How's your family?)
4. B: Dem wel. How maket?
(They are well. How is market?)
5. S: Market no gud egen. Tins tu kọst. Yu no si haw my shed empti?
(Market is not good again. Things are too costly. Don't you see how empty my shed is?)
6. B: Na wa-o-o. Pesin go fit sọvaiv fọ dis kọntri?
(It is terrible. Can someone survive in this country?)
7. S: Na God go sev ọs. Wetin yu wan bai?
(Only God will save us. What do you want to buy?)
8. B: Na yam (pointing to a set). Haw yu de sel dis?
(It is yam. How much do you sell this?)
9. S: Dat na ₦85.0 ich. Bot I fit kọmọt ₦5.0 fọ yu.
(That is ₦85.0 each. But I can remove ₦5.0 for you).
10. B: Eh-he? Na so I kọs?
(Exclamation. Is it as costly?)

25. B: (Turns back after a while). Yu go sel ₦65.0?
(Will you sell ₦65.0?)
26. S: Na ₦75.0 las (starts selecting the yams).
(It is ₦75.0 last price).
27. B: Select beta wan-o.
(Select good ones-o).
28. S: Yu fit tek yọ han select.
(You can select them yourself).
29. B: (Pays for the yams)
30. S: Tank yu. Mek I folo yu kari am kọmọt.
(Thank you. Let me help you carry them out).
31. B: Thank yu.
(Thank you).
32. S: (As the yams are dropped by the roadside): Grit yọ famili.
(Extend greetings to your family).
33. B: Bye-bye.

Interactional Structure in Bargaining

In normal conversational encounters, people interact on a moment-by-moment and turn-by-turn basis during which they exchange social and communicative actions. When participants engage in talk, they not only say something to one another, they do something – directing social and communicative actions at one another with the aim of achieving some goals. These actions constitute the ‘moves’ of conversation. As they communicate these actions, their hearers, relying on their abilities to interpret the actions through their knowledge of what is intended to be achieved, respond by producing counter-actions. This process of producing actions and counter-actions continues until the parties reach a point where one or both of them feels/feel that the transaction should be terminated. In other words, interactants take turns in producing communicative actions in an attempt to arrive at a mutually satisfactory outcome irrespective of whether or not their respective goals are realized.

Bargaining encounter, like conversational interaction, exhibits recurrent organized patterns of stable, identifiable, structural features that stand independently of the psychological or other characteristics of particular speakers. (Heritage, 1984; Nofsinger, 1991). As participants take turns responding to one another’s bargaining actions, their talk exchange develops in systematic ways that can be recognized, described, and used for

communicative purposes. The reciprocal relationships that exist among various turns, utterances, and communicative actions, make it possible to isolate features that form the basis for people's design and interpretation of talk.

Bargaining unfolds in phases. Each phase constitutes a coherent period of interaction, serving as a set of related functions in the movement from initiation to resolution. Each phase centres on a particular subgoal or milestone in the bargaining process used in gauging progress, predicting what will happen next, and focusing activity at a given time.

Interactional structure in bargaining exchanges can be summarized in the following themes:

- (i) Interactional prelude (pre-bargaining exchanges)
- (ii) Initiation and Identification
- (iii) Exchange of Proposals
- (iv) Resolution/Impasse
- (v) Closing and parting exchanges

(i) Interactional Prelude

Interactional prelude (or pre-bargaining exchange) is usually present in any normal conversational encounter. As Adegbija (1995:257) asserts, "in almost all types of discourse contexts in Nigeria, it is impolite and unacceptable to abruptly encounter an addressee and begin talking to him without some background interaction", which, in the case of bargaining discourse, comes in the form of greetings. To avoid such preliminaries tantamounts to jeopardizing the prospects of harmonious interaction from the outset and creating a contextual anaphora for the misinterpretation of the communicative intentions of the speaker in subsequent discourse. In many Western cultures, it does seem, from my experience and observation, that such 'greeting ceremonies' are not critical for initiation of talk exchange since one can even meet a stranger and start talking to him without jeopardizing the success of subsequent interactions. Most African cultures place high premium on such grooming talk.

Interactional prelude ranges from exchange of normal greetings to intimate exchanges that characterize closeness and affective ties. Individuals with extended period of relationship usually capitalize on such 'welfare' exchanges, enriched by accumulated personal information, to label their commitment to each other at recontacting (Okolo, 1990). Although such exchanges are not obligatory, when enacted by acquainteds before the commencement of bargaining sessions, it can influence both the bargaining process and its outcome.

This level is illustrated in our sample in utterances (1)-7(a). It contains two sequences: a sequence in which the parties establish identities (1-2a), and a sequence of welfare and solidarity exchanges (2b-7a). This level does not feature prominently in discourses where interactants are meeting for the first time or where identity relationships are minimal, in majority of the cases where it is present (as in our sample) bargaining transactions always end in mutual agreement primarily to maintain positive face and ensure

continued future relationship. Thus, although this level is not critical to bargaining proper, its presence contributes in subtle ways to the bargaining process and its outcome.

(ii) Initiation and Identification

In bargaining sessions, participants engage each other in specific type of interactions because they are in a particular psychological state which leads them to the goals associated with the type of interaction. Therefore, each interaction structure contains an initial state condition that stipulates what psychological state the participants must be in. At this level, the relevant interaction type is the information exchange in which one party (the responder) provides information to the other (the initiator) either because the initiator has specifically requested it or because the responder believes that the initiator either wants or needs the information in the advancement of the bargaining process.

This is a small segment of the transaction usually signaled by a question, which initiates the type of interaction that is about to take place. In our sample, as soon as the interactional prelude ends, the seller requests for this information in (7b) and the buyer supplies it in (8a). The two participants are now in the same psychological state for bargaining transaction. Identification is a prelude to bargaining proper as the object or item to be bargained for must be known before proposals begin.

(iii) Exchange of Proposals

One of the crucial components of bargaining is the exchange of offers and counter-offers with the attendant supportive claims for the offers proffered. In the context of price haggling, offers take place between two individuals (the buyer and the seller) with a view to arriving at a mutually acceptable compromise. Although explicit offers are more commonplace, implicit offers are equally possible especially where a relationship exists between the bargainers.

Commencement of offers is signaled by a question: the buyer seeks to know the price tag on the identified item as in (8b). The seller responds by providing an answer to the query (9a), and turn-by-turn offers and counter offers commence as illustrated in segments (8b) - (26) in our sample.

We can identify at least three communicative features of offers. First, offers are usually numerical – the basic bids consist of numerical properties. Second, offers require responses mostly in form of counter-offers, concessions, rejections or acceptances. Even where explicit responses are not elicited, the resultant silence represents a response act, which is communicative in the way that an unanswered question is. The fact that offers behave like utterance units that imply one another (popularly referred to as ‘adjacency pairs’) gives rise to ‘action-counter action’ structure of bargaining. Third, offers are linguistically fluid in the sense that whenever they are proposed, they are always tentative. It is this property that makes them subject to change and modification, either in the form of concession or incorporation – “adding to one’s proposal ... some element of a proposal made previously by the other party” (Pruitt, 1981:169). Presenting a take-it-or-leave it situation, dictating the outcome of negotiation, is not a way to bargain.

The fluidity of offers contributes immensely to the bargaining process for two main reasons: it stimulates information exchange, and provides the basis for heuristic trial and error. An offer supplies information about one's goals in terms of what is demanded in contrast to what might have been asked. A change or modification of a proposal presupposes that the person responsible for the change has not only cancelled the earlier proposal, but is willing to consider a new one (as in (21), (22) and (25)). Heuristic trial and error is a strategy by "which a bargainer frequently changes offers, conceding incrementally and selecting lowest priority issues" (Tatzauer, 1992:69) in an attempt to reach an agreement of high joint benefit. Whether sequential or simultaneous, offers have the effect of simplifying bargaining process because mutual consideration of proposals result in concessions that may influence acceptable settlements.

Just as in any negotiation process, trading of offers in bargaining exchange follows the pattern of a deliberate demand for a high preferred outcome on the one hand, and a deliberate low demand on the other. In the context of buying and selling as in our sample, it is the seller who proposes a high price (9), shifting positions and conceding downwards (12, 21) until a point is reached where further concessions cannot be made. The buyer, on the other hand, starts with a low price (16), conceding upwards (22, 25, 27) until a point is reached where further upward offer is considered undesirable. In each case, supportive arguments may be provided to justify the stand taken (as in 15 and 19).

These concessions characterize open market transactions. In making concessions, the parties are aware of the limits beyond which further offers will make perceived goal objectives unacceptable. Where these limits coincide, agreement is reached (as in 26 and 27) and buying and selling take place, otherwise an impasse is reached and negotiation breaks down. In our sample, an agreement is reached in (26), though tacitly, as communicative actions can equally be performed non-verbally.

Two bargaining strategies in our sample should be noted: over-pricing/under-pricing, and appeal to verification as in (23) and (24). Over-pricing is a ploy by the seller to see if the buyer will make a reasonably high proposal at the outset to quicken agreement. Individuals who are less knowledgeable in such transactions fall into this trap. It does not, however, follow that an initial high price offer by the buyer commits him to the purchase as he can unilaterally breach the agreement if he feels that he has been unduly cheated. On the part of the buyer, under-pricing is a strategy to ascertain the prevailing price range on the basis of which a decision is made on the limit of incremental offers. An unhappy reaction by the seller usually follows gross under-pricing, an indication to the buyer that a reasonable shift in position is desired for progress to be made in the bargaining process.

Both parties may opt for 'verification' – pricing around to ascertain the prevailing market price. The seller suggests this option in an attempt to make the buyer believe that the price concession just made represents the prevailing price tag. In other words, the buyer should not waste further time negotiating for the item elsewhere. The buyer, on his part, employs this verification strategy to see if further concessions can be obtained as the seller will not want the item purchased elsewhere at a lower price. In some cases, especially where relationships exist, verification option never actually takes place and agreement results.

We thus see that although this level is primarily concerned with trading proposals and counter-proposals, in doing so, interactants are conscious of their perceived goal objectives: achieving a favourable outcome, and at the same time maintaining a positive face through verbal manoeuvres. In spite of the desired goal objectives, participants attempt in their contributions to create the impression of togetherness and solidarity to ensure future harmonious interaction.

(iv) Resolution/Impasses

By resolution we mean that both parties to the bargaining encounter have reached a mutually acceptable price in spite of their initial divergent positions. We have noted before that this agreement is not necessarily binding for, either of the parties can unilaterally dishonour it for a number of reasons which could range from dissatisfaction (for example, when the item is thoroughly inspected) to a feeling that the desired goal objective has not been achieved. However, as in our sample where the maintenance of existing harmonious relationship is implicit, the agreement is honoured, and buying and selling results as implied by B's contribution in (27).

Agreement could equally be an impasse. In this case both parties have refused to shift grounds and a deadlock results. This is the case where preferred outcomes are incompatible usually leading to the termination of the encounter. An impasse is possible even when relationship exists and should therefore not be considered face-threatening in all cases. The fact that a negotiation has broken down does not necessarily imply illwillness on the part of bargainers and may not affect the destiny of future harmonious interaction. Impasse should, therefore, be seen as an agreement point beyond which the parties could not go as a result of constraints peculiar to them.

(v) Closing and Parting Exchanges

Just as opening an interaction smoothly and appropriately have consequences for what will follow, improper closing has the potency of not only retroactively signaling what had gone before but of seriously affecting future recontacting. It is usually assumed that for every type of contacting there is a corresponding type of departing exchanges. In other words, the display act owed a close friend at separation is nicely balanced in its way by what is owed him on recontacting. However, this is not always the case. In bargaining transactions of the type discussed here, the outcome of the encounter necessarily determines whether the parting rituals will be warm and affective, shallow or matter-of-factly, or even non-existent. Where transactions are healthy and successful, departing exchanges are copious and heart-warming, otherwise they will be brief or even non-existent. In our sample, we find that from the time compromise is reached in (27) which otherwise would have brought the interaction to an end, contributions which are not crucial to the bargaining process still occur. Although contributions (30b)-(33) are not obligatory, in the context of amicable compromise and existing relationship, such contributions become relevant. The fact that S volunteered in (30) to help carry out the yams for B is not only indicative of happy termination of the transaction but also has implications for future contact. We thus, find

that the existence of this level and what is contained therein is dependent on the outcome of the transaction and the shared relationship existing between the participants.

Interactional Effects

As pointed out by Geis (1995), the concept of interactional effect is critical to an account of communicative action in at least three ways. First, utterances in communication do transactional work, but the fact that the speaker troubles to utter them itself has interactional implications. Second, there are certain utterances that appear in conversations that seem only or primarily to do face-work. Third, certain features of the forms of transactional significant utterances reflect interactional effects of participant actions.

Interactions, therefore, have both transactional and interactional effects, and a person who chooses to initiate an interaction with others will choose to initiate a particular type of interaction because it will have the desired transactional and interactional consequences. Just as different types of interactions have intrinsically different interactional effects, utterances that occur within a given interaction will have an interactional significance that reflects the face-work the participants do in uttering them with regard to the interactional effects associated with that type of interaction.

Utterances in bargaining sessions are necessarily social, and may have transactional significance (as opposed to an illocutionary force) that reflects either what it contributes to face-work or what the utterance contributes to the satisfaction of the conditions of interaction structure, or both. In this view, we associate one or more elements of the interaction structure associated with the interaction that represents the contextual meaning of the utterance in the context in which it occurs.

My view that communicative actions are necessarily social, as opposed to speech (linguistic) acts is predicated on three major factors. First, communicative actions can be performed non-verbally, and even in cases where they must be verbalized, it does not follow from this fact alone that it must therefore be a speech (linguistic) act. Secondly, none of the differentia of communicative actions is linguistic. The differentia of the various classes of speech acts involve particular factual or psychological states relations among participants, not linguistic properties of utterances. And finally, social features of context play critical roles in the differentiation of communicative actions. In other words, what illocutionary act a sentence can be used to perform depends on non-referential social aspects of context. These are manifest in the sample we are considering.

At the interactional prelude level (pre-bargaining exchange), what is paramount to the participants is re-enactment of solidarity and an assurance that the time lapse after the last contact has not soured the shared relationship. In doing so, the participants pay respect to each other's positive face by making contributions that reflect this. Since the outcome of these preliminaries could endanger what may follow, extended grooming talk (in the case of acquainteds) is commonplace. Identity and existing relationship re-established and re-affirmed, commencement of actual business could now start.

It should be noted that interaction at this level need not be sincere; the importance is simply to size each other's commitment, thus assuming that what follows will be hitch-free. Although utterances at this level are highly ritualistic, they communicate important

social information: sociability, support and solidarity. With the interactional prelude of the type we have in (1) – (7a), it becomes possible to predict even the outcome of the bargaining session. Now that the participants, S and B, seem to be in the same psychological state, transition to the next level becomes easier especially with the summary assessments in (5) – (7a).

S initiates the next level through the use of a question – a question type that is expected in a market situation. Although questions always have the effect of negatively threatening the face of the person to whom it is directed (because their goal is to cause the respondent to commit to doing something for the initiator), the nature of the question in (7b) does not seem to be face-threatening. Although B has two choices open to him: to agree to or decline to answer it, he chooses the former option, which constitutes a positive face-respecting response (FRA). Had he chosen the latter, it would have been a positive face-threatening act (FRA), which would have had repercussions for what follows. To agree to undertake a commitment is to pay respect to the initiator's positive face, and this always smoothens interaction.

The positive response to the question in (7b) starts off the trading of offers as S does in (9). It is likely that the high offer threatened B's negative face hence he makes no numerical counter offer but expresses shock and surprise. S realizes this and immediately concedes downwards to redress the face-threat. B's contribution in (10) not only confirms the face-threat but also threatens the continuation of the transaction in (12) in spite of S's insistence that the new price is the tag. As a repair measure, S identifies a cheaper set in (13) at least, to ensure that the transaction does not break down. B is unimpressed, and possibly hoping that a concession could still be made, insists on the set at stake. This type of bargaining strategy is acquired only through frequent involvement in such transactions. The seller's identification of a cheaper set is equally a strategy not only to get a more satisfactory high benefit, but to maintain positive face, thus assuring the buyer of her cooperation and goodwillness. That is why she mentions in (15) that the concession just made is 'just because of you'. To strengthen this argument she suggests 'verification', a bargaining strategy. Seeing the apparent finality in her stance, the buyer makes an offer in (16) which is rejected by S with further argument and justification in (19).

B makes a summary assessment in (20). In most conversational encounters, summary assessments have the potency of either concluding or effecting change of topics, or the implication of signaling the initiator's disinterest in the ongoing discussion. This may be why S immediately makes another concession in (21) and states why no further concession will be possible.

However, B rejects this last concession in spite of its finality. Rejection is a negative face-threat. Considered from the point of view of S's apparent 'sincerity' and demonstration of solidarity, it can be devastating. B observes this and attempts a repair, by making an incremental offer in (22). That S felt hurt can be seen in her utterances in (23). She does not reject the offer in the normal way but simply asks B to verify elsewhere, a clear signal to B that further downward concession should not be expected. B tries to save his face by agreeing to verify elsewhere, albeit reluctantly, for, no sooner had he started to walk away than he came back to make another offer.

Three transactional significance of B's retreat can be identified. First, it is possible he knew that S will not shift grounds, yet he makes a new offer just to save face, (at least, for coming back). Second, in spite of the new offer, he has made up his mind to accept S's final offer. Finally coming back to buy from S (whether or not the item will be cheaper elsewhere) will not only redress the negative face damage but will ensure future harmonious relationship.

As mentioned earlier, bargainers are able to interpret information about proposals and determine their opponent's preferences and interests not only through the linguistic content of contributions, but also through careful observation and assessments of the face-works that come into play. It is therefore possible that S is fully aware of the interactional significance of B's retreat, and as a result, is not fooled by B's final moves. Therefore, even as she restates her position in (26), she not only believes that B has agreed to her offer, but starts sorting out the yams without any overt consent of B. That the transaction is consummated is evident in B's comment in (27) and consequent payment in (29). Bargainers, therefore, are able to negotiate mutual understanding in spite of their different perspectives, strategies and face-works that characterize such transactions.

The final segment of the encounter is the farewell ceremony, which usually accompanies any satisfactory transactional sessions. Before the farewell ceremony, S in (30) not only thanks B for the patronage but volunteers to carry the yams to the road-side. This action is significant for two reasons. First, it signifies that the repair of the earlier face-threatening act initiated by B is not only successful but has been accepted by S. Second, the existing relationship between the parties is still intact, thus guaranteeing future harmonious relationship. When acquainteds part in this manner, they not only consummate the effect of the encounter on the relationship, but also show what the participants may expect from one another at next meeting – that the relationship which existed at the end of the last encounter has not changed in spite of the separation. It therefore follows that a happy encounter should be terminated by a happy parting exchange.

Conclusion

An interesting thing about bargaining research is the way bargainers shape each other's behaviours through their contributions and face-work. Because bargaining is a joint decision-making process, the goal objectives of bargainers influence the actions of each other. At the commencement of a bargaining process, bargainers usually have partial knowledge of their opponents' goal objectives (whether or not a relationship exists between them), but as the exchanges go on, this knowledge is modified on the basis of offers and counter offers (and the concessions they elicit), arguments, face-work and other behaviours.

The structure of bargaining transaction, when examined through a communicative lens, enables us to see how interactional and transactional effects of contributions exert some influence on the participants and the process. Communicative actions in bargaining are, therefore, not mere exchange of offers that serve only to inform the opponent of a position.

Although the sample examined here and the observations arising therefrom represent a normal bargaining transaction, it should be noted that provocative bargaining encounters do occur. In these cases, the communicative structure of the exchange is bound to be different. It might be interesting to investigate such encounters with a view to seeing the effects of such communicative actions, not only on bargainers themselves, but on bargaining itself.

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19. Writing in Igbo: Heroes and Challenges

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Introduction

Myths, legends, and folktales are different forms of folklore amongst others. They are ancient in nature. People who lived long ago composed them to explain idea about nature. Their mode of delivery was and still is by oral transmission. The stories were composed long before writing and printing were invented.

Myths, legends, and folktales have unknown authors. As we have earlier indicated, folklore in its entirety embraces an overview of a people's beliefs, customs, and traditions. It also records a people's arts, crafts, dances, games, fairy tales, proverbs, rhymes, riddles, songs, and superstitions. The Igbo who constitute part of the cultures of the world also have their own folkloristic tradition.

Igbo folklore is as old as the Igbo race. It was created for the purposes of entertainment, edification, and it is pedagogic. The Igbo have down the ages endeavoured to pass down their folklore orally from one generation to another. However, with the advent of scripting and printing, folkloristic genres in all their forms offer themselves as basic foundation and veritable tools for modern writers to build on. Many writers the world over have availed themselves the ample opportunity folklore provides to compose plays, poems, and prose narratives. The purpose of the new trend does not negate that of its oral counterpart. In view of the foregoing, the main thrust of this paper is to look inward and to examine the extent to which writing in Igbo has survived its oral counterpart, to appraise the phenomena that constitute challenges to the writer, and encourage the heroes to light on.

Heroism and Writing in Igbo

Universally, every nation of the world has had its own experiences of humans whose nobility reflected in their achievements. Folks who as rare achievers possessed high degree of prowess at the human level. These achievers had their deeds and accomplishments recorded in the sub-conscious mind of the people. Bards, actors, and raconteurs chant, re-enact, and narrate these deeds and accomplishments of people whose capacity or natural endowment are beyond those of ordinary people. The art of is a rare feat, but writing in Igbo is a peculiar onerous task for obvious reasons. It presents two main conflicts, which pose some difficulties and challenges to the writer. These challenges disturb the writer in some ways. They include choice of subject matter, language, publication, readership and return.

The Challenge of Choice

There can be no hero without challenges. Therefore, writing in Igbo creates some challenges in the mind of the writer. These include a conception of idea, a translation of

idea, and an expression of idea to be able to excel. Regarding the challenge of a conception of idea, one may argue that much ground had been tilled for him to cultivate by oral tradition. But we consider that the Igbo writer has conflicting varieties of choices to make. He may wish to choose from what is already there in the tradition like Achara (1933), Obike (1977), and Okpi (1980), among others who draw from legends, myths, and folktales. He may look out for an entirely new idea like Onwuchekwa (1982), Mgbemena (1991), and Nwaozuzu (1992), among others. We also consider that Igbo writers like Nwana (1933) and Ubesie (1975), may have had recourse to events in history, while such writers as Mezu (1974), Osuagwu (ed.) (1977) and Onyekaonwu (1982), opt for adaptations. On account of these, we believe that the writer passes through some conflicts within himself to arrive at a theme.

The concept of an idea is not just enough because a theme remains a mirage except it is translated into reality. In this vise, a writer who writes in Igbo faces an obvious challenge to transmit what he now has in mind to the reading public. This is here the oral artist has advantage. The Igbo world being a closed one, the oral artist when he performs concerns himself with his immediate audience. Within a milieu, a performer has a command of the language as it is spoken there. He, therefore, is more at home than the modern artist who has more than members of his immediate community as audience. We do appreciate the fact that language is a cultural phenomenon. The culture that is expressed through the Igbo language is, one of the two that are particularly important in Africa, the third largest in West Africa, and the largest in Nigeria, according to Nnabuihe (1999), Ekechi (1972) and Encyclopedia Britannica (1969). The Igbo who own this culture live patrilocally in homesteads dispersed in villages composed of clans. The clans constitute a cluster of dialects which the Reverend Fred. W. Dodds describes as being “almost as heterogeneous as the Latin tongues of Europe.”

A group of anonymous researchers who write under the pseudonym: “Format of Report on Nations of the Empire for Roots Africa Program of the Empire of Nubia” confirm that “there are many dialects of the Igbo language. These dialects are so many that every town in every city has its own dialect and, the farther two towns are from each other, the more different their dialects.” From data already collected for an on-going research on the dialects of Igbo language by Professor Kay Williamson and Dr. Chinyere Ohiri-Aniche, there are about forty-six Igbo language dialects. A point we press to clarity is that for almost all clans in the vast land called Igboland, there is a dialect. Again, each dialect is complete to explain the world in its locality. Each dialect assigns name tagged to items are compared in different dialects that are closely situated. Let us use the word ‘kernel’ *aku* as it is called in three closely situated towns as Owere, Mbieri, and Ikeduru as our first instance:

Igbo Izugbe
Akụ

Ikeduru
agbà

Mbieri
mkpòkiri

Owere
mkpìrì

It could be seen from these that neither the segmental nor the supra-segmental phonemes of the morpho-phonemic compositions of the words appear to be the same. Let us take two

other instances from Ata, Mbiase, Ngwuru, Osu, Owere, and Uzuakoli using *akwa* “wrapper” and *ikwe* “mortar”.

Igbo Izugbe	Owere	Mbiase	Uzuakoli
Akwà	ñjà	mkpuru	akù

and

Igbo Izugbe	Ata	Ngwuru	Osu
Ikwe	odō	oshibo	ekiri

From these examples, we see clear differences in names assigned to same items in different dialects of the same Igbo language.

Apart from these, we know also that certain features are natural to certain areas alone. For these features, a local name is assigned to them as part of the Igbo language. For instance, around Ohuhu Umuahia, we see a kind of sand that is pebble-like in texture. In the Ohuhu dialect, that kind of sand is called *ajarata* which may mean nothing or sound strange to other Igbo people around a place like Agbo where such sand is non-existent. All these pose themselves as challenges which bother a literary artist internally and may discourage him from writing in Igbo, especially when he considers that his choice of dialect may hinder a wide readership of his work. It is even worse when he tries to break new grounds in terms of neologising. The new words he creates may not be easily absorbed except he makes extra efforts to gloss them.

These are problems, which the oral artist never encountered. A critic may argue that standard Igbo is available for writing in Igbo, but we consider the fact that the average writer may not have a mastery of the standard Igbo. Even standard Igbo itself which is an admixture of the dialects in Igbo is still a source of academic war between scholars. Take Emenanjo’s write-up titled: “After the Blackout: Editorial and Linguistic problems in *Aka Weta*”, and Achebe’s reaction titled: “Editorial and Linguistic Problems in *Aka Weta*: A Comment” in *Uwa Ndi Igbo* journal of Igbo life and culture (1984) as examples. Besides, standard Igbo is often described as an instrument for classroom instruction. Again, most writers who write in Igbo are not experts in Igbo studies. For instance, Nwana was a carpenter. Chukuezi is a medical practitioner, Akoma is a parson, while Munonye is a lawyer. This indicates that even where standard Igbo is to be made a model, it will still pose a challenge for writing in Igbo. At least, we are aware that Nwana’s *Omenuko* has been transliterated by J.O. Iroaganachi, Obike relies on Nsofor and Ogbalu for the translation of his “Serpent of the Green Lake” (1973) into *Eke Une*, just as Olebara is the brain behind the translation of Okpi’s *Obi Nwanne* into Igbo. I cannot say in surety if Chukwuemeka Ike is the sole translator of his *The Potter’s Wheel* into *Anụ Ebu Nwa*.

Even writers who excel in the art of literary writing in Igbo like Ubesie, Nzeako, and Maduekwe, etc., most of them were not graduates when they wrote. Furthermore, the idea of a standard Igbo was not in place when most texts we read today were written. Only a few Igbo writers like Onwuchekwa. Nwaozuzu. Nwadike, and Ofomata who doubles as

both writer and publisher wrote in Igbo are experts in the language. Most others who studied Igbo up to the university level end up as critics than as writers. So, whichever way it is looked at, language poses a great challenge to writing in Igbo for proper expression.

Other Challenges

The problems of idea conception, translation and expression which constitute themselves a personal challenge to any one writing in Igbo the language notwithstanding, there are some other problems that pose themselves as challenges too. These other problems are not internal but external problems. They emanate from acceptability, publication, and royalty. Writing in Igbo is not an easy task. Therefore, any one who braves the odds to write deserves motivations. A writer needs motivation in terms of patronage and acceptability.

Although, the writing of Igbo words commenced with the personal zeal of the Reverend G.C.A. Olderidorp in 1766, the language became a medium of instruction in school with Mrs. Hannah Kilham in 1832 in far away West Indies and Sierra Leone, it became an issue of contention in Igboland about the 1840s. That was when Reverend Joseph F. Schon prepared and delivered a speech in an Igbo community using the Igbo language as the medium. From records available, that effort was not encouraged by the Igbo themselves on account of dialect variations. Since that time, lack of encouragement has persisted and has even degenerated into outright rejection in almost all strata of the Igbo life. From the family to the school, from the individual to the leader, and from the private to the public life, hostility trails the Igbo language. Everyone knows its importance, but only a few embrace it.

Following Anoka (1981:310), at home, parents see the Igbo language as something reserved for children's free-play hours in school to joke with while serious home work in other subjects like English and French languages, etc., are welcomed. In school, teachers consider it an issue that concerns only parents at home. The outcome is what Ekwueme (2000) cries out against that: "many Igbo children do not today speak the language. They are called Igbo children only because they are born of Igbo parents". In a keynote address given at the inaugural conference of the Society for Igbo Language and culture, Western Zone, at the University of Lagos in May 2000, Professor Laz-Edward Ekwueme in a paper titled "The Igbo and Igbo Studies Today" laments:

In the area of language, the achievement orientation of the Igbo seemed to have given rise to an anti-language orientation for the Igbo. Western education soon became a means of achieving success, in that it was a pathway towards better jobs and, hence, higher standards of living for the traditional Igbo man. The ability to speak English was seen as a mark of education, which attracted some prestige. Everybody therefore seemed to be eager not only to acquire the ability to speak English (of some sort), but also to show off this ability, so as to earn respect from others. This, unfortunately, gradually led to the abandonment of Igbo as a language of discussion in many Igbo circles. Today, very few people indeed, even in the remotest villages in Igboland, can make speeches in Igbo without interjecting foreign words here and there.

From the foregoing, we observe how the Igbo place material achievements and western education above their identity. Hence, the Igbo feel inferior speaking their mother-tongue and feel superior speaking foreign languages.

Recent Hostilities

The self-abnegation of the Igbo towards, not only the Igbo language, but also everything Igbo was epitomized on the floor of Anambra State House of Assembly in Enugu during the second republic. According to Ejiofor (1984:118-121), a motion moved for the adoption of the use of the Igbo language in addition to the English language to conduct business of the house generated much controversy at the then Anambra State House of Assembly. He writes:

Exactly at 10 a.m. on October 25th, 1979, the Majority Leader Mr. E.A. Iteanyi moved a motion “that this House in addition to the English language conduct its business in Igbo language”. This motion simple and straightforward as it seemed ran into rough waters.

According to our source, the honourable members who were Igbo, and probably educated Igbo reacted sharply. In a short while, members were torn into three different stances. The opinion groups are described by the author as: those who felt that Igbo should not be used at all or “Away-with-Igbo” group, those who felt that some ground work needs be done before the Igbo language can be used in the Assembly debates or “Preparation-First” group, and those who felt the great need to rescue the Igbo language from its roll down the slope of obsolescence or “Save-the-Igbo-language” group. Analysing the arguments advanced by the “Away-with-Igbo group, certain reasons were advanced. They include: “the incompleteness of the Igbo language, the prestige of members for using Igbo in debates, and the misplacement of priorities that expenditure on developing the language would entail; hence, their call to jettison the use of the Igbo language in debating matters affecting the Igbo who own the language. The reasons for the hostile attitude to the Igbo language are articulated and summarized in the following four points:

- i. “Fears that our prestige may be lowered if we decide to use Igbo in our daily discussions.”
- ii. “Right now, we do not know how to use Igbo language even in our families ... Think about how we dress, everything is thrown away. We do not know how to speak the language”.
- iii. “I am surprised, sir, that the hon majority leader with all the duties attached to his office will find time at this material time to bring in this motion. This is not our priority. Not the Igbo language... Tax-payers would not be happy with us to hear that we used a huge sum of money rather than maintain our very bad roads, to buy equipment to translate the Igbo language in the Hansard... Let us throw it over board and take something serious. This is not time for Igbo language or no Igbo language.”

- iv. “It is not a question of being patriotic but a question of facing realism. Igbo language as it is now is not a complete language. Firstly, it is not right for us to compare our language with the Hausa language or the Yoruba language. They write letters in their language, to any part of the world and their correspondents, read their expressions and understand what they want to convey.”

These stupendous reasons are not only in accord with the assertion that “many Igbo children do not today speak the language ...” but go further to reveal that it is not only “many Igbo children” rather “many Igbo people” that feel dishonoured when identified as speakers of the Igbo language: that do not know how to use the Igbo language even in their families: that do not see the Igbo language as deserving a priority attention but as deserving to be thrown away for serious things like road maintenance to be effected: and that the Igbo should face realism that Igbo language is incomplete, inferior, and incomparable with the Hausa, and the Yoruba languages and as well be proud to accept the realism that Igbo language cannot be used to write letters by the Igbo or convey messages to any part of the world. Perusing these arguments against a language our ancestors used effectively for millennia before the advent of English and other languages, one recalls the words of Adiele (1972) regarding the reasons for the unfortunate state of affairs with studies in the Igbo language and culture. He attributes it to the fact that “our false sense of values comes first ...”

The Effect of the Challenges

In the face of all odds such as neglect of the Igbo language use at home, in schools and at work by over 30 million citizens more than one half of which are of readable age and one third of which are in schools, literature texts written in Igbo do not have readership. As the Igbo fail to read Igbo texts, writing in Igbo is indeed a big task. The task of writing in a language that has a dearth of a readership is a challenge heroes alone can face. Apparent lack of readers for Igbo literary texts constrains publishers to be cautious as they invest in the publication of texts written in Igbo. Hence, most reputable publishers like Longman, Evans, Macmillan, University Press, etc., seldom publish literature texts written in the Igbo language. Recent inquiries at some of these publishing houses reveal that many manuscripts on written Igbo literature are kept unassessed for years. Many more are rejected on regular bases while most of those already published are out of print.

The delay in getting published is another effect of the challenges the Igbo writers face. To shrug it off, many Igbo writers now have recourse to private or self-publishing. This is a bold step too hazardous for our heroes. It entails four overt difficulties, namely: sourcing funds for publication, circulation of texts after publication, returns on investment for publication and piracy of publication. Considering the lethargic attitude the Igbo have for the Igbo language, no government, institution, or philanthropist assists to fund the publication of writings in Igbo. Again, as no one reads writings in Igbo for entertainment, for didacticism or for the love of the aesthetic use of the Igbo language in them, the only option left for disposing them is by recommendation. With no wide circulation which individual writers can record, examination bodies like schools, WAEC, NECO, LAMB,

etc., hardly know about self-published authors and their works or get convinced to include them on their list of recommended texts. Where an author gets his work recommended, he faces the problem of piracy.

The foregoing are discouraging. In spite of the discouragement, the heroes keep fighting. Any writer whose work sells a million copies is a bestseller anytime. Even where he makes only two naira gain or royalty on each copy sold, he would have been well rewarded. However, in the course of my researches as a student of Igbo studies, I have been privileged to visit and to hold discussions with a number of notable Igbo writers like A.B. Chukuezi, J.C. Maduekwe, W.C. Eneore, I.E. Akoma, C.E. Ofomata, E.N. Emenanjo, I.U. Nwadike, B.I.N. Osuagwu among others, but I am yet to come across any who made big money from royalties. Even this writer who has descended lower to produce wall charts as *Mkpurruedemede nu Onuogugu Igbo* for nursery and early primary school uses since 1993, and almanacs as *Omenala Igbo 1997*, *Omenigbo 200*, *Odinigbo 2001* and *Omenigbo 2003* as well as a manuscript on Igbo children's rhymes titled "Abu Ndakorita Umaka" which both Professor E.N. Emenanjo and Professor Sam Uzochukwu acknowledged as a worthy contribution to the sustenance of Igbo literary studies is yet to get encouraged. Thus, these heroes' primary joy remains that though they may have failed to hit cold from their writings, they have succeeded in subduing the lethal apathy other Igbo people have for Igbo studies.

Conclusion

In conclusion, therefore, there are the problems of despondence, dialect variations, self-abnegation, and outright rejection which constitute challenges to writing in Igbo. We agree with Adiele (op. cit) that "a race whose language cannot be used for literary and serious purposes has no real identity; the race is decadent". He stresses further the most conclusive conquest of a people is the conquest through language". His as an opinion corroborates another assertion that "it is only by reading and writing a language extensively that the language develops and each language is the best medium of expressing the world view and the way of life of the people using that language" and that "without literature the language of a people becomes an endangered species". To this end therefore, we now see the urgent need to surmount these challenges. That need underlies writing in Igbo to project what was there in the culture of the Igbo as it was transmitted in oral tradition; to express novel ideals and to contribute to topical issues which are realities of the contemporary world. Writers who develop thick skins strong enough as buffer for disparagement, slow action in publication, time and money commitment, as well as low returns from inputs are the heroes. We can point out few of these heroes among us. Some of them are already dead. Others are still alive. Like Ejiofor (1984:123-124), we pay glowing tribute to all our heroes, living or dead to encourage others. In due course, your labours, and your achievements shall be duly acknowledged. They shall not be in vain. Writing in Igbo is worthy to perpetuate the folkloristic heritage of our forebears, to re-orientate ourselves, to maintain our identity, and to wield it the way we should in a multi-lingual environment like Nigeria.

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20. Metrical Structure & Lineation in Ewi Iremolekun (Yoruba Children's Lullaby)

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Introduction

The problem of lineation in Yoruba Oral poetry has long been identified by eminent scholars such as Babalola (1966), Beier and Gbadamosi (1959), Olatunji (1984) among others. Indeed, Olatunji (1984: 10) notes that "Establishing criteria to delimit line in Oral Poetry is a complex task, since the oral poet has been brought up in a tradition that may not follow the linear convention".

In an attempt to identify criteria for delimiting lines, Babalola (1966:345-346) suggested the use of the breath-pause – that is, wherever the oral artist pauses for breath in the performance of the oral art should be construed to be the end of a line. While accepting this suggestion, Olatunji (1984:11-13) noted that this criterion as sole lineation agent has the potential of creating intelligibility problems. Olatunji thus added a lexico-structural criterion to that of breath-pause. This lexico-structural criterion insists on semantic and structural unity within a line. In other words, a single clause must not be broken up to occur in two different lines.

These two very useful criteria (that is breath-pause and lexico-structural criteria) seem to have been used generally, either consciously or unconsciously, in setting down oral poetry as written text. The type of oral poetry that interests us in this paper is Ewì Ìremolékún. We intend to look at the linear structure of such poems as set down in some written texts and to compare this with what the prosodic phonological structure and metrical pattern may tell us.

In the next section, we look at what constitutes Ewì Ìremolékún in and also justify the introduction of the meter as a viable tool to use in looking at (at least) some genre of oral poetry.

1. Ewì Ìremolékún and Metrical Structure: A Justification

Ewì Ìremolékún is analogous to the English Children's lullaby. They are, however, not identical in function. The English lullaby is a cradle-song used to soothe children to sleep, while the Yoruba Ewì Ìremolékún is used to calm an irritable child not necessarily to eventually lull him to sleep but to bring him to a state of equanimity conducive with an undisturbed environment.

Ewì Ìremolékún, therefore, can be characterized as the poem/song sung to children by their parents or care-givers whenever such children become irascible. The purpose of such poetic singing is to pacify the child.

This kind of poetic singing has without question been identified as oral art by Yoruba literary scholars. The structure, as this paper will show, confirms this classification.

The paper makes the assumption that oral poetry of the singing mode can be shown to be metrical. It is therefore, necessary for us to justify such an assumption before we proceed.

Beier and Gbadàmósi (1959) are of the opinion that there is “... no Yoruba metre”. (Beier and Gbadamosi, 1959:8). This view was challenged by Babalola (1966:346,358) where he argued that prominent syllables do occur at regular intervals in Yoruba *Ìjálá* within syntactic groups “... coinciding with rhythm-units” (Babalola 1956:358). Abimbola (1976:63-71) cited in Olatunji (1984:60), following Babalola, posited a metrical structure for *ese ifá*. Olatunji (1984:60) sees these assertions as “questionable” on the basis of the fact of his findings that “... the physiological feature of stress is not regular and predictable in the Yoruba language”. We agree with Olatunji that if the Yoruba literature metrical system is based on stress, it is questionable. We are, however, careful not to discount the attestation of metrical structure in (at least) some kinds of Yoruba oral poetry.

We consider metrical structure to be a universal phenomenon available to all languages for exploitation in literature. This has become even easier to classify with the evidence that cross-cultural comparison has brought to light that languages adopt either one of two possible metrical structures in literature:

- (a) patterning meter
- (b) counting meter.

The patterning meter “... has a metrical position, labelled S and W, and the matching rule is sensitive to the difference; it specifies that a strong syllable in a lexical word must not match a W position in the metrical template ...” (Fabb, 1997:59).

This kind of meter is exemplified by the English iambic pentameter which stipulates a template with ten positions labelled as:

W S W S W S W S W S

The English matching rules then account for the regular intervals in stress as it interacts with this template.

Counting meter, on the other hand, has a metrical template which “... (consists) of undifferentiated metrical positions. Each metrical position is matched to a prosodic phonological constituent, typically either a syllable or a mora ...” (Fabb, 1997:56). This kind of meter has been identified as the kind exploited by the Japanese HAIKU genre of poetry.

This second kind of metrical structure is the type that, we will argue, operates in *Ewì Ìremolékún*. Furthermore, we believe that the template targets the prosodic phonological constituent of ‘mora’ in this oral poetry type. The mora is an element of prosodic phonology that measures duration. It is an element of the nucleus of a syllable in

Yoruba. For this reason, therefore, all syllables in the language project (at least) one mora. Long vowels project two morae as their duration is longer than that of a short one-mora nucleus. Every nucleus, typically, generates no more than two morae on the basis of a binarity principle, the discussion of which will take us too far afield from the main object of this paper.

The next section of this paper presents the data on which the paper is based.

2. Ewì Ìremolékún: The Data

Olabimtan (1988:48, 49) presents a number of samples of Ewì Ìremolékún, delineating them as shown below:

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | Péépéye òwúbàntutu,
óó bimoo
Kò réyin pon'mo | The duck, grossly rotund,
It gave birth
But has no back to carry
It's young |
| 2. | Àlàbí dáké o
má sunkún mó
Bí mo r'ónirèké
ma rà fún o | Àlàbí desist
cease your crying
if I find a sugarcane seller
I will buy you (some) |
| 3. | Dààdá ní kó o
Ó wà ní lé o
Kó má su púpò o
Kó má sàisu
Kó má gbóná jan-jan-jan ¹
Bí èko oní o
Kó má tutu rin-rin-rin ²
Bí èko àná o | where is Dada?
he is at home
May he not stool much
May he not fail to stool
May he not grow hot
as maize porridge prepared just today
May he not grow cold as maize
Porridge prepared since yesterday. |
| 4. | Àlàbó o
Kò r'oko
Àlàbí oo
Kò rodò
Bó bá jí, a gbóbè kanáá
A jèbà rán a sekùn rondo
Omo olórò ti I jeyin awó | Àlàbí (emphatic)
He did not go to the farm
Àlàbí (emphatic)
He does not proceed to the stream
As soon as he wakes up he heats up the soup
After a meal of eba he presents a distended stomach
Child born into wealth rich enough to eat Guinea-fowl eggs. |

The above samples typically agree with Olatunji's lineation criteria: each line maintains structural and semantic unity and the end of each line represents a point at which the performance rests briefly (breath-pause). Where these criteria become problematic is when there is ambiguity in lineation where both alternatives meet the criteria as exemplified below:

Sample (a)

Àlàbí dáké o
 má sunkún mó
 bí mo r'ónireké
 ma rá fún o

Sample (b)

Àlàbí dáké o má sunkún mó
 Bí mo r'ónirèké ma rà fún o

Both samples (a and b) meet the criterion of structural and semantic unity in performance; none of them has any breath-pause break until the end of the song. This leaves us with the lexico-structural criterion as the sole arbiter in lineation.

This accounts then, for the ambiguity in lineation in samples (a) and (b) Is it right to see these as two alternative forms of linear presentation with the presenter given an arbitrary choice of one based on subjective preference? Or is there another criterion that may be introduced as an arbiter in judging between two different possible and logically plausible presentations? To the first question our answer is 'No' as such a principle is, to our mind, not constrained enough; and to the second question, our answer is 'Yes' and we proceed in the next section to provide such a criterion.

3. The Metrical Structure of Ewì Ìremolékún

The two samples presented in the last section display the following moraic pattern (the '?' stands for 'mora'):

Sample 'C'

Âlàbí dâkê ^ o	6
mâ sùn kûn mô	4
Bî mô rônîrêkê	6
mâ râ fûn ô	4

Sample 'D'

Âlàbí dâkê ô mâ sùn kûn mô	10
bî mô r'ônîrêkê mâ râ fûn ô	10

As the mora count of both samples ('c' and 'd') shows, they both have regular phonological patterns. Sample 'c' has four lines with every other line (even-numbered) alternating with the former (even-numbered) in duration.

Sample ‘d’, on the other hand, has only two lines and both of them alternate with each other, in regular duration. The fact that sample ‘d’ is more preferred to ‘c’ will become obvious when we look at the prosodic phonological structure of the other songs which will show a preference for regular alternation in duration of lines which immediately follow each other.

3.1 Regular Alternation, One Metrical Template

The above sample immediately preceding, if for the time being our choice of sample ‘d’ is allowed to pass without justification, shows a metrical template with ten positions, this template is repeated for the two lines. The same template can be argued to hold for the next sample to be considered:

Sample ‘e’

Pêêpêyê ôwûbăn tutu
ôô bî môô
kô rêyîn pônômô

Sample ‘f’

Pêêpêyê ôwûbăn tutu
ôô bî môô kô rêyîn pônômô

Sample ‘e’ (as presented in the text that is our reference) has three lines with the last two showing a metrical template repeated in turns. Sample ‘f’, on the other hand, presents two lines with both of them attesting evidence for a ten-position metrical template. Sample ‘f’, therefore, provides strong evidence for the choice of sample ‘d’ over sample ‘e’.

3.2 Regular Alternation, Two Metrical Templates

Sometimes, in accordance with the principle of creative variation in literature, two metrical templates may be used in the same poem/song as the next set of samples will show:

Sample ‘g’

Dâdâ ñ kô ô	6
ô wâ ñ lê ô	5
kô mâ sũ pũpô ô	6
kô mâ sâîsũ ³	5
kô mâ gbônâ jân-jân-jân	7
bî êkô ôní ô	6
kô mâ tutu rîn-rîn-rîn	7
bî êkô ânâ ô	6

Sample 'h'

Dââdâ ñ kô ô, ô wâ ñ lê ô	11
kô mâ sù pûpô ô kô mâ sâîsû	11
kô mâ gbônâ jân-jân-jân bî êkô ôîî ô	13
kô mâ tûtû rîn-rîn-rîn bî êkô ânâ ô	13

Sample 'g' (as presented in Olabimtan 1988) displays a pattern of three templates with the first four lines alternating odd-numbered with even-numbered line; the last four lines also display the same kind of pattern, but with a change in the metrical templates. Although this presentation shows a regularity of structure, its pattern is so complex as to be improbable, especially if all samples of Ewì Ìremolékún are compared to present a general picture.

Sample 'h' presents four lines with two metrical templates; the first template of eleven positions match the alternative lines 1 and 2, while the second template of thirteen positions again match the alternating lines of 3 and 4. The sample in 'h' accords well with the samples 'd' and 'f' which we tried to justify as the correct ones for those particular poem-songs; they all have regular templates and the templates alternate with alternating lines directly following each other.

3.3 Alternating Pattern with Odd Number of Lines

The next two samples are alternative lineation of the same poem-song. The first sample (sample 'i') is the one presented in our reference text while the next (sample 'j') is the alternative lineation based on our perception of the morale pattern of the poem-song:

Sample 'i'

Âlâbî ôô	6
Kô r'ôkô	3
Âlâbî ôô	6
Kô r'ôdô	3
Bô bájî â gbôbê kânââ	9
Â jêbâ tân â sêkûn rônđôô	11
Ômô ôlôrô tí î jêyîn âwô	11

Sample 'j'

Âlââbî ôô, kô r'ôkô	9
Âlââbî ôô, kô r'ôkô	9
Bô bájî â gbôbê kânââ	9
Â jêbâ tân â sêkûn rônđôô	11
Ômô ôlôrô tí î jêyîn âwô	11

The first sample (sample i) displays a pattern of odd-numbered versus even-numbered alternation, in the first four lines; then there is a break with a pattern that has no other

alternating counterpart but shows a templatic structure that combines that of one of the odd- and even-numbered pairs of the first four lines; subsequently, a couplet follows with identical templatic structure based on a new template. Again, we consider this pattern to be too complex to be probable.

The second sample (sample 'j') displays a poem of five lines; the first three lines exploit a nine-position template while the last two lines exploit an eleven- position template. A valid question (if we accept sample 'j' as the true lineation of the poem-song) is 'why are the first three lines grouped together and the last two separated from them?' What principle determines an a,a,a,b,b pattern rather than an a,a,b,b,b one? Our highly tentative answer to these questions (which actually constitutes only one question asked in different words) is that the poetic form operates a principle of final line couplet; this constrains a five line poem to only an a, a, a, b, b pattern.

Incidentally, in performance, the first two lines attest half-lines as evidenced by the brief breath pause after 'Alabi oo'. This may account for the type of lineation found in sample 'i'.

4. Conclusion

We have tried to introduce in this paper, another principle of lineation in oral poetry in addition to the first two (breath pause and lexico-structural criteria) proposed for Yoruba oral poetry. This principle is the phonological principle of the metrical structure of the prosodic phonological component of the mora. We tried to show the advantage of such a principle when brought into play over one that discounts it by looking at a number of samples of Ewì Ìremolékún.

In the process, we discovered that Ewì Ìremolékún may exploit only one templatic structure presented again and again, line after line; on the other hand, Ewì Ìremolékún may also exploit two metrical templates, in such a case, a strict insistence on alternation of duration in lines that immediately follow each other is maintained. If the number of lines is odd, a principle of last two-line couplet forces the odd-one-out of such lines to accord in duration with the earlier lines than with the latter ones.

We hope that a deeper and more careful search of the prosodic phonological structure of other genre of Yoruba oral poetry will prove our hypothesis as correct as Ewì Ìremolékún has done.

Notes

1. We have taken the liberty of modifying Olabimtan's samples based on our findings in oral performance. Thus, we have indicated length in some places where Olabimtan does not. This note goes for all the samples in the data-base.
2. Here Olabimtan has 'jan-in jan-in'; in oral performance, we hear 'jan-jan-jan'. Similarly, Olabimtan registers 'rin-in rin-in' in the penultimate line; in performance, we hear 'rin-rin-rin'.
3. An alternative performance of this line prolongs the first syllable of the line; such a performance invariably supplies an expletive 'o' to the end of the fourth line after 'sâsû'. This changes the pattern of the lines to 6, 6, 6, 6, 13,13 or 12,12,13,13 instead of 11,11,13,13 that this particular performance shows.

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21. The Normative Use of Language by Society: Hausa as a Taciturn Speech Community

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Studies on the speech practices of societies reveal that while some relish prolixity, others are taciturn and some maintain near-silence. This paper has examined the speech practices of the Hausa communities vis-à-vis other speech communities in Nigeria and concludes, using religious, traditional, environmental and social factors as yardsticks, that they exercise a high degree of verbal restraint unless provoked otherwise.

Introduction

It is not an overstatement to posit that people, the world over, can easily be discerned either by their dressing pattern, their tattoo, their environment, and most strikingly, their language and speech behaviour. While speakers of a particular language community are extrovert to the extent that their presence is always noticed or felt wherever they are, such people are noticed to be good mixers as they easily get acquainted. Others are reserved, admonishingly introvert and unpleasantly quiet and it takes one a long time to understand them. They make few friends, as it is not always easy to determine when they want to socialize and when they want to be left alone. Abdul (2001:22) has shed some light on such category of people when he states that:

... surely, some people are bad mixers for they find it difficult to make overtures to those not familiar to them. Sometimes such people, even when conversational passes are made to them find it difficult to accede to them, let alone contribute meaningfully in them.

The ambivents form the third group; they talk when acquainted and they refrain themselves from it when circumstances and atmosphere are not clearly defined or when familiarity has not been well-established.

If one looks at some language groups or communities in Nigeria, it may not be hard to place them on an axis. There is, for example, a popular assumption that while the Yoruba man occupies the first axis on the talking scale as someone who talks on the top of his voice, or as someone who does not hide his feeling on issues, whether personal or national, the Igbo enjoys engaging others in talks by casting episodes after episodes which are now and again punctuated by an adored use of language particularly proverbs. One's ability to demonstrate linguistic eloquence even if occasionally done, within the Igbo community, increases one's social standing. The Hausa man, it seems, appears to be at the other extreme of the axis. He is heard once in a while. Observe that he rarely talks even in public functions unless he is saddled with the responsibility of doing so.

But, all these are postulations. Our objective in this paper is to establish the speech practices of Hausa communities vis-à-vis other communities in Nigeria, and the possible factors responsible. Before we do that we shall take a cursory look at the normative use of language by some societies.

The Normative Use of Language by Societies

It is a well-known axiom in sociolinguistics that languages differ from one another not only in such areas as phonology, syntax and lexicon, but in the very use to which their linguistic resources are put (Wolfson, 1983). Similarly, even within the same society, discourses “differ with the kind of institutions and practices in which they take place, and with the position of those who speak and those whom they address” (Mac Donell, 1986). This goes to display the fact that patterns of interaction in terms of modes of speaking, otherwise called ‘ethnography of speaking’ (Hymes, 1962) or ‘ethnography of communication’ (Saville-Troike 1982) vary, sometimes strikingly, from one speech community to another (See Wardhaugh, 1986).

In fact, Besnier (1994) notes that research on language in its social context has long recognized that individuals, social groups and speech communities produce different amounts of speech, and that “different amount of talk are normatively associated with different contexts” (Besnier, *Ibid.*, 747). Speech communities can therefore be placed on an axis: at one end are those who maintain near-silence conversationally while at the other end are those who demonstrate extreme prolixity. It should be noted that a particular group may not encourage talk for the sake of talking and members of such group may appear to be quite taciturn to outsiders who relish talk, or they may feel overwhelmed by the demands made on them if these others insist on talking.

North Americans, for example, have been noted for their taciturnity (Loveday, 1982), verbal reticence and communicative restraint (Besnier, 1994) and they value these qualities greatly. They avoid speech in situations where there is doubt about how one is to present oneself. Talking, to them, becomes acceptable where social relations are known and established. So, while American English speakers rely heavily on speech to develop social knowledge (that is, one talks to strangers to get to know them), Red Indians get to know someone in order to be able to speak to them (Scollon and Scollon, 1980). In the same vein, the articulation of thoughts and feelings in oral language is taken by the Japanese as an unmistakable sign that the speaker is neither profound nor sincere (Loveday, 1982). After all, the Japanese contend, mouths are to eat with not to speak with; and because of this attitude, they are seen by Americans as distant, cool and cautious.

Taciturnity though cherished in some cultures, is abhorred in others. Talk may be encouraged to the extent it may even appear to be quite disorderly to an observer who has internalized a different set of rules or its conduct (see Wardhaugh, 1986). For example, the Bezilian speech community in South America is extremely verbal to the extent that though a person may say disagreeable things, at least his hearers feel that they know him. They may not like him, but they will feel more comfortable with him than with the man who says little or nothing (see Kernon et al., 1977: 38 cited in Wardhaugh 1986). Similarly, in Roti, a small island in eastern Indonesia, the pleasure of life is talk, not simply an idle

chatter that passes time, but the more formal taking of sides in endless disputes, arguments and repartee (witty retorts) or the rivaling of one another in eloquent and balanced phrases on ceremonial occasions.

In as much as we have identified two distinct types of ‘talking’ communities, a third one is to be noted. For certain communities, silence is normal and pleasant. The middle-aged men of Puliya in Southern India investigated by Gardener (1966) seem to practically stop talking altogether. Hudson (1980), further reports that because of these peoples’ non-cooperative or non-competitive nature, by the time a man is forty, he practically stops speaking as he has no reason to speak. People in this community do not really talk much. Firth (1964:112) seems to be in agreement with this community’s non-talking behaviour when he asserts that:

... sharing a common feeling with your fellows is a deeply satisfying experience.... therefore, in the give-and-take of a great deal of conversation, it is the key, mode and mood of the interplay of this ‘choric’ behaviour which matters, rather than what is loosely called the exchange of ideas.

Hausa as a Taciturn Speech community

The Hausa-speaking community in Northern Nigeria has a peculiar linguistic behaviour, which is discernible to it. A determination of that behaviour and an X-ray of the reasons for it is what have been attempted below. But first let us take a quick look at the Hausa community.

i. Some snapshots on the Hausa community

The Hausa community is predominantly Muslim (though some Christians are also found). Islam is both religion and culture and the Muslims, particularly those introduced to it from childhood, are oriented into the ways of the world following the dictates of that religion. The Hausa society also has its own tradition, which is peculiarly its and that tradition, as long as it is not in conflict with the teachings of Islam, is encouraged, practised and strictly passed from generation to generation.

The Hausa also live in what may be called friendly environments where they conduct their daily businesses, and from which they derive their daily sources of livelihood. These environments are in part nature-provided and in part Hausa-made. Hausa people are equally as social as any other language group in Nigeria, and they conduct such social activities in ways that agree with their orientation and perception of the world in which they live.

It is then safe to postulate that the Hausa community’s speech practices are influenced, on the one hand, principally by Islam and its culture and, on the other hand, by its own tradition, environment and social practices. So our comments on the type of linguistic community which it falls under, that is, whether prolix, taciturn or the silent type are influenced and informed by these considerations and others not specifically delineated.

ii. Factors Responsible For Hausa Speech Practices

a. Religious (and cultural) Influence on Hausa Speech Practices

The Islamic religion has an injunction regarding talk: 'talk only if you have something good to say, if not keeping quiet is better'. By this, the Hausa man is always cautious before he utters anything because of the difficulty in determining how the other interlocutor will perceive and react to pieces of language addressed to him or how he will even view such talks as 'good'. After all 'good' like 'justice' and 'fair play' is philosophically a relative term.

Interactants enter into conversations with each other on the strength of their relationship, familiarity and on the presumed knowledge shared on a given topic. Interactants' world knowledge and their background considerably determine how they react to issues, and how they pass judgment on the efficacy and goodness of a particular contribution by others. So, because of the problems associated with gauging the reaction of the other interactant, not necessarily in terms of the import of what is to be uttered but equally and more so on his knowledge, understanding and interpretation of the utterance, Hausa people prefer not to be seen to be the talking type.

Women, as mothers of society and moulders of character, are instructed and expected to display the most exemplary behaviour in the society. As Muslims, women are given the singular privilege by Almighty God, unlike their male counterparts, to always pray at home and ever there not in congregation unless among their folks, if they are desirous of doing that. Added to this is that even in those prayer times when their male counterparts are instructed to say their prayers aloud, women are enjoined to recite theirs silently. Women are then saved the trouble of having to be heard. So, talking by them, in a manner that will attract the attention of others is greatly discouraged. That, however, does not prohibit them from talking in whispers or even telling stories, privately not publicly, to their younger ones on issues that border on morality, education and entertainment. The narration is conducted softly. When such stories are told, the listeners are expected to marginally reinforce the story-teller by nodding their heads or using its verbal surrogate 'mn' to signify or signal comprehension.

So, where a woman is heard in the midst of men that is misconstrued as a sign of bad manners or faulty upbringing, and she will be scolded, reprimanded and written off as a street girl. In fact, Hausa women talk only when they are addressed but rarely in public.

b. The Influence of Tradition on Hausa Speech Practices

The Hausa society respects its traditional heritage greatly and jealously guard against its extinction. So, such heritage is transmitted, amongst other means, through the good deeds done by those in superior or responsible positions or what such people verbally enjoin the younger generation to do or prohibit them from doing. This too, may have its roots from the tradition of the Prophet of Islam whose actions, behaviours and/or silence when an act is being committed, constitute what should be emulated as good and enjoined practices.

The elders in Hausa society are adjudged to be full of tremendous amount of wisdom and one is often times reminded that the words of our elders are words of wisdom. These words are, in the majority of cases, expressed in wise sayings, proverbs and

idiomatic expressions. Some of these expressions that refer to talk, particularly in respect to how incessant talk is viewed, are “one is full of ‘bastard’ talk, ‘black’ talk, great talkers are great liars” just to mention a few. Certainly, bastards of whatever kind are abhorred in society, so also black as in ‘black book’, ‘black Friday’ and sometimes ‘black stomach’ if directly translated from Hausa. And for someone to be branded a liar and established to be so, it presupposes that he is never to be trusted whenever he talks and his ‘witness’ is never acceptable. That is certainly a caste on him. So, to avoid falling into any of these unpleasant situations, not being flippant in one’s speech then becomes the norm.

Between men, particularly between superior and inferior interactants, some verbal restraint is expected. The inferior interactant is expected to speak in a lower tone of voice than that of the superior. This is encouraged as a sign of respect and a mark of acceptance of the superior’s superiority. It also shows the inferior’s humility. (The inferior interactant is also enjoined to lower his gaze as well as look the other direction when addressing his superior). And, where two interactants are in physical confrontation and their status differential is not easily determinable, either as it relates to age, economic or social standing, either of them is enjoined to address the other as if he is the inferior. So such interactants keep their voice level so low as not to appear too imposing.

C. The Influence of Environment on Hausa Speech Practices

Human intercourse, amongst others, presupposes interpersonal communication. It is thus the case that a great deal of everyday human interaction is characterized by the primarily ‘interactional’ (interpersonal) rather than the primarily ‘transactional’ (content) use of language (see Brown and Yule, 1983). Interpersonal communication has been defined by Capella (1987:133) as ‘the transfer of idiosyncratic, personalized and psychological information’, and it is without doubt that words are the greatest devices for fetching the speaker and the hearer into the same focus of attention and into the same interpretation schema that applies to what is thus attended’ (Goffman, 1976:309). As warrantable as this expectation is, the type of environment one lives in is capable of promoting or demoting one’s speech practices.

Certainly, environment plays a significant role on the linguistic practices of its people. A noisy environment, particularly one which is besieged by a number of technologically, advanced equipment, one which is very urban and by implication invaded by factories, companies, etc., is expected to usher in people who are obliged to talk at the top of their voices if they are to be heard. Also note that interviews conducted with retired soldiers seem to concur with this assertion to the effect that because of the constant contact with noise emanating from the use of heavy-duty weaponry, soldiers who handled machine guns or mortars at battle fronts are observed to talk at the top of their voice on return from the war front. Observe, too, that people who live near airports or airstrips are also at the risk of having to amplify their voices before they are heard. They may have to repeat their messages before they can get across to their intended recipients. In fact, the noises associated with heavy machinery used in factories, processing plants, etc affect not only the workers in them, but also their neighbours. All these point towards the possibility of and the requirement for not only talk repetition but also ‘voice’ amplification.

Observe also that where over-population is recorded, the standard of living soars up and the competition for the scarce resources becomes imminent. As competition may sometimes require one's ability to outwit the other linguistically, the greater talker usually has the day.

Unlike his other Nigerians counterparts, the Hausa person lives in an environment, which is a complete opposite of the ones cited above. For one, he is predominantly agrarian. His physical interactants, in most cases, are his farms and farmlands and his social interactants are his immediate family members whose company he desires after his hectic interaction with his farms. These do not call for the need for continuous talk or for the heightening of one's voice. This is why most Hausas are noted to talk in whispers!

For another, he is typically rural, and that presupposes non-competitiveness in his transactions. Even when he finds himself in an urban settlement he tends to be on his own as the types of communal efforts put up by other non-Hausa communities are noticeably absent. This non-cooperative nature of the Hausa person makes him to talk less, after all, it is only when parties are in physical confrontation that the need may arise for talk. To avoid the 'threat' (Firth 1972) associated with such non-talking posture, Hausa people like to maintain some social distance with others unless they have a compelling reason to narrow the proximity.

D. Social Influence on Hausa Speech Practices

In societies where social resources are not commensurate with the demands of their members, and where the display, for example, of one's linguistic wit or 'virtuosity' (Ellis, 1986) earns someone some social recognition or even increases one's social asset, talking is the norm. In certain parts of Nigeria, 'one man one wife' is the rule though not an exception. To compete in an attempt to woo a girl requires a serious display of eloquence amongst others. Girls are often times won by someone who talks impressively than the one who is tongue-tight.

The above situation is almost absent in the Hausa community. The fact that a Muslim is allowed by Law to marry more than one wife does not necessarily call for stiff competition for a particular girl. More so, most marriages were and even now are contracted between parents. Often times, neither the boy nor the girl knows whom they are to marry. There are even moments when girls are given out free to someone not known to them and the lucky recipient of that 'gift' is informed of it only on the day of felicitation. At other times, it is the father (not the boy), who sees the girl and asks for her hand in marriage for his son. If that advance is consented to by the girl's father, marriage between the girl and the boy is contracted.

Such actions by parents do not, therefore, require potential suitors to display any linguistic superiority over others in order to earn acceptance from their would-be-wives. This implies that talking is not a necessary prerequisite to winning acceptances from potential suitors. Even where visits between the suitors are arranged as follow-ups to the parents' arranged marriages, the would-be-husband and -wife only sit and watch their friends exchange pleasantries. Theirs is to exchange eye-winks and smiles at intervals. It will be a naked display of shamelessness for a wife-to-be to engage her husband-to-be in a

verbal exchange. Similarly, a husband-to-be will be viewed as displaying an immoral posture if he attempts to lure a would-be-wife into an ungarded conversation.

All these shades of influences add up to constrain the type and amount of talk which a Hausa person can be seen to engage in. In fact, they show conditions under which talk can take place and why the restraint is necessary. But, then, when does 'talk' become inevitable by a Hausa person, these influences notwithstanding?

iii. The inevitability of talk in Hausa community

Talk becomes inevitable or even warrantable by a Hausa man in the following circumstances:

a. The urge to stop a wrong act

The Hausa man loses his linguistic restraint by engaging his vocal cords into effective use whenever he observes a wrong act being committed. This reaction has its influence from the Islamic religious injunction which commands that if someone sees something being performed which negates the dictates of one's religion or one that goes contrary to popular practices, and as to stop it is more beneficial to the society than to shun it and by implication encourage its propagation, there are three ways to tackle the situation: use your hand to stop it, if you can; use your mouth (i.e. talk) so that it be stopped; or hate it in your mind. As the first option is not always easy to accomplish because it is not everybody that is physical enough to do it and as the last option is the weakest display of one's faith and that silence may mean agreement, the Hausa person feels induced or even encouraged to talk. By settling on the middle option, the Hausa person has achieved two objectives: by conforming to the Islamic injunction of adhering to the golden mean, and by showing his disagreement with the purported wrong act. Talking itself in this regard, has dual advantages: the party at fault will not only register the correction in his brain, he will also be haunted by that 'hidden' voice whenever a repeat of that wrong act is to be performed.

b. The Urge to Clear Self of Accusation.

Talking also becomes inevitable when the Hausa person is pushed to the wall through the levelling of allegation of wrong doing against him. If he is forced out of his linguistic bottle in order to stop someone from engaging in an aberrant behaviour, he is certainly more induced to come out more forcefully if that negative act is associated with him.

Undoubtedly, it is one thing to be caught doing wrong and it is another to be falsely accused of doing it. The latter is definitely graver and more damaging than the former. Sure, if one decides to engage in any unlawful act, then one should be ready to shoulder the consequences and responsibilities associated with that act. But for one to malign another that amounts to character assassination, the consequence of which is face threatening and a scar on one's person and personality, particularly if not responded to promptly.

As to keep quiet in such murky situation is to show agreement and accept guilt, talking, with the aim of clearing the air, becomes golden, cherished and the preferred, (Levinson 1983).

c. In Matters of Public Interest

In matters of public interest, moments abound when certain actions are committed, wittingly or unwittingly, and the popular assumption is that the committer of that action does not mean it to be so or he does not realise or know its impact on others. And if the call by Abdul (1999) on people to always gauge the effect of their actions on others is not heeded, and that action continues unabated and it reaches an intolerable limit, and silence is mistakenly substituted for weakness, it is then that the Hausa person speaks out. His initial silence is to allow the committer of that ambiguous action to have a rethink. It is certainly not borne out of the fear or incapacitation to put his mouth organs to correct and proper linguistic use.

The above exposition seems to imply that when the Hausa person talks, he does not mince words. His meaning is clearly and unambiguously stated. He says what he means and means what he says. When he talks, he is apt, decisive and to the point. He does not engage in trivialities or unnecessary hedging as he does not believe in circumlocution. He may not be gaping for words, because he believes in what he utters, he knows what to say, how to say it, when to say it and to whom to say it.

The Hausa person may therefore not appear vocal or prolix because to be so engrossed in these linguistic activities is to negate his orientation. Neither can he be said to be silent because to do so is to sanction certain wrong and intolerable acts which if left unchecked can cause some unimaginable damage to his psyche and his long standing tradition of being just and fair to all no matter whose ox is gored. Though he is shown here as taciturn and may appear a complete opposite of some linguistic communities in Nigeria, his linguistic ambivalence does not preclude him from engaging or being engaged in meaningful and constructive dialogues with other linguistic groups. In fact, Abdul (2001:389) has pointed out that when Hausas have decided to engage others in talk, they “are capable, as demonstrated by them, of enjoying each other’s company”.

Conclusion

This paper has looked at the Hausa community’s speech, behaviour and practices. It has noted that certain factors, particularly religious, tradition and environment combine to make the Hausa man taciturn. The paper further notes that moments abound when his vocal side is forced out of him, and even then a certain degree of restraint is still observed. After all, not being branded a talkative fellow does not presuppose not being able to share experiences, so that remonstrations, apologies and sympathies can be expressed.

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22. E.N. Emenanjo and Written Igbo Poetry

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Introduction

Emenanjo as a scholar has a price to pay for his versatility, a price in the nature of other scholars losing track of the wide range of his scholarly input in areas outside his chosen discipline. By training, he is a linguist and his publications, in the area of his specialisation in particular and in the Igbo language in general, are legion. But these are not the subject of this paper. Instead, we wish to make an appraisal of his contribution in an area outside his main discipline that is Igbo literature. We do not intend to examine his input in the whole gamut of Igbo literature, but only in a sub-genre, namely, Igbo written poetry. We have decided to limit our attention to this sub-genre, for if we include other sub-genres and start to evaluate all other standard works authored or edited by Emenanjo in Igbo literature, such as *Ukabuilu ndi Igbo*, *Atumatu Agumagu na Atumatu Okwu*, *Qmalinze*, *Agumagu Odinala*, etc., we may not give them the indepth treatment we envisage. In this paper, we therefore intend to focus on only two anthologies of written Igbo poetry, namely, *Utara Nti* and *Nkemakolam* edited and contributed to by him. We shall examine his introductory sections (Okwu Mmalite/Okwu Nkopta) and some of his poems in the texts with a view to assessing his contributions in this seemingly neglected aspect of his scholarly input.

What Poetry is and its Content

In his *Nkwa Maka Abu* (What Poetry is), Emenanjo rightly identifies creativity/use of imagination as the main attribute of a literary artist:

Abu bu agumagu ... A si na o bu agumagu, ihe anyi na-ekwu
bu na o bu ihe out onye cheputara wee deputa ... (*Utara Nti*, p.4)

(Poetry is literature ... If it is literature, what we are saying is
that it is creative work put down by the writer ...)

By this statement, Emenanjo makes a very clear distinction between the fictional nature of literature and other forms of writing, such as history, which treat of what actually happened and not imagined.

Explaining further the creativity or the use of imagination in poetry, Emenanjo points out that what is imagined consists of thoughts or ideas descriptive of or suggestive of the writer's view of life meant to generate some form of emotion:

Ufodu oge e nwere ike kwaa nani maka ike out o siri di ...
Mana na otutu oge, a na-akwa maka ike ode abu ahụ na-

ekwu, otu ihe ahụ siri metụ ya na mmụọ ya, n'ihe gbasara
ndụ ndi mmadụ na-ebi n'ụwa ... (p.3)

(At times, poetry is descriptive ... But more often, it is
suggestive, emphasizing the emotional aspect and people's
way of life ...)

Emenanjọ emphasizes the fact that because of the suggestive or symbolic nature of poetry,
its content must be evaluated not by its title but by reading the poem as a whole.

Ọ bụ ihe ndi a na-akọwa maka ha n'ebe a kpatara a naghi
enwe ike isi n'aha a bara abụ maka ihe ọ na-ekwu maka ya.
O kwesiri na a ga-agụ ya ka a mara ebe agwọ uchichi doweri
isi ya (p.3)

(It is because of the reasons given here that the content of
poetry is not known through the title. The poem must be
read through so as to identify the content).

Thought/idea and emotion, as succinctly pointed out by Emenanjọ, form the kernel of the
content of a poem. This is because thought is supposed to generate a variety of emotions
which may include those of joy, sorrow, pity, fear, anger, love, hatred, wonder, regret,
nostalgia, etc.

The Form of Poetry

Emenanjọ starts off his treatment of form by pointing out that just as creativity/use of
imagination is common to all types of literature and not only poetry, use of language for
aesthetic effect is also common to all types of literature and not peculiar to poetry:

A bịa n'ihe gbasara asụsụ nka, a ga-ahụ na o dịkwa n'ime
agụmagụ ọ bụla. Maka na e kwuwe ekwuwe, ọ bụ asụsụ
nka kpatara agụmagụ jiri di iche n'edemede ndi ọzọ (p.4).

(Aesthetic use of language is a common feature of all types of literature. It
distinguishes literature from other forms of writing ...).

Even if creativity and aesthetic use of language are features common to all types of
literature, there are other features peculiar to poetry that justify its being classified as a
separate genre. These other features, as discussed by Emenanjọ, will next be addressed.

Qualities of a Good Poet

In order to manifest the qualities of creativity and exhibit some aestheticism in the use of language which are the characteristics of good poetry, the poet must be endowed with more profundity of thought, a keener sense of seeing, hearing and smelling, a deeper knowledge of language usage, and a deeper sense of sound than the average person. He distinguishes between a poet and a story-teller by stating that the former employs economy of words in the form of poetic imagery to express profound thought.

Ode abụ ... bụ mmadụ dị ma mụ na gi. Mana ọ bụ mmadụ na-echemi ihe ọ hụrụ ma ọ bụ ọ nụrụ ma ọ bụ ọ siturū ma ọ bu cheputa karịa mụ na gi. N'ezie ode abụ bụ mmadụ nkịtị karịa n antị ya, anya ya, imi ya na ahụ ya niile dichasiri nkọ karịa ndị nke gi. Ọ bụ n'ihì nke a ka ihe ọ bụla jì emetụ ya, n'ahụ ya ma na mmụọ ya karịa ka o siri dị mụ na gi. Mana ọ gwuchabeghi ebe ode abụ siri dị iche na mụ na gi. Ọ maara akpaalaokwu kariakwa. Mana ọ bughì onye akụkọ, n'ihì na ọ na-akpì okwu akpì. Ndi ọzọ na-akọ akụkọ na-akọputai he ndi ha na-ekwu, ya onwe ya na-arutū aka n'akoghì akụkọ ọ bụla. Ode abụ na-eji akpaalaokwu ndi di n'atumatū okwu na-eziputa enyookwu nke na-gba ama maka mbunuuche ya (*Nkemakolam*, p.3).

(The poet is a human being like you and me. But he is a human being that thinks more deeply about what he sees, hears, smells or crosses his mind than me and you. Truly the poet is an ordinary human being except that his ears, eyes, nose, and his whole body is sharper than yours. But this is not only the point of difference. He has the mastery of the Igbo language than me and you. He appreciates the sound of the language than me and you. He appreciates the idiom more. But he is not a story-teller for he uses words economically. Story-tellers use a lot of words to put their thoughts across, but the poet uses few words. He does this by the use of idioms and poetic imagery which are suggestive of his objectives).

Lineation and its Implication

One of the distinguishing mark of poetry is that it is line-based as opposed to prose which is sentence-based.

Ọ bụ usoro e jiri dee ha (abụ)... ka abụ si dị iche n'agumagu ndi ọzọ. E lee anya, a ga-ahu na o nwere otu usoro okwu siri kwurisi n'ahiri n'ahiri n'etiti ihu akwukwo. O naghi adi etu a n'ime akwukwo akukọ (*Utara Nti*, p. 4)

(The way poetry is written distinguishes it from other types of literature. A glance reveals that poetry is written in lines at the middle of a text. This is not the case in a story-based text).

The first implication of lineation in poetry is the incidence of rhyme as one of the artistic devices employed in poetry. However, in Igbo poetry, there is no incidence of syllabic

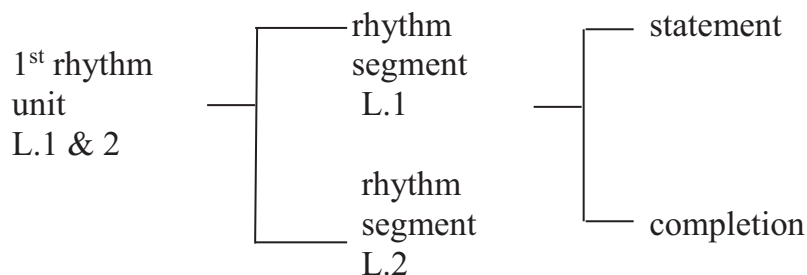
rhyme as is the case in English poetry. Instead, there are occasional instances of tonal rhyme as illustrated in *Nkemakolam* (p.7). It may be noted that often a line of poetry makes sense in itself, in which case it is known as end-stopped line, but at times the sense in one line runs into the other, in which case there is incidence of run-on-lines or enjambment (*Nkemakolam*, p.3).

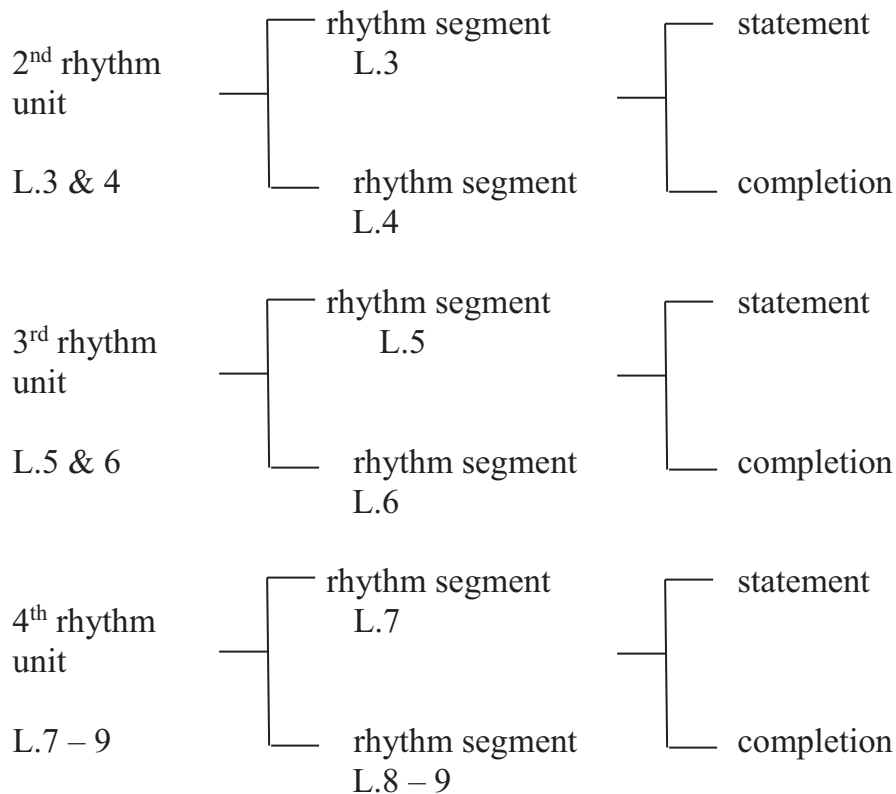
The next implication of lineation, which is not overtly stated by Emenanjo, is that it leads to rhythm, one of the major characteristics of poetry without which no verbal art can rightly be termed poetic (Uzochukwu, 2001(a):21). It is because poetry is line-based, resulting in short and long lines that there is respectively fast and slow rhythm designed to suit the subject matter: fast tripping rhythm for light-hearted subject matter that would evoke the emotion of joy, and slow laborious rhythm for thought-provoking subject matter that would generate the emotion of sorrow, pity, etc.

Another rhythmic factor occasionally used in prose but frequently used in poetry because of its being line-based is sense balance, that is, the sense in one part of an utterance balances the other in consecutive utterances. As a matter of fact, this is the rhythmic factor commonly employed in Igbo poetry. For instance, four of the six poems by Emenanjo in *Utara Nti* and *Nkemakolam* employ sense balance as the rhythmic factor. We analyse two poems, one from *Nkemakolam* (p.40) and the other from *Utara Nti* (p.30) by way of illustration:

NWAÀNYÌ

Nwaànyì bù ùtabà,
 Ọ òghì ụdì ọbọ akà aṅaghì aṅụ yā.
 Nwaànyì bù ejù,
 Ọ òghì ụdì aṅụ na-aṅaghì èrì yā
 Nwaànyì bù nkịrịnkwa akwà,
 Ọ òghì akà a nāghì ayòsì yā.
 Nwaànyì bù olùlù,
 A na-egwu olùlù.
 Ọ na-àbawanye.



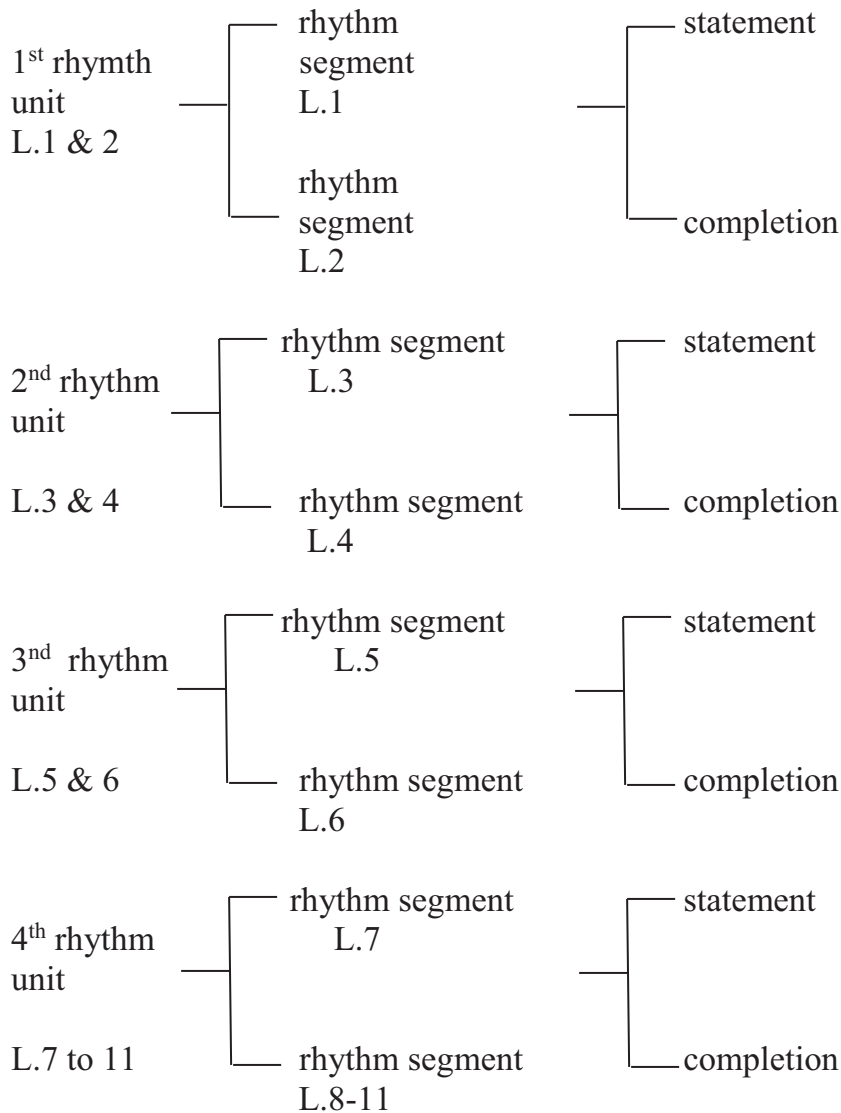


In the above excerpt, there are four rhythm units. In each unit, there are two rhythm segments consisting of a statement and its completion. It may be observed that there may be no equality of lines in a segment as is the case with the last segment in the fourth rhythm unit.

ARIRIO

Ihe ndị mmādu chọ̀òrò
 abūghị okpokpo bekèè nà Igbo nà-atọ̀ kà ùtù
 ihe ndị mmādu chọ̀òrò
 bù mmiri a gà-añụ ãñụ nà nri a gà èrì èrì.

Ihe ndị mmādu chọ̀òrò
 abūghị ama bekèé nā-ejikarị ūbe
 ihe ndị mmādu chọ̀òrò
 bù ụlọ ọgwù nà ụlọ akwukwo,
 ụmụ ha n'akwūghị ụgwọ
 nọrọkwa ebe ahụ nwèta ihe ndị isi nà-ènwetaara
 ụmụ ha n'akwūghị ụgwọ



As in the previous excerpt, there are four rhythm units with the segment of the last unit consisting of many lines. So in this rhythmic factor, once balance of sense is effected, the number of lines used to achieve this is immaterial, and this accounts for flexibility and freedom in composition.

Poetry as a Weapon for Upholding the Social Norms

In one of his papers, Emenanjo makes observation on the utilitarian aspect of Igbo literature:

Since it draws heavily from traditional literature, creative literature in Igbo cannot afford the luxury of *arts gratia artis*. The literature is fully involved in the Igbo milieu which brings it into being. It is equally involved with the wider Nigerian society – and with man as a universal being (1986:9).

This statement underscores the fact that the functional aspect is not only limited to poetry but also to all types of literature. However, in treating this aspect, we are going to limit our attention to written poetry, the subject of our discourse.

To achieve the utilitarian aspect of literature, Emenanjo rightly identifies the two tools generally used for this purpose, namely, praise and satire:

Ndi Igbo kwetara na agumagu o bula e cheputara nke oma ga-enweriri ihe nkuzi o na-ezi ndi nuru ya ma o bu ndi guru ya ... (*Utara Nti*, p.10).

Otu ihe abu o bula na-agba mbu ime ma o na-eto ma o na akato bu na o na-akuzi ihe ... (*Nkemakolam*, p.6).

(The Igbo are of the opinion that any well thought-out literary work must teach something to the audience ...)

One thing a piece of poem tries to do is that whether it is praising or satirizing, it is teaching ...).

Praise and satire have always been recognized as weapons for upholding the social norms, as shown in the following statement:

Praise as a means of encouraging the right behaviour finds expression in the statement that “If the valiant is praised for his valour / He perpetuates the valiant deeds”.

“E too dike na nke o mere / O mekwa ozo”.

As a means of discouraging acts of misdemeanour, the poet employs satire. It is hoped that this form of punishment by bringing the delinquent to ridicule and shame will help to correct him (Uzochukwu, 2001(b):115-117).

Praise and satire are so prevalent in any form of Igbo poetry, oral or written, that they can be said to be one of the characteristic features. To underscore this point, Emenanjo has classified the poems in *Nkemakolam* into two broad headings: Abu Otito (Praise Poetry) and Abu Ikpe (Satirical Poetry).

Language Use

Emenanjo points out in *Utara Nti* (p.4, 12-13) and in *Nkemakolam* (p. 39) that aesthetic use of language is one of the main characteristics of literature, but in poetry, it is of particular relevance. He provides copious illustrations of his assertion from his texts. The problem with some people, however, is that of identification, for some can identify figurative expressions, particularly the metaphor, only when they are very apparent. How many people, for instance, can identify and explain as metaphor *laboriousness* implied in the

italicized word in Emenanjo's statement on his few contributions of only three poems to the collections in *U tara Nti* (p.1)? Mụ onwe m gbaliri were *chichiputa* abụ atọ.

How many can identify as metaphor the *niggardliness* of one not reaching out to many friends implied in the italicized word in Obienyem's poem?:

Ndi enyi gi nwoke ha di ole?
 Ka o bu naani otu?
 Ka gi nay a na-*achichi*? (*U tara Nti* p. 57).

The point being made is that metaphor takes various manifestations, and can be embedded in other parts of speech other than the noun.

Still on language use is the issue of standard Igbo and dialect. Emenanjo opines that ideally standard Igbo should be used in writing Igbo poetry but where no effective word is found in standard Igbo, the poet can use his dialect (*Nkemakolam*, p.6).

Apart from the reason adduced here, the poet can occasionally use his dialect for the purposes of rhythm, for though the comment made below relates to oral poetry, it can as well apply to written poetry.

... once any portion of the text is transliterated into any other Igbo dialect, say the central dialect of Igbo urban dwellers, the inherent, dialect-bound rhythm of the songs disappears (Azụonye, 1979:24).

Conclusion

The fact that Emenanjo can, within only the narrow confines of the introductory section of the two anthologies under review, make so many memorable observations on Igbo poetry in general and written poetry in particular is indicative of the profundity of his thought and the wide range of his expertise. For him to write so convincingly in an area outside his main discipline is a clear confirmation of his virtuosity. He not only dwells on theory, but also goes on to offer practical examples through his contributions to the anthologies. His literary input, if he purposely sets out to write on Igbo stylistics and literary criticism, can just be imagined. It is our hope that Emenanjo's contributions to linguistics and the Igbo language will continue to increase and flourish; that his immense input in all types of Igbo literature will reach its peak with more years of maturity.

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23. A Stylo-pragmatic Analysis of the Use of Agent-deletion in the University of Ibadan Official Bulletin

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The university community is usually considered an environment that is predominantly set aside for academic exercise. But being a public establishment it has certain units and bodies whose officials relate with others members of the university community on diverse issues that affect the corporate existence of the university system, employing various communicative channels. In the light of this, this paper draws attention to the use of agent-deletion in the University of Ibadan Official Bulletin, focusing on the pragmatic implications of the use of the linguistic device in the negotiation of meaning between the agents of information dissemination and the target audience. In the main, it points out that despite the strategy employed by the information disseminators to explore the persuasive and emotive use of language in the discourse, the manipulations of information occasioned by the use of agent-deletion could be deceptive and misleading. In the final analysis, it points out that for the University (of Ibadan) news bulletin to be qualified and ranked among the media operating a free press, the audience should have access to the full range of information that would guarantee its confidence in the news bulletin.

Introduction

The passive structure has attracted the attention of most grammarians. To this end, Stanley and Robbins (1977:299) remark that ‘virtually every twentieth century grammarian has at least mentioned the passive and some have attempted more extensive analyses of its syntax’. Contributing to the existing work on the syntax and linguistic description of the passive structure, Stanley and Robbins (1977) attempt a classification of the various forms of the passive, calling attention to the truncated passives and discussing their rhetorical uses in some way predetermined by the speaker/writer to create certain effects on the hearer/reader. It is against this backdrop that this paper attempts a stylo-pragmatic study of the tactical development of truncated passive structures as a news reporting technique in the University of Ibadan Official Bulletin. This is with a view to examining how meaning is interpreted in communicative situations in relation to the roles of the speaker and hearer. In this regard, meaning is considered not just a property of language but a particular user’s use of language in a particular context.

The Data

The data used for this study are the news bulletin issued by the Public Relations Unit of the Vice-Chancellor’s Office of the University of Ibadan. The editions that are used for this study are randomly picked to span at least two different tenures in the administration of the university in which there are (probably) different vice-chancellors or registrars at the helm of affairs. This is done with a view to verifying whether there are differences in the use of

agent-deletion in the news bulletin or there are established or normative patterns of reporting news items to the university community regardless of the tenure.

Similarly, the editions of the news bulletin used for this study are randomly picked to reflect the different extra-linguistic events in the university community, which predicate the choice of agent-deletion. Such extra-linguistic events include: briefing the university community on the security situation on campus, assuring the members of the university community of the university administrators' vested interest in seeing to their welfare in terms of the provision of regular supply of water and electricity, improved conditions of service, and so on.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The university authorities disseminate information addressing the situations enumerated above, as they affect the members of the university community that comprise the student both and the staff – both academic and non-academic. And one preponderant linguistic device employed in disseminating information in this situation is agent-deletion. Hence, in the news bulletin, we could cite the following:

- I. It has been observed that there has been an increase in the rate of theft on campus.
- II. Every effort is being made to provide adequate security on campus.
- III. Also, proposals are being considered to improve street lighting on campus and the assistance of armed police has been obtained to join regular security patrols of the campus at night.
- IV. The entire community is assured that the police will withdraw from campus as soon as normalcy returns.
- V. Electricity generation may have to be restricted to the hours of 10 p.m. to 5 a.m.
- VI. Every effort will be made to supply water subject to availability of electricity.
- VII. I have been directed, once again, to appeal to all striking members of staff...
- VIII. The Bursar has been directed to work out the entitlements of each member of staff affected.
- IX. The issue of promotion is being tackled in that the 1994, 95 and 96 promotion exercises have been scheduled and dates fixed, commencing on the 3rd of June 1997.
- X. In the case of junior staff, especially, a new scheme of service has been worked out to address the issue of stagnation. This has also been listed for the June meeting of the Council.
- XI. It is hereby announced for clarification and general information that the University of Ibadan authorities have NOT introduced any additional fees outside the directive of the Federal Government.

In all these passive structures, there are specific patterns used to reflect agent-deletion. One of such is the use of the expletive 'it' to fill the subject slot of the sentence as we can see in sentences (I) and (XI). This type of construction is derived by a grammatical device Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) call 'extraposition of a clause subject'. There are also structures in which the theme is focused, as in (III), (V) and (IX). Furthermore, there are cases in which

the subject position is filled by the personal pronoun 'I', as in (VII) or a nominal element, as in (VIII) where the agent of information dissemination cannot be held responsible for any action/decision taken for the directive is from higher authorities.

In all, there is the general implication that the extensive use of agent-deletion in the news bulletin helps to conceal agents directly responsible for the action of the proposition(s), suppressing their identity in order to shield the writer or some other person or group. Consequently, the agent of information dissemination is able to achieve complete self-effacement as well as obscure responsibility of some other person or party.

When we take a closer look at the examples quoted, we would realize that the use of agent-deletion could produce dubious results. When, for instance, the propositions in sentences (II), (III), (IV), (V), (VI), (IX), (X) and (XI) turn out to be 'empty promises', the audience will be left stranded as to whom specifically to hold responsible for the non-implementation of the propositions or partial fulfillment of the given promises. This is arguably the communicative effectiveness the communicators intend to enhance by using the truncated passives. In this connection, Stanley and Robbins (1977:302-303) comment:

Because the hearer reader frequently does not have access to the full range of information available to the speaker/writer, some truncated passives have retrievable agents which are nonetheless indeterminate. In other words, the hearer/reader may because of their knowledge of the real world and some valid presuppositions derived from the discourse or the speech situation construe that there exists a plausible range of agents responsible for a given action but they may remain unable to choose a single agent responsible for that action.

At this point, we could deduce that whenever the passive structure with agent-deletion is used in the news bulletin, the audience frequently cannot arrive at a single non-ambiguous interpretation. As a result, the scope of reference the audience will assign to a given missing agent will be relative to the context in which they must interpret the message. In view of this, Stanley and Robbins (1977:311) conclude: 'passives with deleted agents provide speakers/writers with one means of promoting certain kinds of inferences in their audience, and that such manipulations of information can be deceptive and misleading'.

It is interesting to note, however, that the active voice is less employed in the news bulletin. Even in this instance, the information propagators are still conveying certain nuances of meaning, which fall in line with the motivations for the use of truncated passives. Consider the following:

- I. The University solicits the cooperation of all residents at this time to be more security-conscious.
- II. Senate of the University at a special meeting held on Tuesday, October 31, 1995 considered the appeal of students on the fees payable by them with effect from the 1995/96 session.

- III. The Governing Council of the University of Ibadan met today, Friday, September 13, 1996, reviewed the situation of the current industrial strike of academic staff at the University.
- IV. The Student Disciplinary Committee has suspended the underlisted twelve students for their failure to appear before the Committee.
- V. Once again, we hereby appeal to all members of the University community to exercise a little more patience...

Although the agent is not deleted in the above active structures, no individual is mentioned. Rather, nominal groups referring to a body, a committee, or the institution are focused as the performer of the action; the principle of 'collective responsibility' or appeal to consensus is emphasized. Thus, just as no particular individual could be singled out as being responsible for the action affecting the sufferer when the agent-deletion is used, the active voice is also used to achieve the same effect.

It is interesting to note, however, that although the agent is deleted in the truncated passive structures cited and discussed earlier, the information disseminators consciously explore the persuasive and emotive usage of such structures in specific situations. This brings to bear the notion of 'facework' as a potent communicative strategy used in the news bulletin by the agents of information dissemination. The model of 'politeness' proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) is a major strategy of facework employed in the news bulletin. According to Brown and Levinson, there are two types of politeness: positive and negative politeness. Positive politeness actively gives positive face to the other by treating the other as a member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked. Negative politeness recognizes the addressee's face wants and will not (or will minimally) interfere with the addressee's freedom of action.

Lim and Bowers (1991), citing (Goffman, 1967, Ho, 1984), argue that when engaged in social interactions people are expected to satisfy each other's face want. In the news bulletin, we could observe that the information propagators employ positive face while addressing the positive face want of the audience. Positive face is people's want that their goals, possessions and achievements be ratified, understood, approved of, liked or admired. Positive face want, then, is supported by expressions of understanding, affection or solidarity. This is why in the news bulletin we come across expressions like: 'Every effort is being made to provide adequate security on campus'. 'The entire community is assured that the police will withdraw from campus as soon as normalcy returns'. 'Every effort will be made to supply water subject to availability of electricity', and 'The issue of promotion is being tackled and promotion exercises scheduled and dates fixed.

All these expressions are used to show demonstration of personal knowledge and empathic understanding on the part of the information disseminators. This is because the positive face want of the audience would normally be threatened by expressions of violent negative emotions, blatant non-cooperation, contradictions or disagreements and by disapproval and criticism (Lim and Bowers, 1991:420).

Summary of the Findings

One striking hallmark of the language of the news bulletin is the use of agent-deletion as part of the gobbledygook of news reporting. Following from this is the considerable overlap between journalise and officialese which provides evidence of the ideological preferences of the university authorities. Ideology, in the words of Davis and Walton (1977:317), is 'a representation of sets of events or facts which consistently favours the perceptual framework of one dominant group'. They argue further that the representation of events as news is not governed by a conscious attempt to present ideology. Rather, the professional journalists, broadcasters, producers believe that their routines and codes merely serve to fashion the news into intelligible and meaningful bulletins. This, however, has major implications for the news and its claim to truth. Lippmann (1965:226) submits that news and truth are not the same. In his words, the function of news is to signalize an event, the function of truth is to bring light to hidden facts to set them in relation with each other, and to make a picture of reality on which men can act.

In this study, therefore, we find that the function of the news is to signalize events since there is the tacit trading of the news bulletin on certain ideological preferences that favour the perceptual framework of the management. This technique is typical of group style that are inherent in the language of news reporting in public establishments. In the present study, such ideological preferences include anti-strike bias, maintaining a bond of identity and sympathy with the audience whenever it experiences unfavourable turn of events as a result of insecurity or non-provision of some welfare services, obscurity of responsibility for certain actions affecting the audience, and many others. Hence, the news disseminated to the audience through the news bulletin could be said to be a highly stylized, repetitive and predictable form of discourse, as the use of agent-deletion is a normative pattern of reporting news items regardless of the tenure of the vice-chancellor or registrar.

Conclusion

We would contend that the use of agent-deletion in the university bulletin may not necessarily enhance the goals that the information propagators intend to achieve, as the believability or the credibility of the news reported through this medium may be under serious doubt more so that meaning is made obscure by deliberate complexity. In this sense, the audience may take the extensive use agent-deliberate to be part of 'the realities of bureaucratic social structure in which it is often impossible to assign responsibility to individuals for coercive and oppressive tactics' (Stanley and Robbins, 1977:309).

On the whole, for the university news bulletin to be qualified and ranked among the media operating a free press, the audience must have access to the full range of information without the university authorities controlling the amount of information they will provide the audience. In this respect, therefore, the university community would be entitled only to correct information, which can form the basis of sound journalism and ensure the confidence of the people.

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24. The Study of Literature in Nigerian Languages

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The study is on the theoretical background to the study of literatures in Nigerian Languages. The study reviewed the approaches/models which can be used in the study of literature and noted that each model has its merits and demerits and that none of the identified models can be used alone in the literacy analysis of texts whether written or oral. For effective analysis of Literatures in Nigerian Languages, the paper advocates a combination of the models.

The paper used the suggested method, to analysis examples drawn from Igbo Literature; the analysis shows that literatures in Nigerian Languages like the literatures of other people can be appreciated and that literatures in Nigerian languages can be shown to be bearers of Nigerian cultures and creative language.

The paper is in four parts. Part one is the introductory discussion. Part two discusses the approaches that can be used in the study of literatures in Nigerian languages. Part three looks at the model adopted and shows how literature can be treated as culture and creative language. Part four is a look at literature and literary appreciation.

1. Introduction

Rene Wallek (1949:20) in his discussion of the nature of literature says:

The first problem to confront us is,
Obviously, the subject matter of
Literary scholarship. What is literature?
What is not literature? What is the nature of literature?
Simple as such questions sound, they are rarely answered clearly.

According to him, one way to define literature is to define 'literature as everything in print. When this is done, we shall be able to study the medical profession in the fourteenth century or planetary motion in the early middle ages or witchcraft in old and New England'. Wellek notes that during this period, literature was identified with the history of civilization, and that this is a denial of the specific field and the specific methods of literary study.

Another way of defining literature is to limit it to 'great books', books which, whatever their subjects are notably not literary form or expression. The simplest way of solving the question is by distinguishing the particular use made of language in literature. Language is the material of literature as stone or bronze is of sculpture, paints of pictures, or sounds of music. But one should realize that language is not mere inert matter like stone but in itself a creation of man and is thus charged with the cultural heritage of a linguistic

group. There is still a problem as it is not easy to distinguish between literary and everyday language.

As Wellek further puts it:

It seems, however, best to consider as literature only works in which the aesthetic function is dominant, while we can recognize that there are aesthetic elements, such as style and composition, in words which have a completely different, non-aesthetic purpose, such as scientific treatises, philosophical dissertations, political pamphlets and sermons.

But as he (Wellek) observes, the nature of literature emerges most clearly under the referential aspects. The centre of literary art is obviously to be found in the traditional genres of the lyric and the epic, the drama. In all of them the reference is to a world of fiction, and imagination. The statements in a novel, in a poem, or in a drama are not literally true. They are not logical propositions. A character in a novel differs from a historical figure or a figure in real life. He is made only of the sentences describing him or put into his mouth by the author.

Roger Fowler (1973:108) in his own perception of literature has this to say:

Editors of literary dictionaries have often failed to offer a definition of the central collective term (though definitions sometimes slip in under 'fiction' or poetry, in the generalized senses of those words. If the greatest literary theorists, from Plato down, have failed to find agreement on the nature of their subject-matter, the average college professor can be forgiven for shirking. But even though, no complete definition may present itself, we may at least mention some criteria which anyone fool hardy enough to attempt the job might consider; and we will find that some qualities are beyond dispute.

He lists some of the generally current usage of the term 'literature as imaginative composition, nowadays, mainly printed but earlier and still in some cultures, oral, whether dramatic, metrical or prose in form. This is a relatively recent usage, having general acceptance in the European language only from the nineteenth century. Earlier senses have been less restricted; e.g. the body of writings in a language, artistic or not: and particularly, the study of such a corpus of written materials. (for an account of the history of the term, see Rene Wellek, *Theory of Literature*).

Emenanjo (1982:1) sees literature as an artistic use of language and that, usually the corpus of literature in any particular community is recognized by that culture. Emenyonu (1978:1-17) perceives literature as mirror with which a people view the world their inner thought with which they communicate with one another, their system of government, their culture, their system of economy, and other things which affect them as a people as could be seen from time to time as these events affect them.

Building on the above perceptions and definitions, one can then say that the study of literatures in Nigerian Languages involves the study of the way of life, philosophy, thought

culture, their system of communication and other things of the Nigerians. And like the literatures of other people, it should be studied. As a discipline of study, there will be theoretical background to its study.

1.1 Theoretical background to the study of literatures in Nigerian Languages

It is logical to believe that since linguistics, is the science of language, it has a lot of contribution to make to literary analysis. There is comparability of this claim in disciplines which are also related like Mathematics and other areas of human enquiry dealing with applied mathematics viz.: physics, electronics, engineering, etc.

However, one can also state that linguistic contribution to literary analysis is just a preparatory or an introductory activity. And, perhaps, what it does in addition is that it makes available to the literary analyst that rule or standard against which literary work can be measured or studied.

Thus, Halliday says:

Linguistics is not and will never be the whole of literary analysis, and only the literary analyst-not the linguist – can determine the place of linguistics in literary studies.

The emergence of stylistics seems to have stopped any controversy between linguistics and literary analysis. Stylistics as its name shows; is a discipline that stands between linguistics and literary criticism. While the linguist treats literary works as texts the literary critic treats them as passages; but the stylistician deals with them as discourse.

In this paper, we intend to discuss the roles which the linguist, the literary critic and the stylistician can play in fashioning out a theoretical background to the study of literatures in Nigerian languages. Efforts will also be made to vindicate literatures in Nigerian languages to act as reflection of culture, creative language, etc. Attention will also be paid to its appreciation. Examples will however, be drawn from Igbo.

Rene Wellek in his discussion on the approach to the study of literature talks of the extrinsic and intrinsic approach. Under the extrinsic, he thinks that literature could be studied as biography, psychology, society and ideas. Under the intrinsic approach, literature could be seen as the mode of existence of a literary work of art, which embraces such things as literary genres, evaluation, style and stylistics, etc.

Olabode in a paper entitled ‘stylistics and problems of literary interpretation with special reference to Yoruba’ notes that there are many approaches to the problems of interpretation of literature in general and that these approaches which he also considers as theoretical backgrounds are many. He classifies them into three major classes: the external, the internal and the structuralist approaches.

Uzochukwu (1988:31) observes that various approaches can be used in Igbo literary criticism as in the literary criticism of the works of other people.

These among others include the traditional approach, the formalistic approach the psychological approach, and the mythological approach. Under the traditional approach, historical – biographical and moral-philosophical considerations are given to a work of literature. This approach is considered traditional because it has evolved over the years. In this approach, a literary work is seen on the one hand as a reflection of the author's life and times or the life and times of the characters in the work and, on the other hand as a means of probing moral philosophic considerations are given to a work of literature. This approach is considered traditional because it has evolved over the years. In this approach, a literary work is seen on the one hand, as a means of probing moral and philosophical issues. The formalistic approach is concerned with the work of art itself, what it says and how it says it. Everything necessary for the analysis of the work itself and there is no need for the critic to concern himself with such artistic as the authors life or his times.

Uzochukwu goes further to say that the psychological approach, which has its basis on the psychoanalytic theories of Sigmund Freud, aims at providing clues toward 'solving a works thematic and symbolic mysteries. He notes that in spite of the possibility of employing various approaches in literary understanding most of them currently in use, appear to be traditional and formalistic. He observes that the traditional has received more remarkable attention, at least in the criticism of African Literature.

2. Approaches that can be used in the study of Literatures in Nigerian Languages

As earlier indicated, some literary analysts find the meaning of a literary work in *the historical background* to such work; there are others whose emphasizes is on the authorial background and there are people who believe that the meaning of a literary piece exists at different levels.

We can show the merits and demerits of each of the approaches in the study of literature in Nigerian Languages.

2.1 Historical approach

According to those who hold on to the historical background of analysis of literatures, any literary study is the product of the community which exists at a particular time when such a text is produced. Therefore, to know the meaning of such a text, the literary analyst will have to know the history and consequently be able to give it a specific meaning. One of the reasons for taking this approach is that it affords the analyst background information to the text, and as a result, demonstrates, the greatest possible degree of accuracy.

This approach is, worthwhile to some extent and essential to literary interpretation. For instance, it is helpful that one would need the historical background knowledge to attach meanings to some literary work. There is no doubt that such knowledge is useful for the interpretation of literary works such as Ubesie's *Isi Akwu dara n'ala* an account of the events of the Nigerian Civil War when some wives abandoned their husbands to go with rich army officers, *Ukpana Okpoko gburu, nti chin ya*, a warning to armed robbers who

continued to menace some sections of Igboland at the end of the Nigerian Civil War *Juo Obinna* which is an account of the Biafran experience during the civil war, such incidents, as conscription into the army the 'attack trade' and soldiers escaping from their military locations are recorded.

Omenuko records the socio-economic and political set up of the Igbo people at the turn of the 20th century when people did not send their children to school but rather apprenticed them to successful businessmen to teach them how to trade; the warrant chief system then in Igboland etc.

It is certain that such situations exist in other Nigerian Literatures.

2.2 Even in terms of socio-economic and political history, one would think that it is necessary to have background knowledge of the socio-political and economic development of the contemporary Nigerian situation before one can see the attraction for and the meaning for Osuagwu's *Egwuregwu Igbo Abuo*; Nwadike's *Okwe Agbaala*, Ihetunge's *Isi Kote Ebu* and Emenanjo's 'Onye Naijiria' in *Utara Nti*.

This approach, however, has some problems; one of such problems is that literature is not a textbook of history, philosophy or sociology. After all, there are other books which are professionally written to deal with these areas of human enquiry. Literature is a work of art, and any information therein should not necessarily be taken as a factual one.

Another problem with this approach, in Igbo Literature, is that, there are some literary genres to which it cannot easily be applied. For instance, *ilu* (proverbs) *afa* (incantations) *gwam gwam* (riddles); metaphorical expressions and other aspects of Igbo figurative literature become the historical background of these genres is obscure.

Also some works deal with timeless truths or general human condition; they are invariably anonymous.

2.3 Authorial Approach

The authorial model claims that the meaning of literary work is determinate. It also believes that it should be identified with the linguistic intentions of the author, and not with the numerous possibilities of meaning which the readers may construe. This approach also falls back upon the personal urge; motivation and inclination on the part of an author or speakers, before he writes or produces a literary piece.

2.4 Semic Approach

The third model under the approach claims that as far as literary works are concerned, there is no determinate meaning which can reasonably be accepted as the object of an interpretive method. It believes that if the reader or hearer (as the case may be) can succeed in construing any meaning which he feels interests him, then he has enjoyed on aesthetic experience in which no prescriptive methods or approaches should be used. In other words, the approach claims that a literary work can be considered to have meanings at different levels and any interpretation that brings out any of these meanings is justified. This is the types of model advocated in traditional literary criticism. In fact, the ability of a literary

piece of such to be polysemic is taken to be the sign of success of such a piece. Such a liberal view has been opposed by Wellek (see Wellek 1968).

The approach is not without its own problems. Firstly, if care is not taken, the interpretation of literary work may be pushed to a ridiculous stage whereby any reader can impose any interpretation on any such works.

Also, we have to define the existence of literary stylistics as an area of human inquiry with its own concept and ways of thinking about it. If this approach is justified in any way, then the whole exercise of teaching and learning theories and models of interpreting literature academically is worthless.

2.5 The formalist Approach

The formalists believe that the only thing one possesses is the literary text. They also believe that since one can only speculate on the authorial or contemporary reception, the only hope to get to the meaning of any literary piece is in the text. Confirmation or refutation of such meanings is only verifiable by recurrence to the textual properties. The analyst should not bring anything into nor take anything out of the text. The formalists are quite “impatient with the obscurantism of symbolist poetics”. They set about the objective and scientific examination of literary style, always insisting that any supposed meaning must be traceable to the text.

The problem with this model is clear: the meaning a literary piece has does not lie only in the surface syntactic structures. It is like taking a literary piece for comprehension exercises whereby there will be a sort of fidelity to the text under study. It involves only the linguistic description of such texts and such description involves mainly a structural analysis of the text and may have nothing to do with the meaning or message of the text. It is an approach that serve as a means to an end. The formalistic approach is interested mainly in the syntactic analysis of texts, one thinks it is necessary to supplement it with something or rather, adopt an approach which will project the interpretation of texts into their cultural settings.

3. The Model suggested – structuralism

In the light of the inadequacies of all the above models in determining the meaning in literature, it is necessary to find a more workable model. This type of model we think is able to account for the possibility of interpretations, the “empty meanings which support a variety of full meanings but which do not permit the work to be given any meaning”.

The model which we consider adequate for interpreting works is the structuralist approach. This does not mean of course, that other methods should not be used. This is because every model has something to contribute in the analysis of a literary work.

3.1 Cardinal Principles of Structuralism

This model appeals to us because of its cardinal principle, which is, that every event has its place in a system and that the value or function of the event depends on and derives from the relations which it can contract with other events in the system. Thus when the event is placed in its proper setting or system, the meaning given to it will be sensible and

reasonable. For instance, its application is not limited to literature, but embraces all that may be useful to the interpretation of literary text whether social, economic, political or cultural factors. This model helps us to show how similarities are brought about between disparate but compared even/objects in a situation or system.

Structuralism can help to account for the recognition or identification of the various literary tropes. For instance, there are some other uses of language in Igbo such as idioms, parables, irony, figurative-literature, etc., which have peculiar syntactic combination.

Also events or objects may be compared or directly identified with others on the principle of contiguity. This type of transference is metonymy or synecdoche, by putting objects in their rightful systems, we are able to see how contiguous they are, as in the use of the name of a part for the whole or vice versa.

3.2 Literature as Culture

Using the model we have suggested, and drawing an example from Igbo oral literature, we can show that the study of Igbo literature like the study of other Literatures in Nigerian Languages is the study of Igbo culture with reference to Igbo prose narratives.

A study of *ifo* prose narratives reveals instances of explicit references (in the tales) to *Chukwu* (God) as the All Powerful, the Beneficent and the just who metes out punishments for wrongdoing, and rewards for good deeds. In the story ‘why man continue to die,’ we are told:

Mgbe onwu mekatara mmadu ihe n’eluwa, mmadu wee choo ka ya ghara idi na-anwu anwu. O wee dupu Nkita na Awo be Chukwu gwa ha na onye ozi ya buru uzo ruo chukwu nti na chukwu ga-eme ihe o kwuru. Mmadu wee gwa Nkita ka o gwa chukwu: “Mmadu anwuzina onwu” gwa awo o gwa chukwu: Mmadu ga na-anwu anwu”.

Mgbe Awo na Nkita malitere iga be chukwu, Awo gaa nyuchie nsi n’uzo Nkita gagesi. Mgbe Nkita rutere ebe ahu, o riwe nsi ahu Awo nyuru. Mgbe o na-eme nke a Awo gbapu oso buru ya uzo rute be chukwu o gwa ya si: ‘Madu ga na-anwu anwu.’ Mgbe nkita rutere o gwa chukwu “Mmadu anwuzina onwu Chukwu za ya si: Chukwu anugo mbu onaghi anu okwu nke abuo”. Nke a kpatara mmadu ji anwu onwu taa.

When death continued to plague man on earth, he wished to be immortal. So he sent Dog and Toad to God and told them that God would accept the message of whichever of the two that gets to Him first. Man then told Dog to tell God “Let man die no more”, and told Toad to tell God: let man continue to die”.

When Toad and Dog set off for God’s abode, Toad went and passed a heap of stool on the way through which Dog would pass. When Dog reached there, he began to lick the stool. As he was doing this, Toad ran off and reached God’s abode before Dog and told God: “Let men continue to die”. When the dog came, he told God,

“let man die no more”. But God replied. “God listens to the first word and not the second”. This is why men have continued to die.

In the above tale one sees a reflection of the traditional belief of the Igbo in *Chukwu* (God). This tale portrays traditional Igbo belief in *Chukwu* as the omnipotent spirit possessing power over life and death. The story points to another attribute which traditional Igbo society ascribed to *Chukwu* Onye ikpemkwumoto “one whose judgement is straight”. God’s own statement in the tale authenticates this: “God listens to the first word and not the second”.

Instances of the manifestation of Igbo culture abound in Igbo fiction, drama and poetry.

In fiction – for example, in *Omenuko*, we hear about the traditional economy of the people; people run away when they commit serious crimes against their people and return after cleansing/pleasing the gods and the land belief in Igbo hereditary chieftaincy title; belief that the ruler or chief of a place must be an indigene of the place; the belief that when a married women runs away from the husband in the midst of hardship, and returns to the husband, the husband should not accept her for the head of the heap of palm nut that has touched the ground, has touched sand – *Isi akwu dara n’ala arala aja*. – Ubesie’s – (*Isi Akwu dara n’ala*).

From *Udo ka mma* we see how the Igbo people settle land dispute, *Aku fechaa*; we see the power of the confraternity of Umunna. Agu yielded to the wishes of his people. From *Ojaadili*, we see the Igboman’s conception of his *Chi* personal God. Ojaadili was warned not to wrestle with his chi, but he disobeyed – the deed that caused his downfall.

From poetry, we read poems like ‘Nkwu’, Osisi na-ami ego in AkpaUche ‘Akpu’ as traditional staple food in *Utara nti*. These poems reflect the role which these food crops play in Igbo culture.

These are some examples to illustrate the fact that Igbo literature is a bearer of Igbo culture.

3.3 Literature as Creative Language

We can illustrate the fact that literature is creative language by using the poems below taken from *Akpu Uche*.

‘Ngwere by Nnadi Olebara pp 34-35 of *Akpa Uche*.

‘Ngwere’ Joseph Maduekwe p. 59 *Akpa Uche* Pp. 34-35

Nnamdi Olebara 34

Ngwere

Abu m ngwere

N’elu ulo gi ka m

No ubochi niile anwu na-acha

a-ago gi naani ofo

Naka i naghi enye m

Otito nke m

I siri ike di ka m
I daala elu di ndu?
Elu ntakiri ka I na-ada
Eburu gi gawa ulo ogwu
Na ubochi niile ka m
Na-esi n'elu osisi akwu
Ji afo m daa n'ala

Lizard
I am Lizard
I stay on top of your house
Always in the intense heat of the sun
Wishing you well
Because you do not
Praise me
Are you strongly built like myself?
Have you ever fallen from the top of
a big tree and found yourself alive
When you fall down from the top of a
Small tree
You are usually rushed to a hospital
Everyday I fall from the top of a palm
tree with my stomach on the ground.

Now the main proverb that inspired Nnamdi Olebara to write this poem is hardly far to seek, it is the Igbo proverb which says that the Lizard which fell from the iroko tree has said he would praise himself if nobody cares to praise him (ngwere dara elu oji siri na onye etoghi ya, ya etoo onwe ya).

So here the stringing together of traditional elements has inspired a poet into making a philosophical statement about human ingratitude. The poem is thus a philosophical medium of expression.

The Lizard is a reptile which we human beings look down on. In our own Igbo culture, children hunt it, often for sport. They harass it out of its harmless hide-out, often torture it before squeezing life out of it. Yet we human beings are not able to achieve such feat as this lizard which can fall from the top of a tree as huge as the iroko and yet survive the fall. What right, Olebara seems to ask, have we to look down on this magnificent harmless reptile? How often do we realise that this reptile is by far stronger and nobler than us who neither possess its strength of endurance nor the kind of courage, exhibited by the Lizard?

The poem is thus a satire on us humans, exposing our feebleness, cruelty, and ingratitude.

In this, poem Olebara puts the experience of the Lizard in the mouth of the Lizard himself rather than report it as is the case in the proverb. This achieves a kind of dramatic

immediacy, feeling of someone whom you see talking to you, and the device makes the communication which the poem seeks to make more effective. We believe that Nnamdi Olebara here makes a very imaginative use of the poetic dynamics of the proverb to write a poem that is quite original in creativity and expressing its thought in a unique way.

The other poem “Ngwere” by Joseph Maduekwe

Ngwere
 Ngwere
 Siri n’elu oji daa
 Wara oso
 Onye etoghi ya,
 Ya etoo onwe ya
 Nwadike dara elu oji
 Gbawara oso
 Ngwere
 Oke soro ngwere maa mmiri
 Mmiri akoo ngwere
 Ma o kozighi oke

In this poem, there are four proverbs, each proverb expressing a different experience in which *ngwere* is involved. So we may say that the whole poem is no more than “a string together” of four different proverbs each with *ngwere* as subject.

There are four stanzas of the poem each stanza having a proverb about the *ngwere* as the disseminating care of its experience. The first stanza is constructed around the proverb about what *ngwere* said about his praising himself if nobody praises him for falling down from the top of an *iroko* tree and remaining in one piece, same as the ‘Ngwere’ poem by Olebara.

The second stanza is made up of the proverb about the rat joining the lizard in a frolic under the rain, without realising that whereas the lizard’s hairless skin will dry his, will not (*oke soro ngwere mma mmiri, mmiri koo ngwere, o gaghi ako oke*).

The third stanza is a proverb about all lizards lying on their belly for which reason it is difficult to know which of them has the belly-ache (*ngwere niile na amakpu amakpu ma ejikwaghi ya mara nke afo na-alu*).

The fourth and last stanza is again a proverb about the lizard which is determined to behave true type so that children will not prey on it (*ngwere emeghi ihe o ji buru ngwere, umuaka eme ya okochi na udu mmiri*).

Each stanza of this poem is therefore a philosophical statement on a facet of human experience. The use of proverb to make these statement emphasize the metaphoric value of the proverb. The most effective creative use which Maduekwe has made of the stylistics of the proverb is the draw from its rhythm patterning. He does not report the proverbs in their stereotyped format, rather he rearranged the phrases that comprise them into rhythmic pattern allowing each pattern to form a line. The ultimate effect of this is that Maduekwe succeeds in bestowing the whole piece with that sense of music which the rhythmic

patterning of the proverb evokes. We notice the way in which the first line of each stanza is just an invocation of the word, *ngwere* and every other utterance in the stanza is a reference to that first line, *Ngwere*, the protagonist of not each stanza of the poem but of the whole poem.

4. Literature and Literary Appreciation

Putting together all the theoretical models/background we have discussed for the study of literatures in Nigerian Languages, we venture to make the following suggestions.

4.1 Model for Fiction

1. Title of Text: *Chapter/Isi/Aha Akwukwo*. It should be noted that while some titles are idiomatic or proverbial in nature, others are ordinary names of characters. Titles such as *Ukwa Ruo Oge Ya O daa*, *Isi Akwu dara n'ala aratula aja*, *Ukpaka Miri onye ubiam*, *Onye chi ya kwo n'azu etc*, are either idiomatic or proverbial; while titles such as *Omenuko Juo Obinna*, *Juochi* are ordinary names.

Author: *Odee*. The writer/s or author/authors should be identified who may be man, woman, young old as the ease may be. Works of authors in the same genre could be compared, authors who have written in more than one genre of Igbo Literature could be mentioned. Examples could be drawn from Ubesi and Maduekwe who had tried their hands in drama, poetry, customs, institutions and fiction. Joint authorship could be indicated.

Publisher and Date: *Ulooru Mbiputa na Afo Mbiputa*:

The name of the publishing house as well as the date of publication of the material.

Setting: *Ntoala*

According to Ezikeojiaku (1993:24), “setting” *nto* refers to the spatial or temporal background against which the action of a novel takes place. One underlying assumption behind the use of setting in fiction is that heredity notwithstanding, environment influences or conditions character, for example, the chief character in *Aghirigha* behaves like a typical urban dweller, moreover, events cannot take place in a vacuum. The kind of setting a writer explores is determined by his intention or themes. But in general, setting has often been used to point out the social base of the novel in the author’s attempt to make setting reflect in theme and character.

Ezikeojiaku’s observations are apt in the description of a novel. For example, the novel – *Isi Akwu dara n'ala* is between 1967 and 1970 and well developed both in urban and rural setting.

Author’s point of view: *kesirihu/mbunuuche ode*

Usually in a novel, a writer may use any of these narrative techniques to describe or tell his story. The techniques are:

- i. Playing Omniscient to the first person narrator
- ii. Telling the stories through the eyes of one of the characters
- iii. Telling the story as a partial observer or on-looker.
- iv. Playing Omniscience and remaining in the background.

Understanding point of view demands awareness, not only of who the narrator is; but also where he stands in relation to the story he is narrating.

Plot: *Nhazi akuko*- under plot, there should be a thorough examination of how events in the novel are arranged, that is to say, we are to find out whether the incidents have a pattern, each incident affecting the other in logical sequence, in which case, one may conclude that the plot is non-episodic as in the case in *Uru Nwa* or whether the plot consists of various events having connection, in which case, one conclude that the plot is episodic as is the case in *Dinta*. At times a novel may combine the episodic and the non-episodic plot as Ubesie did in *Ukwa Ruo Oge Ya, o Daa*. Each of the points has its own merits and demerits.

Characterization in the novel: *Akparamagwa/Agwa*

A writer is at liberty to use any of these ways of depicting characters:

- i. From what the character says or does in the literary world/novel.
- ii. From the opinion people hold about the character in the work.
- iii. From what the character says or does in the literary work/novel.
- iv. From what the character says about other people.

Based on these criteria, a character could be depicted as round or flat. A flat character maintains the same tract of behaviour or action through a literary piece of work such as a novel, whereas a round character changes with circumstances. Therefore, characters in a novel may be either flat or round. Ubesie for instance used contemporary issues to depict his characters. In *Isi akwu*, Ubesie used the events of the Nigerian civil war to portray Ada as a round character – ‘agwa ndaghari’ Chike on the other hand, may be judged as flat, considering his role in the novel.

Language: Nkaasusu

The literary analyst should assess the language of the novel/book. This covers a wide area and includes such aspects: *atumaatuokwu* and *atumaatu*, *agumagu*, the use of symbolism *mgbaama*; myth- *akuko okike*; allusion – *nrtuaka*; allegory – *akukoniilu*; the phonological features of the work; the sentence structure – *usorookwu na usuro ahiriokwu*. See also (Dike 1984) the literary effect of all these devices should be explained.

4.2 Model for Drama

Ejije from *Njije*, portrays drama as imitation of an action, or of a person or persons: The ultimate aim of this, is to entertain or to edify or both. The literary analyst should emphasize this mimetic element because it differentiates drama from such other forms of entertainment like dance or wrestling. The Igbo literature analyst should understand drama as a story in dialogue form, of human conflict, projected by means of speech and action from a stage to an audience.

Examples could be drawn from available Igbo drama texts to illustrate some of these. For example, in *Ojaadili*, there is a conflict (ndokorita) of man and his personal god; in *Udo ka mma*, there is a societal conflict; in *Aku fechaa*; there is a conflict of man and society, etc.

Analysis of an Igbo Drama Text

Having explained the elements of drama, the literary analyst should be able to indicate freely the title/aha of the book, the author/authors, *odee/Ndi odee*; publisher/year-ulooru *Mbiputa/Afo Mbiputa*.

4.2.2 Setting: *Nto (ala, oge)*

4.2.3 Theatre/stage; *Obom/Nkwago*

4.2.4 Type of drama, *Udi ejije; ejije odachi, mgbanya mmiri, illunaochi* etc.

4.2.5 Audience: *Ndi Odee bu n'uche/Ndi nkiri*.

4.2.6 Content/Theme/Subject: *Ndina*

4.2.7 Plot: *Nhazi Ejije*

- Plot:

- act, *Emume, Nkebi, ihe nkiri*

- episode – *isi akuko/okpurukpu akuko*

- events – *akuko*

- conflict – *ndokorita/ntuhiko*

- suspense – *nkonuume*.

4.3 Style: *Akanka odee*

- structure - *ndoko*

- language - *asusu*

- figure of speech - *atumaatu okwu*

- figure of literature - *atummatu agumaagu*

- idiom – *akpaalaokwu*, proverb – *ilu, anectdote ukobuilu*,

- wellarism – *asiniilu* etc.

The literary analyst should utilize these ideas in his work.

4.3 Model for Poetry

Usually in a poem, whether written or oral the first thing that should come to the mind of the literary analyst is the message the poet or writer has for the audience, the reader, that is,

the thought or idea-*echiche*. These are usually numerous and may cut across ideas on the creator and the created, life and death, peace and war etc. The idea or thought determines the type of emotion, *mmetutaobi* which the poem evokes. The emotion could be many and can include feeling of joy, sorrow, anger, wonder, fear, pity, nostalgia, etc., depending on the thought conveyed in the poem. Thought and emotion, therefore, constitute the content of any piece of poetry.

The analyst should reflect what the poet says and how he says it. He should examine how the poet puts his message across, his 'method of expression the form of the poem'. Three things readily come to mind under this aspect, namely, structural (*ndoko*) rhythm (*ndanusoro*) and language (*asusu*).

In the consideration on of structure, the literary analyst should examine how the poet handles the subject matter; does the poet go straight into the subject matter; does he start with some preamble; how does he organise the ideas, do the ideas follow each other in logical sequence from the beginning to the end; and are there digressions and for what purposes? Does the poem end in a concluding stanza which emphasizes the theme of the poem.

Under rhythm, we are to examine the factors of the poetic rhythm employed by the poet. For details on Igbo poetic rhythm; see Uzochukwu (1981); Azuonye (1979), Dike (1989), etc.

In the consideration of language, the analyst should be able to examine the diction *nhookwu*, that is to say, the analyst should be able to dictate if the poet makes use of neologism or coinages *okwumewe*, as in the poem titled "Ogbunigwe" in *Utara Nti* (p. 9) dialectism *Olundi*, as in "Osisi na ami ego in *Nka Okwu* (p. 57) and loan words *Okwumbite*, as in 'onye Naijiria' in *Utara Nti* (p. 16).

The literary analyst should be able to examine the poet's inversion of word order *njighari usorokwu* for aesthetic effects as in 'koro m Akuko Ndu' in *Obiagaeri* (P. 16). For the analysis of the poet's use of figurative language and figurative literature consult Emenanjo's *Atumaatu Okwu na Atumaatu agumagu* published by Longman's publishers PLC.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that:

- i. There are many approaches which can be used in the study of literatures in Nigerian Languages
- ii. Each of the models has its merits and demerits
- iii. None of these models can be used alone in the literary analysis of texts whether written or oral
- iv. A combination of the various models is advocated in the analysis of literatures in Nigerian languages. Using the theoretical background advocated and drawing examples from Igbo Literature, literatures in Nigerian Languages have been shown to be bearers of Nigerian cultures and creative language.

Finally, the paper utilized the suggested procedures and examples drawn from Igbo, to show how the literary genres in literatures in Nigerian languages can be appreciated.

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25. Social Functions of Ngwa-Igbo Verbal Jokes

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Verbal jokes have been found to give pleasure and to provoke laughter in man. They are a veritable tool for healthy living, though people place less premium on the use and study of verbal jokes. This paper uses the example of the social functions of Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes to establish that verbal jokes can be projected as an aid to problem solving, as a means of entertainment and as an instrument of education. It therefore advocates for further scholarly research into Igbo verbal jokes in order to preserve our cultural heritage for posterity.

1. Introduction

The people of Ngwa-Igbo are predominantly farmers. They love poetry of all kinds as well as music for social and cultural interactions. They engage in social activities at their leisure; these activities could be indoor sports – telling stories and cracking jokes. It could be a conversation over a keg of palm wine. They are so attached to cultural activities such as verbal jokes that not even the influence of western civilization has been able to reduce, let alone obliterate them.

Verbal jokes create joy, which the maker shares with others. Jokes are of immense value to man, but it seems that not much studies have been carried out in this aspect of Igbo studies. A great sociologist, Freud Segmund, (1966:36) did not hide his feelings about the sorry state of jokes all over the world, when he says, that “all over the world, only a few people have taken pains to discuss and write deeply about jokes”.

People joke either to criticize or provoke some laughs among themselves. Those who are gifted in jokes possess the ability to manipulate words to mean different things in many ways. For one to make others to laugh one must be ready to adapt to all situations where necessary. The person must appear stupid or clumsy if the situation demands. In this way, he could easily generate laughter in others. A cheerful individual, an individual that has the charisma, the potential of joking is likely to evoke or provoke laughter in others.

However, according to Ugonna (1980:9), there is paucity of materials in Igbo oral literature. This is not peculiar to Igbo verbal jokes alone but also extends to other forms of Igbo oral literature. He therefore states:

Little has been done nationally in the systematic preservation of oral texts traditionally handed down to us by our ancestors and the situation is even worse with regard to Igbo traditional texts.

Ugonna is not only the lone voice in this regard. Ezikeojiaku (1985:24) also commented on the same issue. Expressing his concern about the inadequate documentation of our oral

literature, he says that if care is not taken, our rich cultural heritage might phase out with the present apathy shown in Igbo oral literature. He therefore states:

It is flared that despite the rich verbal art in Igbo oral literature, this mirror of Igbo traditional life is perhaps facing some sort of extinction and may phase out within a few decades unless something urgently is done, posterity will perhaps blame us for not salvaging our literary heritage.

We therefore feel that what scholars have said about oral literature in general is also applicable to Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes.

In this paper, we shall explain what a joke is, and with copious examples, attempt the analysis of the social functions of Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes and make some recommendations. This will, no doubt, help to preserve our cultural heritage.

2. Definition of Joke

George (1924) states that

Whichever utterance that produces humour in language users (both the speaker and the hearer) simply constitutes a joke. It may in addition underline a behavioural norm.

Garry's view is further stressed in the definition given by *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of English Language* which defines joke as "something that intends to evoke laughter". It could be said that a joke is a test of intelligence as well as skill involved in joking. Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes are, therefore, the sayings which give pleasure and provoke laughter, some of them may express deep feelings and thoughts in a very fascinating language.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Like other disciplines, the use of theory as a base of experimentation and explanation in literature cannot be over-emphasized. Among other things, a theory provides us with two basic tools for analyzing as well as interpreting a piece of work, especially in literary studies. The writer therefore deems it necessary to have a theoretical framework as a springboard for our discussion. The theories to be discussed include: Dynamic theories of joke and Release and Relief theory.

(a) Dynamic Theory of Joke

Scholar, the founder of this theory proposed jokes to be a variety of problem solving. The dynamic theory of joke advocates that both emotion and the way jokes are thrown to the individual determine the extent to which the joke can be of help to him in terms of relieving somebody from embarrassment.

(b) Release and Relief Theories

These theories state that the function of humour and joke is to relieve strain and constraint as well as excess tension, from the individual. These are the bases, of the release and relief theories.

George (1924) views relief as pervading all humour, and therefore states that:

Relief is written on the physical act of laughing and on the physiological accompaniments. It is written on the occasions of laughter and more or less on each of its varieties. A laughter of sheer relief may be original source of all laughs.

Thus, these theories propose that laughter enhances relieve of tension in human beings. When we laugh, a lot of tension is released in our body, therefore, enhancing our mind being reconditioned to accommodate new ideas and information. This is the essence of joking and the same applies to Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes.

3. Social Functions of Verbal Jokes

Verbal jokes are socio-culturally bound, and their functions cannot therefore, be over-emphasized. Favourite jokes have been proved to perform social functions, especially those that reflect the problems of a cultural group.

Like in any other African culture, Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes, myths, stories, legends and poetry were designed to stress prudence, honesty, justice, hard-work, endurance, kindness, valour, etc. During festivals, Ngwa communities engage in a number of cultural activities like masquerading, wrestling, and other performances with verbal content. Also during leisure periods especially on moonlight nights, family and community gathering, Ngwa people tell such stories as myths, legends, and crack jokes which are woven around the society and spirit characters. The stories and jokes are so woven to teach some moral lessons and correct certain ills of the society. They could also be to entertain as well as educate the society on the cultural and other aspects of human life. Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes are also one of the avenues of attacking and criticizing the society. This is done in form of satire through humorous and jovial remarks aimed at injecting new life in the society.

Consequently, the Ngwa-Igbo verbal artist therefore has certain standards he wants the society to conform to. If due to dishonesty and carelessness, the society does not adhere to certain norms, it could be criticized through jokes. Apart from criticizing the society, Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes also entertain as well as educate members of the society. We shall therefore discuss the social functions of Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes under the following sub-headings. Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes as:

- (a) A means of correcting social ills
- (b) A means of entertainment
- (c) An instrument of Education.

We shall take them one by one.

3.1 Verbal Jokes as a means of Correcting Social Ills

Verbal jokes are one of the most powerful corrective instruments in the Ngwa society. As we have stated earlier, jokes are used to correct the ills of the Ngwa society through satire. This is done through the use of very powerful but humourous language to ridicule characters.

Jokes are used to satirize those who have fallen short of societal expectations. When a stranger violates certain rules of the land, he is satirized through jokes. Equally, if an indigene goes against the laws of the land or fails to perform a duty expected of him, he too, is satirized through jokes. Below are some examples of jokes:

- (i) Biiko, onye obula nomaadi
Egbe la-evu okukọ abiadila wo
(Please let everybody be very careful because the kite that carries chicken is around).

Ngwa people do not take it kindly with anybody who is a thief. In fact, such a person, if discovered, is made the subject of satire in the town. In some cases the person is stripped naked with whatever he/she stole hung on his/her neck and taken round the community as an object of ridicule. This process is called “ivu mbembe”. People will avoid him/her and wherever he/she is, one joke or two are indirectly thrown at him/her by the people to express their displeasure over his/her misdemeanour.

For instance, when the above statement, or joke is made, everybody laughs but the person to whom the joke is made or directed at understands the language clearly even though he/she may laugh too. However, when such derogatory statement is repeated to the same person in one or two occasions, he/she might be compelled to change. He/She would be afraid to engage in any nefarious activity for if he/she continues, he/she might be publicly exposed.

Also in a joke called “Nwankwo ejighi egwe hwe madu, o gafee hwe efuo”. (Nwankwo does not take people things, but wherever he passes, something must surely miss). Nwankwo is being jokingly accused of stealing people’s things at will. The joke is made in a polite but metaphorical language. Once the presence of Nwankwo is noticed in any gathering people normally say

- O jighi egwe hwe madu,
Kama o gafee hwe efuo
(He does not take peoples’ things, but whenever he passes, things miss).

Literally, the remark implies that though Nwankwo does not steal, people’s things or property miss wherever he passes. They do not want to expose or tell the public that he is a thief. This is an indirect way of telling Nwankwo to stop such an attitude.

Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes can be used either to unite or disintegrate members of the society. A continuous unleashing of satirical jokes has some disastrous effects, in that while they give joy to the initiator, they might be a source of sorrow to the person whom the joke

is directed at. This could lead to conflicts and strained relationships. For instance, irresponsible girls are always called “O tọ l’aka nne” or ‘nkịta’ and flirtatious married women, “onye ọdọ ụmụ di” (a woman that engages in sex at will with any man).

The remark is derogatory as well as disturbing. This is consciously made to satirize a particular girl or woman who is found wanting in certain behaviour. The essence of calling her “O tọ l’aka nne” or “onye ọdọ ụmụ di” as the case may be is to make her change her attitude towards life. Nobody likes being addressed as an irresponsible person in the society.

Jokes can also be used to express grievances or be directed at someone in a group who either has not learnt the norms of the society or violated it. They constitute a symbol of disapproval – a subtle way of calling somebody to order when someone misbehaves and at the same time providing someone with an opportunity to accept one’s mistake and rejoin one’s group or colleagues in the society without losing one’s face.

(a) Verbal Jokes as a means of Entertainment

Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes are one of the avenues by which tension is released. It is a means by which people keep their minds relaxed after a day’s work on when they are not doing anything serious. During family meetings, festivals of all types, jokes are initiated to keep people happy. Friends joke to keep each other happy too. It could be on the road, market place, village square etc. Jokes can take place at any place at any time of the day. In all, the essence of joke is to provoke laughter. Provoking laughter therefore, entertains individuals, groups and so on. Ngwa verbal jokes therefore, promote human relationship because when people come together to exchange jokes, it gives them the opportunity to interact, understand and communicate with one another.

At times people can consciously create situations for joking. This could be done in the form of bantering (ikọonụ), the ultimate aim being to entertain. It is somehow like a game or competition. It is usually between two people in the midst of a crowd or gathering. This is normally done when people have exhausted other means of relaxation like story telling. Two people normally initiate a joke. One person can tell the other, ‘let us banter’ (ka anyi kọọ ọnụ). Then they take their position while the audience observes and claps in case of one person defeating the other. The following bantering is obtainable among the Ngwa-Igbos. It goes like this:

Anyị kọ ọnụ (Let us banter)

Ọkọonụ: churụ m ya nu

Ogenti: o wee

Ọkọonụ: churụ m ya nu, churụ m ya nu

Ogenti: o wee e e!

Ọkọonụ: Ihu gi la anya gi nnụla i gbafurụ asụ eluigwe atụọ ajari.

Ogenti: O kọgbuola ya, ọ si la ihu na anya ya dika ọ gbafurụ asụ eluigwe atụọ ajari

(Let us banter)

Banter: score him for me

Audience: owe!

Banter: score him for me, score him for me.

Audience: owe e e!

Banter: Your face and eyes are as if your spit (of saliva) stained the sky.

Audience: He has defeated him.

(He says, his face and eyes are as if he spat out saliva which stained the sky).

In the above bantering, the opponent's saliva is compared with an acidic substance that can stain or corrode another object when it touches it. The comparison of the opponent's saliva with acidic substance is not necessarily to present him as somebody who has mouth odour or dreadful eyes, but this is simply to stimulate laughter on the part of the audience. It is not satire either. Here is another bantering.

Bia anyi nkoro onu (let us banter)

Okoonu: churu m ya nu

Ogenti i: owe!

Okoonu: churu m ya nu, churu m ya nu

Ogenti i: owe e e e!

Okoonu: Odi otu ehi anyi nhie
skul da-alo, anyi thu
ovo l'uzo juo ya "ma aguu
oji ya" Ya a si
"Tuutu tuutu tuu mọochi".

Ogenti: wu u yi, o kogbuola ya
O! o si na o bu tuutu
Tuutu mọochi

"Let us banter"

Banter: Score him for me

Audience: Owee!

Banter: Score him for me, score him for me

Audience: owee e e!

Banter: There was a day we were returning from school,
we saw a dove on our way and asked it if it was hungry.
He responded. It is "too too much"

Audience: Wuu y i i! He has defeated him.
He says that, "It is too too much".

In the above example, the banter mimicked the way a dove cries out simply to cause laughter. In this aspect of Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes, no matter how derogatory the joke may sound, nobody takes offence; hence, this kind of joke serves as a means of entertainment.

Apart from the use of bantering as a means of entertainment in Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes, one person among a crowd can single-handedly initiate jokes. He can stand up before the crowd to tell any joke to the audience which he feels could make them laugh heartily. Here is an example of a joke addressed to an audience by an individual titled; “Guo adreesi gi” (Read your address)

O di otu woko la-amufughị
 akwukwọ ngara mmemme agbamakwukwọ.
 mgbe o duru nnawa, eé emee ya
 onyeisioche. Obi ntọrọ ya ụtọ hie
 nne l’ihi la-abia l’ego, ọdighi
 onye ya la ya nha la-inwe ego.
 Mghe a tacharawe oji, onye ndi ijikalata mmemme ahu a si ma madu lile
 kpooruo ọdọ la o
 di he ndi mkpa a ga-ime gbuo.
 mgha ekpooruchara wo odo.
 onye ndi ijikalata mmeme akpolita
 onyeisiochie si ya gufuta adreesi
 ya, ke bu akwukwo ozi nnabata ya.
 Adreesi laani nwooko a nmaara
 agwula ke ulo ebe o bi l’Aba. Ya elita
 kwaa ikiri si, “madu liile gee nti”,
 “Adreesi m bu nomba 195 Aturu Roodu,
 Aba”. Onye nchoro m nña ahu, o
 ga ihu m, ndeewonu.
 Ochi ehie l’elu, hie l’ala
 dakpoo, oforo ntakala ufodi madu
 ehie l’oche daa, ebe ufodi
 nkuru isi l’oche.
 “Read Your Adreesi”.

There was an illiterate man who attended a wedding ceremony one-day. While at the reception, he was made the chairman of the occasion. He was very happy because in terms of money, nobody could compete with him.

After the breaking and sharing of kolanuts, the master of ceremony asked everybody to sit down as this was a very important ceremony to be performed. When everybody settled down, the master of ceremony called on the chairman to read his welcome address. Unfortunately, the only address this man knew was his home address at Aba. He stood up, cleared his throat and said, “Everybody listen, the only address I have is where I live at

Aba. It is No. 195 Aturu Road, Aba. Anybody who wants to see me should come there. You are welcome”. There was outburst of laughter everywhere – some people nearly broke their heads on the chairs they were sitting, while others nearly fall off from their chairs.

The above joke depicts the present illiterate mongers who seek recognition through their affluence in public places. However, the idea of the joke is to create laughter and keep the audience happy or entertained.

(b) Ngwà-Igbo Verbal Jokes as an Instrument of Education

Ngwà-Igbo verbal jokes entertain as well as educate the society. From these verbal jokes, new knowledge is acquired. One could become more knowledgeable which helps them to function better in the society. Through verbal jokes, one can also gain insight into the happenings in the society. We shall, therefore, illustrate how Igbo verbal jokes educate people, especially children with particular reference to tongue twisters as an aspect of Ngwà-Igbo verbal jokes.

Tongue twisters are used to educate children in pronouncing words. They teach, entertain and sharpen children’s intellect. Through the use of tongue twisters, a child acquires language drills/speech. In this way, Ngwà-Igbo verbal jokes have helped them to gain new knowledge.

It is recited among children in form of competition. Each child is expected to recite one or two tongue twisters to his fellows. He is judged on how faster he utters the words without missing any of the repeated consonants. If he says it faster without dropping any word, he is proclaimed the winner or clapped for. Children enjoy the joke and as well as learn the pronunciation of certain words unconsciously. Below are some illustrations:

(i) “Ozụ azụ” (buyer of fish)

Ozụ azụ
Zuru ozu azu
E zuru ezu
(A buyer of fish
bought a rotten fish
stolen by somebody.)

In the above tongue twister illustrated, laughter is provoked when a child fails to pronounce correctly any of the words contained in the sentence. People laugh and another person could be asked to repeat it or give another one. This goes on like that until everybody is tired or satisfied.

Furthermore, tongue twisters are not only useful to children but also important to the adults. In addition to entertaining adults, tongue twisters can be used to expose one to understand what one has not known before, as illustrated below:

Okechukwu mgburu oke
 L'ọnụ oke
 l'Umụoke
 (Okechukwu killed a rat
 in a rat's hole
 located in a town called Umụoke.)

Tongue twisters have been found to be very powerful instrument in training both children and adult in language drills, especially in correct pronunciations. In addition, they help a child to develop his mind, as well as sharpen his brain and imagination.

4. Recommendations and Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion, we have discovered that all over the world, including the Igbo community, people place less premium on the use and study of verbal jokes. Whereas, from our brief discussion of Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes have been found to give pleasure or provoke laughter which is a veritable tool for healthy living. They serve as a means of correcting social ills through satire. Jokes can be projected as an aid to problem solving. They serve as an instrument of education as well as entertainment in the Igbo community. Thus, we advocate that it is high time Igbo verbal jokes are given enough attention by Igbo scholars.

In view of the above investigation, we therefore make the following recommendations. In the first place, efforts should be geared towards collecting more Igbo verbal jokes throughout Igboland with a view to putting them in print for posterity.

Secondly, all the electronic media throughout Igboland should create a forum for Igbo verbal jokes in their programmes. This will serve as a means of entertainment as well as educating the Igbo speaking people.

Thirdly, the nonchalant attitude towards the study of Igbo verbal jokes should be addressed. People should be made to understand that the study of Igbo verbal joke is very necessary in order to preserve our cultural heritage.

Igbo verbal jokes should also form a part of the subjects or courses taught in our educational institutions. In doing so, the standard set for analyzing other forms of poetry should be followed. Curriculum planners of Igbo studies should also include Igbo verbal jokes in their syllabus. This will no doubt ginger scholars to take up the study of Igbo verbal jokes in our colleges of education and universities.

From the investigation carried out, we therefore conclude that there is ample opportunity for further investigations into Igbo verbal jokes in general and Ngwa-Igbo verbal jokes in particular through specific research projects.

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26. Effects of Instructional Strategies on Metacognitive Awareness in Reading among Secondary School Students in Akwa Ibom State

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This study seeks to determine the effects of two instructional strategies – the talk-to the Author and SCROL – on secondary school students’ metacognitive awareness in reading comprehension. The possible mediating influences of verbal ability on their performance will also be examined. A 3 x 3 pretest – posttest control group quasi – experimental design was used. The subjects consisted of 360 SS1 students drawn from three secondary schools in Uyo urban of Akwa Ibom State. The instrument consisted of verbal ability test and strategy awareness questionnaire. The students in their intact classes were randomly assigned to the three treatment groups. Two null hypotheses were tested. The data were analysed using ANCOVA and scheffe post-hoc test. The results showed significant main effects of treatment on metacognitive awareness in reading ($F(2,359) = 279.053$; $P < .05$). A two-way interaction effect of treatment and verbal ability was also found ($F(4,359) = 8.414$; $P < .05$). The implications of this finding for classroom practice were discussed.

Introduction

Teaching creates the conditions for learning to take place. It is a process of helping students to change their behaviour or attitude (Merlin & Rogers 1981). Research has established that little or no direct reading instruction is given in schools (Spiegel 1980; Poindexter & Prescott 1986; Hartman & Nielson 1989). In Nigeria, reading has no recognizable position in the curriculum, which is why teachers do not bother about how reading is taught (Isiugo-Abanihe 1991; Abe 1991). A ‘round robin’ procedure where students are asked to read the passage one after the other and then answer the questions at the end of the passage is often adopted by most teachers. This methodological misconception (Oba 1989) results in rote learning and passive recipient, non-thinking readers. This practice has also been blamed for the persistent bad performance of students both in private and public examinations. Educators and researchers are being challenged to find out what continues to impede students’ progress in reading (Nuttall 1982). This is understandable as reading is one of the language skills and acquisition of it enhances language learning and life-long learning generally.

Metacognitive awareness refers to the ability of readers to know when and how to apply different strategies to construct meaning from text and also monitor their learning processes. The three mental activities that constitute metacognition are: being aware; monitoring and regulating in order to aid faltering understanding (Flood & Lapp 1990). Other researchers refer to these mental activities as knowledge about cognition and self-regulation of cognition. Knowledge about cognition concerns what the readers know about both their cognitive resources and the regulation (or monitoring) of those resources. Monitoring includes the ability to detect errors in texts, knowledge of different strategies to

use with different kinds of texts, and the ability to separate important from unimportant information. Self-regulation of cognition relates to the readers' ability to control or regulate their actions during reading. The activities included here are: planning and monitoring, testing, and revising (Baker & Brown 1984). These researchers contend that if readers know how to learn information, they can explain what they do when asked. This process of knowing how to learn constitutes metacognitive awareness.

Researches prove that mature readers recognize when comprehension failure occurs, and know what to do about it. Such individuals are metacognitively aware. But studies show that people of this nature are in the minority (Nist and Mealey 1991). In a school environment where a greater percentage of all learning comes from independent reading, lack of metacognitive awareness spells academic doom to the learners. To avert these failures, much recent educational research and practice have focused on the development of independent, or autonomous or resource-based language learning (Benson & Voller cited in Coleman 1997). The one way to foster learner autonomy is to make students aware of learning strategies, so that they come to possess learning strategies (Catterall 2000). In spite of the findings that learning strategies facilitate learning and may be teachable, many studies have shown that students do not use as many strategies as they should (Macintyre and Noels 1997).

Language learning strategies are common to learners – females and males (Sunderland 2000). Language learning strategies are the specific behaviour that students utilize, usually intentionally, to enhance their understanding, storage and retrieval of second/foreign language information (Oxford cited in Sunderland 2000). In a reading situation, the reader employs series of strategies to be able to construct meaning from text. Unfortunately, most studies on reading do not bother about what learners do and how they process texts. Yet as Coleman (1997:11) puts it: "Learners need to be helped to develop both cognitive and affective skills: (a) Metalinguistic awareness (b) Metacognitive awareness, i.e. strategies and techniques, how to identify and use resources, and what one's own learning style is".

Studies on Metacognitive Strategies in Reading

Metacognitive awareness in reading remains one of the areas that reading educators in Nigeria have not given adequate attention. Thus, the few studies in this area are all from outside Nigeria. They involve comparative studies, intervention studies and survey studies. Studies that compared the metacognitive abilities of skilled and unskilled readers reported distinctive differences between the two groups. Poor readers failed to know what to do when comprehension fails (Gambrell and Heathington, 1981).

In the same vein, studies with intervention strategies to improve the cognitive apparatus and comprehension of learners reported improved comprehension of strategic groups of college students and better monitoring abilities (Nolan, 1991, Katims and Harris 1997). Also, Coley and Hoffman 1990; Blachowicz and Zabrosko (1990); Applegate, Quinn, & Applegate (1994) in their various intervention strategy studies reported not only improved comprehension, but also the development of metacognitive awareness. The students in the strategy groups became independent strategy users. They came to know

why, what and how of context use. Students even showed sign of transfer of strategy to other areas of their life.

Purpose of Study

In his model of Reader Profiles, Chia (1998) described the four types of readers on the basis of their behaviour, feelings and needs as independent, reluctant, disabled and illiterate readers. Applying Chia's reader profile to our society, Udosen (2000) located the last three groups – the reluctant, the disabled and the illiterate readers at the secondary level of our school system. These students have special learning needs that demand urgent attention. Thus, this study sought to develop whether purposeful instruction would help students' metacognitive awareness, thereby equipping them with learning and reading strategies for life-long learning.

Hypotheses

The following null hypotheses were tested:

- (1) There is no significant main effect of treatment on students achievement in metacognitive awareness in reading, and
- (2) There is no significant interaction effect of treatment and verbal ability on students' metacognitive awareness in reading.

Methodology

The study adopted a 3 x 3 pretest-posttest quasi-experimental design in three secondary schools in Akwa Ibom State. Three intact classes of SS1 in each of the schools were used. This was necessary to have a reasonable number of high verbal ability students for the study. Thus, the sample for this study consisted of 360 senior secondary one students of varied ability groupings (105 high, 120 medium and 135 low). Treatment and control were randomly assigned to each of the three schools.

Instrumentation

An 11-item instrument constructed by the researcher using the criteria of metacognitive studies (Flood and Lapp 1990) was used. The instrument was used to measure the presence of students' strategic behaviours, that is, certain cognitive processes which mature readers employ in order to construct meaning from text, before and after the experiment. The questionnaire had three options of 'Always', 'Sometimes', and 'Never'. They carry simple weights of 3, 2, 1 respectively for strategic behaviours and a reverse for non-strategic behaviours. The students were to tick one option out of the three which represented the activities they perform before, during and after reading any text or material to arrive at high comprehension. This instrument passed through three phases of validation-face, content and construct validity. A reliability index of .77 was obtained.

Data Analysis

The data from the study were analysed using the Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA), scheffe post hoc test.

Results: The results were presented in tables according to the null hypotheses. HO_1 : There is no significant main effect of treatment on students' metacognitive awareness in reading.

Table 1 below reveals that there is a significant main effect of treatment on subjects' metacognitive awareness in reading comprehension, $\{F_{(2,359)} = 279.053; P < .05\}$. The critical value of F-ratio for the prevailing degrees of freedom for .05 alpha level is 3.02. The obtained F-ratio of 279.053 is therefore significant. On the basis of this result, HO_1 was rejected. A further analysis was carried out on the data using scheffe procedure as summarised below:

Table 1: Summary of Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) of Posttest Metacognitive Awareness According to Treatment and Verbal Ability

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Squares	F	Sig. of F
Covariates					.000*
Pre Awareness	71.227	1	71.227	12.984	
Main Effects	3144.875	5	628.975	114.659	.000*
Treatment	3061.548	2	1530.774	279.053	.000*
Ability	74.541	2	37.270	6.794	.000*
2-way Interactions					
	261.909	8	32.739	5.969	.001*
Treatment/ability	184.621	4	46.155	8.414	.000*
Explained	3579.076	18	198.838	36.247	.000*
Residual	1870.588	341	5.486		
Total	5449.664	359	15.180		

* = Significant at $P < .05$

Table 2: Scheffe Multiple Range Comparison of Treatment Group Means for Metacognitive Awareness

Mean Score	Groups	Treatment Groups		
		3	1	2
23.4583	3			
28.2500	1	*		
30.2833	2	*	*	

Key: Pairs of groups with means that differ significantly at $P < .05$.

The data in table 2 reveal that treatment group 2 achieved significantly differently from groups 1 and 3. Treatment 1 subjects also differed significantly from treatment three.

HO₂: There is no significant interaction effect of treatment and verbal ability on subjects' metacognitive awareness in reading:

This hypothesis was examined from table 1 above. The table reveals a significant interaction of treatment and verbal ability on subjects' metacognitive awareness in reading. [$F_{(44,350)} = 8.414$; $P < .05$]. Thus, this hypothesis was rejected based on the obtained F-ratio – which was significant at .05 probability. The nature of the interaction is further shown using the cell means of post-awareness scores. The cell means show that for treatment 1, the low ability group was most favoured followed by the high and medium abilities as $29.13 > 28.31 > 27.20$ respectively. In treatment 2, the high ability was most favoured followed by the medium and 1 low as $30.91 > 30.65 > 29.47$. For the conventional group, the high ability led the group followed by the medium and low as $24.20 > 23.43 > 22.91$ respectively. The instructional strategies enhanced the metacognitive awareness of the subjects more than the conventional group.

Discussion

The analysis of the data in the tables above attests to the superiority of the experimental groups over that of the control group. This finding corroborates other studies outside Nigeria. It reveals that students benefit more when they are directly taught how to carry out meaningful reading using instructional strategies. Such instructions arm them to have control over their learning and they can transfer such strategies to other areas of their learning (Hoffmann, 1990; Blachowicz and Zabroske, 1990; Coley & Hoffman, 1990; Frazier, 1993; Applegate et al. 1994). These studies showed that treatment helped their subjects to monitor not only the task, but also their success in achieving learning goals. The development of metacognitive awareness helps students to be flexible, and to know what to do when comprehension falters.

From the examination of the cell means, we find the nature of the interaction. This finding, especially for treatment condition one is counter to Baker and Brown (1984) who claim that poor readers seem to lack metacognitive knowledge about and control of their comprehension processes. The finding of this study proves that when poor readers are instructed on efficient reading strategies to monitor their comprehension of text, they seem to benefit more from such instruction since they desire to improve on their lot. This finding is consistent with (Nolan 1991; Katims & Harris 1997). Even in Treatment group 2 where the high verbal ability leads the group, we find that the range of difference between the three ability groups is not much. However, the overall picture is that the two experimental groups' interaction was better than that of the conventional group in fostering the subjects' metacognitive awareness. Thus, in the school setting, when these strategies are used, they can help our students to become strategic readers.

Conclusion

From the finding of this study, we can safely conclude that when students are deliberately taught how to read using instructional strategies, that they can develop metacognitive awareness necessary for their learning. It has also demonstrated that the so-called poor

readers realize their limitations and are anxious to overcome their learning problems. Hence, they readily utilize the opportunity offered to improve their learning as shown by the performance of the low ability groups in treatment condition 1. Thus, the instructional strategies used in this study are capable of addressing the reading failures of our learners and poor performance generally, thereby helping them to be efficient readers that can lead to effective learning.

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27. Teacher Training in English as a Second Language: A Veritable Weapon for Teachers' Professional Refurbishment

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Difficulties in the learning of English as a second language may become fossilised if the teacher is incompetent in the teaching profession. Teachers of English, who are not fully acquainted with current developments in language teaching and language learning theories may unwittingly create a 'hotbed' for difficulties or even fertilize problems that would have been on the verge of extinction. This lapse is what has been termed *pedagogical ineptitude* since the responsibility of the teacher is abdicated thereby forging learners into the labyrinth of confusion and intractable circumstances. The role of the teacher in any educational institution is crucial and decisive. He is often looked upon as the 'captain' and the 'model'. He is 'the key', 'the spark' and 'the guiding principle'. He should not only know how to teach but should also be adequately trained on what to teach. In other words, he should have a thorough knowledge of the subject matter and possess the professional skills needed for imparting it. To achieve this desired knowledge and competence, teacher-training programmes – pre-service and in-service – are the vehicles *par excellence*. This paper examines the effectiveness of these programmes particularly in the professional refurbishment of teachers of English in a second language situation, such as Nigeria. It explores:

- the concept of teacher training
- teaching and learning of English as a second language: the Nigerian case
- the effectiveness of teacher training on English as a second language.

Finally, it calls on the government to insist on intensive training activities for Nigerian teachers of English.

The Concept of Teacher Training

He who would educate others must himself be educated, and have a broad background of general cultural training, for it is only the teacher who has himself enjoyed a broad liberal education who can hope to avoid the pitfalls of routine pedesirininism and show resourcefulness and enterprise in his work.

- Vernon Mallinson

Teacher training, in its proper conceptualization, can be designated as that form of training which is appropriately organized and systematically geared towards the cultivation of those who teach or will teach. It is the academic configuration designed solely for the professional preparation of teachers. Its primary *raison d'être* is to educate teachers or

would-be-teachers adequately on how to assist youngsters under their tutelage to achieve maximum knowledge or optimum change of behaviour in a minimum opportunity under the required necessary conditions. Necessary conditions here incorporate the aptitude of the education and other attributes that influence learning.

There is no gainsaying the fact that excellent teachers can only be produced through the avenue of professional training. All the variegated activities for which teacher training institutions are associated with are based on the substratum of producing proficient teachers in specific areas. In the words of Okafor (1987), professionalism is the “wheelbase around which teacher education programmes or curricula are designed, tried out in the arena of experience – the arena of doing and undergoing – and reviewed when necessary for greater effectiveness”.

The crucial significance of teacher training in the scheme of things for any developing society, which aspires towards accelerated progress, cannot be overestimated. Teaching staff of impeccable quality are the underlying foundation in any effort towards training skilled manpower necessary for a nation’s building. As a result, effective training of teachers deserves to be prioritized. In the consideration of this fact, the National Policy on Education in its acknowledgement of education as the hallmark of any meaningful development states unequivocally that “no educational system can rise above the quality of its teachers”. Undoubtedly, therefore, if we must achieve excellence in our educational system, then, it becomes imperative that the quality of our teachers must be imponderable. To this end, effective teacher training becomes a *sine qua non*. A country’s educational system, which is oblivious of this actuality, is doomed to failure. Ukeje (1983) puts it succinctly:

In general teachers are the hubs of any educational system and just as the wheel rotates around the hub, the educational system rotates around the teachers. Indeed, no educational system can be better than its teachers.

Teacher training can be of two main categories, viz.: pre-service training of would-be-teachers and in-service training for teachers on the job.

Pre-service training: This is the training which teachers receive prior to their teaching service. In other words, it is specifically planned for would-be-teachers. It encompasses all the activities stipulated for effective education of student teachers in various teacher-training institutions. The precise objectives of these institutions include:

- to provide a course of instruction and learning directed towards providing well-qualified and suitable teachers for our educational system
- to raise the general standard of teaching
- to mould the attitude of young student teachers for the teaching profession
- to arrange for conferences, seminars, study groups and similar activities for purposes of promoting effective teaching and learning

- to identify themselves with the difficulties associated with learning and the teaching profession, and through research, offer ideas for remedies.

It stands to reason, therefore, that the ultimate goal of pre-service training of teachers is to equip student teachers with the enormous strategies that will make them effective in the classroom. They are trained to be able to assess the educational needs of the learners; to vary their teaching techniques and procedures to suit the changing circumstances for easy assimilation of knowledge by the learners. This training does not stop here. Even when student teachers finish their academic activities in their various training institutions and assume duties as qualified teachers, they are expected to forever go on refurbishing themselves professionally. The training of teachers therefore is not a short-term process; it is a lifelong activity. This calls for the justification of regular in-service training programmes.

In-service training: This, as the name implies, is the training given to teachers who have already found themselves in the job of teaching. It is on-the-job training programmes and thus involves all professional development exercises to which an individual indulges in after the initial certification and recruitment. Adu-Ampoma (1972) affirms that in-service training is the running of courses, seminars or workshops for teachers on the job in order to bring them up to date. This training continues throughout one's teaching endeavour.

In-service training is primarily a personal affair. This is because it is the teacher himself who decides whether to receive the training to his glory and benefits of his students or to sit tight marking time in the profession thereby making himself a shame to the profession and to the detriment of the children entrusted to his care. The main thrust of the in-service education of teachers is to remedy all the identified weaknesses in teachers' pre-service programmes, and thus strengthen them to face the job of teaching squarely with a view to achieving excellence. On this basis, it is pertinent to assert here that teachers who are worth their salt must constantly make recourse to regular participation in in-service training as an indispensable variable in their bid to attaining proficiency in their onerous task of imparting knowledge. This cannot only help to complement their pre-service education but can go a long way towards acquainting them with new and modern developments for successful teaching. The activities of this training include, conferences, workshops, committee work, professional reading, visits, demonstrations, field trips, teacher exchanges, professional association work, symposia and seminars which are generally tailored towards attaining professional refurbishment in teachers.

Dankwa (1972) enumerates the purposes of in-service education:

- to eliminate weaknesses and deficiencies in the teaching-learning habits of teachers with its consequential benefits on pupils
- to reinforce the academic professional capabilities of teachers by supplementing pre-service training

- to introduce and entrench new but useful methods, concepts and practices through the formulation and development of syllabuses sponsored or initiated by teachers, subject associations and other education personnel
- to make the teacher more effective and productive in the classroom by making him confident through the initiation of programmes aimed at upgrading the teacher's professional qualifications
- to induce in the teacher a committal to meaningful and purposeful changes and innovation through the development of professional skills and the formation of professional attitudes. A position of this nature, no doubt, will empower the teacher to initiate and implement curriculum change as well as develop evaluating tendencies in respect of educational theory and practice
- to keep the teacher up to date, adaptable, and flexible by making him aware of contemporary educational trends, practices, and national educational policies. (p.5).

In the consideration of these objectives, Eresimadu (1987) rightly recommends that teachers should keep abreast of developments in theory and practice education in addition to the subject matter to which they are concerned by insisting on active involvement in regular in-service training.

Teaching and Learning of English as a Second Language: The Nigerian Case

Experts in the teaching of English have long recognized that in a second language situation, particularly in a multilingual setting such as the status of English in Nigeria, complex problems abound most of which are never experienced in the first language situation, thereby making teaching and learning slow and excruciatingly herculean tasks. Often one of the major reasons for the existence of these difficulties is because the language is taught against the background of learners' mother tongues in which they have attained a reasonable degree of competence. In other words, they have been so powerfully conditioned by the features of their native language that they perceive the phenomena of the English language in terms of the particular Nigerian language which they share. The result is that the teacher faces a big challenge trying to eliminate all the blunders committed by his students in their expression in order to help them to speak and to write appropriately in the target language – English. He struggles to trace the causes of such problems to their root to nip them in the bud, as it were. This task is made even worse in multilingual Nigeria, since none of the languages is closely related to English.

Consequently, in view of the canons of the discipline of language pedagogy, if the systems of the native language (NL) of the learner and that of the target language (TL) are at great variance with each other, learning undoubtedly becomes more difficult; otherwise, it will be quite easy. Lado (1957) puts the matter in sharp focus:

We assume that the student who comes in contact with a foreign language will find some features of it quite easy and others extremely difficult. Those elements that are similar to his native language will be simple for him, and those elements that are different will be difficult. (p.2).

Incidentally, there is no Nigerian language that is genetically related to and has the same civilization as English – an Indo-European language. Its forms and meanings are in dichotomy with those of Nigerian languages. This explains why Nigerian learners of English are bound to encounter almost insuperable linguistic phenomena on their path to better English. On the other hand, French students learning English are expected to be comfortable with the vocabulary aspect of it since English has been borrowing French words since the Norman conquest of 1066. The following words are instances of French words incorporated into the English language: nation, page, institution, importance, religion, and occasion.

One deduces from the above that interference from the mother tongue is clearly a major source of difficulty in the teaching and learning of English in Nigeria. Problems generated by this are referred to as *interlingual difficulties* and are observed in the learner's pronunciations, spellings, grammar and vocabulary. We can enumerate some of them thus:

- a) the pronunciation of phonemes such as /θ, ð, ɔ:/ which are not obtainable in most Nigerian languages; these sounds are often substituted for /t, d, e, e:/ respectively.
- b) the complex syllabic structure of English (C⁰⁻³)V(C⁰⁻⁴) which is against a more simple syllabic structure of most African languages such as CV, CVC, or, VC.

The consequence here is that learners' pronunciation of English wears the cloak of indigenous language as it is made with "a veritable accent which portrays the interlocutors as uncouth, unmannered, and uncivilized or simply as people who are too stupid to learn English" (Baldeh, 1990).

Consonant clusters are not usually observed since a vowel is often inserted in between every pair of cluster, thereby increasing the number of syllables and thus making the word difficult to understand. For instance, the word 'Friday' /fraɪdɪ/ which has two syllables is pronounced as /furaɪde:/ with three syllables and a vowel separating the initial consonant cluster; 'Wednesday' /wenzdɪ/ is erroneously articulated as /wenezide:/ sometimes also, they tend to drop a consonant which must be realized, example, the word 'film' /film/ is uttered as /fɪm/ moreover, the English syllabic structure, in opposition to many Nigerian languages, allows a final consonant (closed syllable). The major error here is adding another vowel after the last consonant. Thus 'good' /ɡʊd/ becomes /ɡu:du/ and 'bread' /bred/ becomes /buredi/. Syllabic consonants are not usually observed as vowels are usually inserted where they should be – 'button' /bʌtn/ is pronounced as /bʌtin/, hospital /hɒspɪtl/ as /hɒspɪtal/ etc.

c. Suprasegmental features-stress, rhythm and intonation

Obviously, these are the major constituents of the difficulties. We must not forget that since most of Nigeria's plethora of local languages and dialects are tonal, Nigerian learners, *ipso facto* superimpose this feature on English which in the contrast is a stress-timed language. The regrettable consequence here is a total

breakdown in communication between the native speaker and the Nigerian speaker of English.

Apart from the interlingual problems, some other linguistic predicaments still rear their ugly heads in the classroom. Some of these are derived from the mutual interference of items within the English language itself and are termed *intralingual problems* or by the formulation of false hypotheses or developmental errors. In addition to these, other impediments still exist – inadequate and sometimes no infrastructure for effective teaching and learning of the language. English textbooks are often too expensive and sometimes not available; many of them that are obtainable are poorly edited, the number of students in a class is too large for a teacher; there is the influx of unqualified teachers of English in our school system; in a few cases where a qualified teacher is seen, teachers of other subjects go to the classrooms only to counter the model they have established, in their utterly erroneous pronunciation or sentence construction; our mass media – newspapers, television, radio – do not help matters as the type of English written and spoken often sends shudders down the spine of readers and listeners alike.

The result of all these problems is that teachers of English in Nigeria are faced with more difficult situations as their students' performance degenerates to a drastic level. At the grammatical and syntactic level examiners in the English language are often shocked at the many apparently incorrect uses of the language often based on what Spencer has called *rule-bending creativity*. Consider the following wrong expressions obtained from students' utterances and write-ups.

- ❖ We shall discuss about it tomorrow
- ❖ I have a good news for you
- ❖ That my friend visited me
- ❖ My sister will convocate in June (the verb "convocate" is derived from convocation, the degree ceremony)
- ❖ She has not credited English
- ❖ I was not opportuned to visit you as I promised

It is not also uncommon to see the intrusion of Nigerian Pidgin in students' official write-ups.

Oji (1988), on considering the extent of errors committed daily by both students and journalists, fearfully espoused:

Some of the errors are so consistent (have such a high frequency of occurrence), that it is feared that in not too distant future they might be preferred to what is globally acceptable in English (p. 96).

Achebe (1984), in reacting to this sad state of affairs, laments nostalgically:

I am convinced that a major flaw of our political culture is the inefficient and half-baked language in which we conduct our national affairs. The quality of the

English language spoken and written in Nigeria has been falling rapidly and will fall more dramatically in the next few years (p.10).

In the consideration of Achebe's *hue and cry*, Eyisi (2000) cautions:

We must not, therefore, keep our arms folded watching the language "fall more dramatically" we must do something about the pathetic situation (p. 70).

The question which strikes one here is: What precisely shall we do to overcome this situation? What do we do to improve the standard of English in Nigeria?

It is stating the obvious to say that whether the standard of English will be improved or not is the responsibility of ideal teachers of English in Nigeria. Yes, because they are the key holders and as such would decide whether to open the door of proficiency for learners' gratification or shut it against them for their dolour. Little wonder that Ukeje (1983) circumspectly comments:

Good education is the key to modernisation; and it is the teacher who holds the key. It must be clear that the job of teaching today requires both academic excellence and sound professional competence.

Unfortunately, many of the people we call teachers of English in Nigeria are mere reinforcers of errors. Teachers who are supposed to be on the vanguard in the war against difficulties in English language learning are themselves viable sources of errors. Folarin (1975) "attests that learners' errors become entrenched if the teacher shares the same error with his students". Whitehead (in Yankson, 1990) candidly maintains that the teacher is "the key, the spark and the guiding principle in the learning process". He quotes Wilkins as affirming that "even with modern aids available, it is the teacher's language which remains the principal model for the pupil". No educational system, as we have earlier indicated, rises above the quality of the teachers found in that system. On this premise, Yankson emphasizes that except the very rare geniuses among the students, the second language learner is not generally expected to perform better than his model – the teacher. Therefore, the teacher is the beacon, the key holder, the model, an example, and of course a standard-bearer of English usage in our schools. He must indisputably possess some degree of expertise and proficiency in the use of English. He must be fully familiarized with the techniques for effective teaching of English in a second language situation, such as Nigeria. He must be up-to-date in the awareness of contemporary trends, practices, and national policies on language learning. To achieve these professional capabilities, teacher-training programmes in English as a second language are the major prerequisites.

The Effectiveness of Teacher Training on English as a Second Language

Actually, we cannot in any way overestimate the need for regular and intensive in-service courses for teachers of English. Such a programme is a golden opportunity

for a cross-fertilization of ideas about language teaching and learning theories'. This idea is indeed very crucial because the teaching of any language in a second language situation, such as the status of English in Nigeria is a tedious task and thus requires several hours of hard work by a responsible teacher.

-Eyisi

Eyisi (2000) says it all; such a programme is "a golden opportunity for a cross fertilization of ideas about language teaching and learning theories". Her assertion is logically and factually linked with that expressed by Baldeh (1990):

The formal academic training of the teacher must indeed be seen for what it is: a beginning, the foundation of the edifice. This foundation must be strong, correct, and adequate. **In teaching one must never rest on one's oars, for a teacher's preparation is never ended.** The teacher must ignore the fact that teachers are more sinned against than sinning. (p. 72). (Emphasis mine)

It is a truism that a teacher of English who received pre-service training and indulges in regular participation in in-service education is professionally endowed with all the needed qualities for effective teaching of the language, particularly in a second language situation where the job is more demanding. This training empowers him as he struggles to make his students better speakers and writers of the language. It makes him fully conversant with the areas of potential difficulty of learners. Having been properly drilled in the linguistic sciences, he expectedly discharges his duties with an enviable personal and professional touch. This training also equips him with some knowledge of the mother tongue of the learners, and so enables him to detect the areas of divergence and convergence. It opens his eyes to the learning deficiencies inherent in the learners. With this awareness he employs the strategies of contrastive and error analyses which he acquired from his training as an indispensable weapon in his battle for the effective eradication of the difficulties. He, most of the time, can predict the problems that are likely to rear their ugly heads in the classroom and thus gets prepared to tackle them effectively as soon as they appear.

Teachers of English who are regular participants in intensive in-service training in English as second language are always good models, essentially of speech, for their students to emulate. Educationists maintain that this is 'a fundamental and ineffable qualification of a good teacher'. They are trained to be pronunciation-conscious. As part of their training, they attentively listen to native speakers of English particularly on the radio (and television where available). They are conscious of the fact that they exert great influence on learners. With this knowledge, they unabashedly maintain excellence in their attitudes, manners, conduct and general behaviour. Teacher-training programmes in English as a second language ensure that teachers and would-be-teachers of English are equipped with the ability to plan their lessons effectively and meticulously in advance. On this issue, Eyisi (2000) posits:

... a teacher who fails to prepare his lessons prior to his teaching activity obviously exhibits a clear mark of laxity, irresponsibility and negligence of duty. Such a teacher is better called a “cheater” and can be very dangerous to the teaching profession.

Failure to participate in regular teacher-training activities can make a teacher very weak in the preparation of his lessons to the detriment of the teaching profession.

Apart from enabling a teacher of English to prepare his lessons adequately, teacher-training exercises in his area also equip him with the ability to execute the plan in the classroom situation. It sufficiently fortifies him with the capacity to teach satisfactorily. He is educated in the varying procedures and techniques necessary for the effective presentation of English language lessons. Moreover, he possesses the power to modify and supplement his teaching materials in accordance with the basic linguistic needs of the students. He is trained to acknowledge the fact that ‘no method is infinitely better than the other’. As a result, he adopts the principle of prudent eclecticism as he considers the nature of the English language learners involved.

Involvement in research exercises as part of in-service training makes the teacher of English aware of the proof that students learn more and faster when they are actively involved in the teaching-learning process. He therefore ensures that his teaching is student-oriented by allowing all the students to participate actively in English language lessons. He does not forget that the ultimate goal of teaching the English language in Nigeria is to inculcate in the learners the language skills necessary to cope with everyday activities and satiations, which play a prominent part in their lives.

Realizing the fact that “it is as unrealistic to reckon on language learning without error as to reckon on existence without sin”. Teacher training programmes in English as a second language educate teachers of English to “see sweetness in the adversity of errors”. This is highly recommendable since errors provide the teacher with the opportunity and the challenge to know what the learner has learned and the extent to which it has been learnt. Yankson (1990), for this purpose, admonishes every teacher of English as a second language to have a “humane and tolerant” attitude to errors because “the making of errors is a natural, inevitable outcome of the second language learning process”.

Teacher training programmes in English as a second language educate participants on the effective use of “teaching aids”, such as pictures, diagrams, charts, real objects, textbooks, radio, cassettes and other visual and audio-visual aids, which will not only help them in the effective discharge of their lessons, but will also assist the learners to assimilate the lessons without much effort. The effectiveness of any of these aids is greatly dependent on the skilful manner with which the teacher uses it. An untrained teacher of English who uses the aids unskillfully will undoubtedly inhibit the learning of the language rather than facilitate it. On the other hand, an adequately trained teacher knows how to manipulate or use the materials; he ensures that they are in good order, functional and relevant to the lesson, thereby accelerating the students’ ability for effective mastery of English language lessons.

It is germane to remark here that no one can offer what he does not acquire. Lack of adequate training in English as a second language is a clear indication of insufficient knowledge of the subject matter of English. This, remarkably, is a great handicap to the teacher. It can mar his logical presentation of a lesson and can be a source of great frustration and embarrassment, particularly when students discover that their teacher is deficient in what he is supposed to teach them. With a properly trained teacher of English such a characteristic cannot be ascribed to him, since he has been carefully groomed in the language.

That notwithstanding, even with sufficient pre-service training, it is not uncommon for one to forget quite easily the knowledge already gained. A teacher of English who absents himself from training in his area may be faced with problems associated with forgetfulness and as a result may not always be aware of the current developments in language teaching and learning theories. Language, it must be emphasized, is not static but dynamic. Tyler (in Dankwa, 1972) in concurrence with the obviousness of forgetting learned knowledge expounds:

One series of studies conducted at college level reported that 50 per cent of material known when students finished a certain college course had been forgotten within one year and 80 per cent had been forgotten in two years (p.7).

Irrespective of the strength of a teacher's memory, it is advisable that he partakes in regular in-service training; its benefits are tremendous.

Conclusion and Recommendations

It has been established in this paper that teacher-training programmes in English as a second language – both pre-service and in-service – equip the would-be-teacher of English as well as those on the job with the capacity to teach English as a second language irrespective of the associated difficulties, linguistic abilities, the methodology of imparting language skills, good pupil relationship, social and emotional stability that enable him to carry his class along with him. No matter how wonderfully intelligent a teacher of English may be, he should realise the advisability of the fact that there is no end to learning, and that all proficient teachers of English forever go on refurbishing themselves professionally. As a result, he should continue to learn what to teach and how to teach as long as he remains in the teaching profession. He should never relent his efforts in trying to improve upon his knowledge of the subject, especially through private studies in various libraries, constant recourse to dictionaries and encyclopedias and above all regular participation in in-service training, in order to ensure accuracy of the facts which he intends to teach in any English language lesson.

It is therefore no exaggeration to establish here that the values of professional training of teachers of English in a second language situation are inestimable. A skilful trained teacher of English is a *sine qua non* for students' accelerated progress in language acquisition. It is a self-evident fact that priority attention to pre-service and in-service training of teachers of English at all levels of our educational system would go a long way

towards facilitating the study of the language which is today crying inconsolably for accurate description.

This paper therefore recommends that the Nigerian government, in its recognition of the status of English in national development, should insist on intensive teacher training programmes in English as a second language for every individual who wishes to teach English in any area of our educational enterprise. If we must achieve effectiveness in our passionate desire to enable learners to manipulate successfully the four basic language skills, then we must ensure that our teachers and would-be-teachers of English in Nigeria constantly give adequate attention to participation in teacher-training programmes in English. Any individual who calls himself a teacher of English but fails to indulge in this training is, unfortunately, a veritable generator and perpetuator of errors and as such should be flushed out of the teaching profession.

For a closure, it is a step in the right direction to quote the incisive words of Hodgins (quoted in Baldeh, 1990):

We learn best as teachers; we teach best as learners. The effort to communicate strengthens knowledge and to be an authority is to know how to doubt (p. 3).

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28. Developing a Metalanguage for Urhobo: Problems & Prospects

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1. Introduction

Urhobo is a southwestern member of the Edoid family of languages, itself a sub-branch of the Benue-Congo group. Urhobo has close to two million speakers, and it is spoken mainly in Delta State, with pockets of its speakers also in Bayelsa State, Nigeria.

The classification of a language into one of the categories of developed, developing or undeveloped is neither done on the basis of the numerical strength of the native speakers of the language nor on the basis of its linguistic structure. Rather such classification is based on the extent of graphization, i.e. reduction to writing; standardization, i.e. the development of a variety which overrides regional and social dialect; and modernization, i.e. the development of intertranslatability with other languages in a range of topics and forms of discourse characteristic of industrialized, secularized and structurally differentiated modern societies (Ferguson, 1971). Emenanjo (1993a) identifies the availability of a sophisticated and dynamic metalanguage as a vital criterion for language development.

What is a metalanguage? Crystal (1997:250) defines a metalanguage as ‘language for talking about language’. It is a special technical vocabulary for discussing various topics and forms of discourse in that language. Developing a vibrant metalanguage brings about enrichment of the language. It provides terminologies for discussing language, linguistics, stylistics, medicine, science, technology, ethnomusicology, politics, government, business management, economics, agriculture, law, anthropology, education, etc. There is no gainsaying that it ensures the lexical modernization of a language, particularly a developing language like Urhobo.

Most educationists and language educators have come to recognize the complexity of the language demand made on the learner, and also to realize that progress in many areas of the curriculum is greatly dependent on a satisfactory foundation of linguistic skills. A learner’s linguistic ability is seen as a major factor that can influence his success not only in language related subjects but also in non-language related subjects, like science and technology, mathematics, etc.

The metalanguage of any language is dynamic and keeps expanding so as to cope with an equally dynamic society. The Nigerian society has moved from the simple traditional one to the modern complex and sophisticated society. We quite agree with Sapir (1928) as cited by Polome (1987:462) that “the network of the cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization”. Since the modern Nigerian society is a mixed-grill of the traditional and the foreign with a lot of its present-day flavour derived from the foreign, it is an illusion to think that we can understand the significant outlines of the foreign aspects of our modern culture through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism which makes the outlines significant and

intelligible to society. The development of a metalanguage therefore is a long, sometimes planned and sometimes unplanned lexical enrichment of a language to meet the ever changing communicative and literary needs of society.

Fortunately, two very important characteristics of human language are (a) it is a living organism and (b) it is a societal resource (Emenanjo, 1993b). As a living organism it is capable of growth (as well as death). It can expand so as to be able to cope with the ever changing needs of the society it represents, and it can die if its native speakers fail to use it or make it relevant to their needs. As a societal resource, it is subject to planning like other resources so as to increase its literary and communicative capability to make knowledge in any field of human endeavour possible.

Various strategies exist for developing a metalanguage, but the two very common ones are:

- a) **Loan Words:** It is a universally acknowledged fact that when languages come in contact, there is always mutual borrowing in areas of conspicuous gaps. Thus, the English vocabulary today is extremely rich because it has borrowed extensively from languages with which it came in contact e.g. Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, Italian, etc. Urhobo like all Nigerian languages has borrowed and continues to borrow from various languages, foreign and local with which it comes in contact in order to express concepts which are new to its culture. Thus, we have words like *isukuru* (school), *inetiriki* (electric/electricity), *Ipita* (Peter), *imashini* (machine), all borrowed from English; *akpere* (native basket) from Yoruba; *Iyasere* from Edo, etc. The list is endless. The beauty in these borrowed terms is that they are always indigenized phonologically and morphologically to fit into the word structure of Urhobo. For instance, Urhobo syllable structure does not permit consonant clusters of the type in ‘electric’ /ilektrik/ and so the first /k/ is removed and a vowel /i/ is introduced between /t/ and /r/. Although Urhobo syllable structure has a CCV pattern of the type CrV, the first C must always be a labial, as in /bru/ ‘cut’, /fru/ ‘snatch’, or a velar, as in /kru/ ‘gather’, /gro/ ‘be tall’, but not an alveolar, such as /t/ or /d/. So a vowel is introduced if C₁ is an alveolar, e.g. [itireni] ‘train’, [idirava] ‘driver’. Moreover, the structure of the Urhobo noun consists of a prefix vowel + stem; all nouns begin with a vowel and end with a vowel. This explains the presence of /i/ before and /u/ after ‘school’ as given above.
- b. **Concept Translations:** This strategy involves the re-interpretation of a concept from a source language or culture into the target language. Most of these loan translations in Urhobo are descriptive or agentive noun phrases or even sentences. Below are a few examples (Note: ‘re’ Associative Maker (AM)).

Word	Structure	Meaning
i) Uwevwin re ega house AM worship	N + N (Associative construction)	Church
ii) ekpeti re ughe box AM spectacle	N + N	television
iii) ehonimwemwu washing from sin	N + Prep + N	baptism
iv) evrenushi leaving the burial place	N + Prep + N	resurrection
v) oko re oto boat AM land	N+N	car/bus
vi) urhieeta line words	N + N	sentence

In addition, metalanguage development requires the commitment and contributions of all users and speakers of the language. It is very important that people are open-minded towards new additions into the vocabulary of the language so that it can grow and be able to cope with the exigencies of modern times. It also requires the services of a Language Planning Agency (LPA) made up of knowledgeable but not self-conceited or all-knowing people (literate and non-literate) who would help to sort out the terminologies for practical use. This function was for many years provided by the Urhobo Language Committee, a standing committee of the Urhobo Progress Union (UPU) charged with the responsibility of standardizing and vetting written materials in the language.

2. Problems in Developing a Metalanguage in Urhobo

In spite of what was said above, metalanguage development as a planned conscious exercise in Urhobo is still very much in its infancy. Although the exercise began in the 1930s with the Urhobo Language Committee by 1985, the Committee existed only in name. Most of its projects, including the metalanguage project were abandoned. Metalanguage development was revived early in the 1990s when Urhobo studies commenced at the NCE level at the College of Education, Warri. In April 1993, the National Institute for Nigerian Languages (NINLAN) organized a workshop on text development in the languages of Delta State. However, not much progress has been made.

The major reason often cited for this inaction is lack of funds to pursue the project. Early in the 1990s there was an initial heart-warming excitement to resume the development of the Urhobo metalanguage. Following a seminar/workshop on the teaching of local languages organised in March, 1990 at the College of Education, Warri, under the leadership of the then Provost, Professor E. Nolue Emenanjo, the Department of Nigerian

Languages was born in October, 1990. This department, until very recently, was the only one that offered studies in Urhobo at the tertiary level in the country. In 2000, a B.A. Linguistics (Urhobo) programme was approved by the Senate of the Delta State University. The first set of intakes would commence studies in the 2002/2003 academic session. The delay in the take-off was caused mainly by lack of students interested in the programme. When Urhobo studies commenced at the College of Education, Warri in 1990, it was obvious to lecturers, students and other stakeholders that the development of a vibrant metalanguage could not be over-emphasised. Literary as well as technical terms needed to be developed to cope with the teaching and learning of highly specialized areas like phonetics/phonology, syntax as well as literacy and numeracy skills. The initial crop of lecturers and students displayed a lot of enthusiasm about the project and were willing to devote their time and energy to it. Many like myself had very high hopes that Urhobo was going to hit it big and fast too. The enthusiasm started to diminish when, after a few years, it became obvious that there was no financial backing for the project. Government (federal, state as well as local), organisations and well-to-do individuals were unwilling to make meaningful financial contributions needed to organise the project and to make it thrive. Since it was not a contract awarding project, necessary financial commitment was lacking.

The situation in Urhobo is quite different from that of the major Nigerian languages like Igbo as recorded in Emenanjo (1993 a and b). A number of terminology/metalanguage projects in the major languages were organised and funded by federal government agencies such as the Nigeria Educational Research Centre (NERC), especially through the National Language Centre (NLC) and the Nigeria Educational Research and Development Centre (NERDC). We are not unaware that the NLC helped to develop orthographies in many more Nigerian languages apart from the major ones and one of these languages is Urhobo. However, a look at Emenanjo (1993a) reveals that there were a number of projects organised by the NERC/NLC/NERDC between 1975 and 1991 to develop terminologies, syllabuses/curricula, metalanguage, etc., for the three major Nigerian languages. It would have been expected that what was of benefit to the major languages should have been extended to the nonmajor ones. The Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC) also contributed immensely both on its own and in collaboration with other federal and state agencies to ensure the development of terminologies and the design of curricula/syllabuses. A number of well-meaning Igbo sons and daughters have made, and, in fact, continue to make generous contributions towards the development of the language. In the case of Urhobo, most of those interested in research studies into the language are also expected to make the necessary financial contributions to fund the project. With time, most people are bound to turn their attention elsewhere.

A second major problem was that of leadership. When studies in Nigerian languages commenced at the College of Education, Warri, in 1990, Professor Emenanjo, the then Provost, provided the necessary leadership to nurture the Department, and to attract quality human and material resources to it. The department grew rapidly and soon became the envy of other Departments. However, not much leadership role was provided outside the College, particularly by the then leadership of the Urhobo Progress Union (UPU), the umbrella socio-cultural, non-political organisation of the Urhobo people. The Urhobo

Language Committee had stopped functioning at the time. Most enlightened and well-to-do Urhobo sons and daughters did not deem it wise to invest in the development and documentation of the language. When Professor Emenanjo left the College in February, 1993, the Department, and consequently Urhobo studies, experienced a nose-dive towards extinction. From an average annual students' intake of 35, the department could hardly find ten students for the four Delta State languages (Urhobo, Isoko, Itsekiri and Izon) being taught. Lecturers could no longer attend conferences/workshops let alone organise any due to lack of funds. The result was a slack in enthusiasm in the project.

A third problem was the quality of students admitted into the programme. Metalanguage development requires a lot of maturity, experience and the zeal for hardwork. Most of the students admitted into the programme in the first few years, particularly those in the part-time (sandwich) programme, were genuinely interested in the development of the language, and were very willing to make very meaningful contributions towards the terminology projects we had at the time. Most of them were experienced and knowledgeable teachers and were very vast in the language. They collected a lot of data from field trips which helped to enrich the project. With time, this group of students left and in its place came young and inexperienced students whose first language was not Urhobo but the Nigerian Pidgin. Most in this group came into the Department, not because they were interested in studying Urhobo, but because they wanted higher education. They lacked the zeal for hard-work and were unwilling to face the challenges posed by metalanguage development. They were ready to leave the Department at the slightest opportunity.

A fourth problem was and continues to be the very poor attitude of the majority of Urhobo people towards the use and study of their language. A significant number, particularly among the youths and the elites, do not see the relevance of the language to their literary and communicative needs. They prefer to speak English, Pidgin or even one of the major Nigerian languages (for those who have travelled out of the locality) as a mark of their urbaneness. You would be surprised when you realise that the two undergraduates you saw a moment ago discussing with all dexterity in Yoruba are actually Urhobos. Some of them even make uncomplimentary remarks about those who speak the language well and want to uphold the tenets of its culture. A language can thrive and develop only if an overwhelming majority of members of its speech community particularly among the youths cherish it and take pride in using it. The older ones would sooner than later die leaving the younger ones to project the language. Metalanguage development involves a correct interpretation of a concept as well as a correct appreciation of the context which gives that concept a reality and makes it relevant. At the moment, these value are lacking in most of the youths.

3. Prospects

In spite of the issues raised in the preceding section, there are very bright prospects for the language.

First, the approval of a B.A. Linguistics (Urhobo) programme by the Delta State University Senate has definitely elevated the status of the study of the language into an

academic discipline which will in no small measure help the development of the metalanguage. It is also expected that the quality of students at this level would be better than that of the College of Education. Besides, two organisations based in the United States of America and Canada as well as a few others located in Nigeria, are working hand in hand with the University to set up infrastructure, equipment, and to help train staff to cope with the exigencies of the new programme. Everything being equal, the University would provide the much needed centre for the full development of various aspects of the history, language, literature and culture of Urhobo along with its metalanguage.

Outside the University environment, for the first time in over two decades, the Urhobo Progress Union, under the new leadership of Chief Benjamin Okumagba is setting up a standing committee on the Urhobo language and its culture. This committee is charged with the responsibility of aggressively sensitizing the Urhobo people to the relevance of their language and culture towards the overall development of the Urhobo nation. This would help to rekindle the much needed patriotism and make knowledgeable people in the language available for cooperative work with the Languages and Linguistics Department of the University towards metalanguage development.

A number of associations and interest groups made up of Urhobo elites are investing in the development of the language. Worthy of mention here are the Emotor Club of Abraka, Urhobo Foundation in Lagos, Urhobo Solidarity Club in Port Harcourt and Warri as well as the UPU branches in New York and Ontario. These and others like them have offered scholarship/bursary awards to students and are prepared to commit funds towards the development and study of the language. They have jingles and adverts in the mass media to help to sensitize the young ones to the need to develop interest in the use of their mother tongue.

Many job opportunities exist for graduates of the language. These include teaching, banking (particularly in community banks), community relations in multinational organizations like the oil and oil related sectors of the economy, and even becoming self-employed and earning huge resources from publishing their own books, producing computer programmes and games as well as other works in the language.

One area that needs to be seriously looked into if the metalanguage is to be fully developed is its relevance in the school system. Most of the terminologies that need to be developed are of use in the school system for discussing science, technology, the social sciences, the humanistic sciences, etc. This is where government (especially state and local) comes in. The language has to be given its pride of place in the school system, especially at the primary and secondary school levels. This would help to create the awareness of its relevance early in the minds of its learners. It would also help in identifying the areas of need in the metalanguage project. Where the language does not have its own linguistic resources to cope with such terminologies, it can then borrow from other languages that have them with which it is in contact. However, the areas have to be identified and a major field for such identification is in education.

4. Conclusion

In this short paper, efforts have been made to highlight the problems facing metalanguage development in Urhobo and the need for an aggressive approach towards the removal of these and other difficulties. The situation that has been presented is certainly not peculiar to Urhobo. Most of Nigeria's 400 languages, including even the major ones, are facing similar, if not worse, problems. The status of a language in modern day terms is measured not by the numerical strength of its speech community but by its level of development and relevance to modern day linguistic needs. Urhobo metalanguage development has bright prospects if the people are willing to harness its vast resources.

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29. Microteaching in Language: The Challenge for NINLAN

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Goal directed programmes for the production of highly motivated, skilled, creative, versatile, committed, enquiring and inspiring teachers should move up to the microteaching approach to teacher education.

Introduction

Establishment

The National Institute for Nigerian Languages (NINLAN), Aba, was established by Decree 117 of 31st December, 1993, and “shall operate under the ambit of the National Universities Commission ... and the structures and conditions ... of the Institute shall be similar to those obtaining in the Universities” (FRN Official Gazette, 1993 No. 117: A 1589, A 1596).

Objectives, Functions and Powers

Decree 117 of 1993 specified the objectives of the Institute as follows:

- (a) to promote the study and use of Nigerian Languages (NLS);
- (b) to explore all relevant and available avenues, potential and resources to make the Institute:
 - (i) an active teaching and learning centre for the study of Nigerian languages;
 - (ii) a resource centre for specialized professional services to the public and private sectors of the Nigerian economy;
 - (iii) a Nigerian Centre for research into Nigerian Languages (NLS).

In the intendment of Decree 117 of 1993, NINLAN is to be an ACTIVE teaching and learning centre, a resource centre and a Nigerian Centre for research in Nigerian Languages (NLS) for the pragmatic use of different sectors of the Nigerian Economy. These mission statements are challenges that demand courage, initiative, resourcefulness and current knowledge of curriculum innovations and technological break-through for their successful realization. In order to actualize the policy objectives, the Decree also stated the specific functions of NINLAN.

The specific functions assigned to NINLAN among others are:

- (a) To encourage the learning of Nigerian Languages (NLs) in an environment which shall prepare the student in the Institute to:

- (i) speak Nigerian Languages (NLs) fluently;
 - (ii) acquire proficiency in the teaching of Nigerian Languages (NLs);
 - (iii) acquire competence in research on problems of teaching Nigerian Languages (NLs) at all levels of education in Nigeria;
 - (iv) adapt the theories and practice of using Nigerian Languages in classroom practices, especially for secondary schools, colleges and the teaching and learning for non-native speakers of the Nigerian Languages, and
 - (v) stimulate general concepts, practices and interests in communication in Nigerian Languages.
- (b) to hold out to all persons ... the opportunity of acquiring proficiency in the language and pragmatic use of the Nigerian languages as a means of communication among different language groups in Nigeria;
- (c) to provide courses of instruction and other facilities for the pursuit of learning Nigerian languages;
- (d) to develop appropriate curricula to suit the needs of the various users of the Institute;
- (e) to operate for the benefit of:
- (i) primary and secondary school teachers of Nigerian languages;
 - (ii) tertiary educational institution teachers of Nigerian languages;
 - (iii) ... such other persons interested in research into Nigerian languages and;
 - (iv) to serve as a centre for the exchange of information in the study of Nigerian languages.
- (f) to encourage research into problems of learning and teaching of NLs, with a view to carrying out research into those problems and finding solutions to them;
- (g) to compile, assemble and publish the results of researches into Nigerian language studies and make popular those findings where their general recognition in the opinion of the Institute is of importance to NLs, and
- (h) to carry out other activities which are necessary for the performance of its functions under the Decree (FRN Official Gazette, 1993 No. 117: A 1591 – A 1592).

In a nutshell, the Institute is directed in relation to its clientele to maximize fluency in speaking NLs, proficiency in teaching/learning NLs and to produce competent students in problem resolution oriented research in NLs. In addition, the Institute is a centre for inspiring and firing patriotic interest in communicating in NLs among different language groups in Nigeria. Furthermore, the Institute is to stimulate curriculum engineering in

course construction, curricula designing, dissemination of significant research results in NLs as well as produce the quantity and quality apostles that will spread the gospel of NINLAN at all levels of our educational system. Equally important, NINLAN is to be the Executive Public Relation's Officer, image maker of NLs.

These unique engineering functions and the expected contributions towards popularizing the patriotic speaking, listening, reading, writing, teaching, learning and researching into NLs nationally and internationally informed the conscience of Decree 117 of 1993 to confer on NINLAN specific powers (among others) to:

- (a) establish such units within the Institute as may, from time to time, deem necessary or desirable;
- (b) erect, provide, equip and maintain libraries, lecture halls ... and other buildings suitable for the objectives of the Institute;
- (c) undertake publishing and book sales and to liaise constantly with the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) in respect of book publishing (FRN Official Gazette, 1993 No. 117: A 1593 – A 1594).

In summary, Decree 117 of 1993 categorically indicates the objectives and functions that will characterize the worth of NINLAN and directs it to make unique contributions in the on-going process of raising the quality of life of Nigerians through language engineering and empowerment. We will now address further more policy documents that will inform the programmes, services and resources necessary for actualizing the NINLAN objectives and implementation of its functions.

Nigerian Language Teachers (NLTs) required by the *NPE* (1979, 1981 revised 1995): Emenanjo (1996:45) carefully captured the messages inherent in the language provisions in the *NPE* especially its demands for enough quality teachers for various language needs. Specifically:-

- (a) section 1.7 (p.3) directs that each Nigerian child shall be required to learn one of the three major NLs other than his/her mother tongue (MT). This calls for sound NL2 Teachers of the Major Nigerian languages (MNLs).
- (b) section 2.11 (c) (p. 4-5) says that Government shall ensure that the medium of instruction is principally the MT or the Language of the immediate community (LIC) in Pre-primary Education institutions. Continuing, to this end, Government will develop the orthography for many more NLs and produce textbooks in NLs. This literally calls for well-trained pre-primary education teachers with communicative competence in *All* NLs.
- (c) Section 3.14 (b) says curricular activities for primary education shall be: (a)(ii) Languages: Language of the environment (LE), and...

- (d) The medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the MT or the LE for the first three years. This again requires well-trained primary education teachers with linguistic and communicative competence in *All* NLs.
- (e) section 4.17 (d) says develop and promote NLs, art and culture in the context of the world's cultural heritage;
- (f) section 19 (a.iii) says every student at the JSS shall offer the LE to be taught as L1 where it has orthography and literature. Where it does not have, it shall be taught with emphasis on oracy as L2.
- (g) Section 19 (a.iv) demands one major Nigerian language, other than that of the environment to be taught for communicative competence as L2 but where it does not have orthography, it shall be taught with emphasis on oracy.
- (h) Section 19(a.iii and iv provide 2 NLs as core subjects at the JSS where the LE is to be taught as L1 if it has an orthography and written literature. But where it doesn't, emphasis is on oracy.
- (i) Section 20.17 (iii) provides for:

A major Nigerian languages as one of the core-subjects at the SSS.

From the Non-Vocational Electives on page 10 of the (NPE, 1995) an SSS student may choose Any Nigerian language that has orthography and literature.

As Emenanjo pointed out, the implications suggest the production of Nigerian Language Teachers in *All* NLs and enough teachers to teach and evaluate learning outcomes in major NLs as both L1 and L2. The simple truth, Emenanjo continued, is that there is stratgering demand for teachers of *ALL* NLs for all tiers and levels of formal education. In addition to the NPE directives and demands, the constitutions of the Federal Republic of Nigeria have provisions on Nigerian languages.

Federal Republic of Nigeria Constitutional Provisions on Nigerian Languages

The 1979 Constitution provides in Section 51 that:

The business of the National Assembly shall be conducted ...
In Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made.

The 1995 Draft Constitution provides in section 19 (4) that the Government shall promote the learning of indigenous languages and section 58 states that the Business of a House of Assembly may, in addition to English be conducted in one or more other Nigerian languages spoken in the state as the House may, by resolution approve.

As Emenanjo (op cit:5) also pointed out, given the hierarchy of needs and the varieties of NLTs required, many institutions will be required to produce these teachers in the quantity and quality desired and required. NINLAN is one of such Teacher Education institutions.

Teacher Education

The UNESCO Hamburg Conference of 1969, according to Onyejiemezi (1981:135), defined Teacher Education as:

Such institutionalized educational procedures that are aimed at the purposeful organized preparation in further education of teachers who are engaged directly or indirectly in educational activity as their life work ... Teacher education comprises all forms or stages of preparation of those who intend to devote themselves to the teaching profession and also includes the study of academic disciplines which are seemingly not directly related to professional preparation.

Section 9.57 of the NPE (1981:38) rightly claimed that no education system can rise above the quality of its teachers. In support of this claim, Onyejiemezi (1981 in Ike, 1995:30) emphasized that the success of any educational programme depends to a large extent on the quality of the teaching staff. In this vein, Lassa (1996:1) argued convincingly that it is incontrovertible that it is the teacher who in the final analysis as Ukeje (1991) puts it “translates policies into practices and programmes into actions”. Furthermore, still stressing the critical role of the teacher in formal education, Lassa (1993 in Lassa 1996:1) posits that the teacher is:

The initiator of the learning process, the facilitator of the learning skills, the coordinator of the learning sequence, the assessor of the learning efficiency and indeed, the pivotal element in the entire educational development.

In clear terms, the NPE (1995:17) section 6.B. (34) states the goal of teacher education that will produce the desired teachers that have been so eulogized.

Goals of Teacher Education

According to the NPE (1995: 17), the goals of teacher education shall be to:

- (a) produce highly motivated, conscientious and efficient classroom teachers for all levels of our educational system.
- (b) Encourage further the spirit of enquiry and creativity in teachers.
- (c) Help teachers to fit into the social life of the community and the society at large, and enhance their commitment to national goals.

- (d) Provide teachers with the intellectual and professional background adequate for their assignment and make them adaptable to changing situations.
- (e) Enhance teachers' commitment to the teaching profession.

The picture of the teacher painted above makes one agree with Emenanjo (1996:6.8) that truly viewed against the goals of teacher Education in the NPE, present NLTs cannot be said to be well motivated, conscientious and efficient classroom teachers. They lack the spirit of enquiry and creativity which are sine qua non for total immersion in whatever one does. Such teachers cannot fit into the social life of the community and the society at large as they never bring (for they have not) the expertise from their training to the benefit of the society. They lack intellectual content and professional calling to the teaching profession (and in particular, Nigerian languages).

Furthermore, such teachers (cheaters perhaps) never take cognizance of changes in methodology and in the curriculum and do not care about regular exposure to innovations in their profession. The so-called experienced teachers among them shun in-service training, forgetting that it is an integral part of continuing teacher education. Such teachers perform below the provisions of section 6.B. 59 and 60 of the NPE (1995:18).

There is a pressing need to search for teacher Education Institutions that will provide the enabling learning environment that will make available opportunities, services and resources for reducing cheaters and producing competent NLTs who are academically and professionally sound. The programmes of the Teacher Education Institutions constitute one objective and vital area to examine. Let us examine NINLAN's 4 years innovative B.A. Degree Programme, designed by the Bamgbose-led Committee (1992:21-24, 25-31) for the production of desired qualified and competent teachers in NLs.

NINLAN 4 Year B.A. Degree Programme In Nigerian Languages

The NINLAN 4 Year B.A. Degree Programme has a minimum graduation requirement of 132 units, namely, Academic Courses – 120 units, Acculturation Programme – 6 units and Teaching Practice – 6 units.

The Academic Courses are compulsory and cover courses in General Linguistics, Nigerian Language studies, General studies, the Use of English, Computer Literacy and Education.

The details of the Education courses are:

- Social, historical and philosophical foundations of Education;
- Theories of Learning;
- Principles of Language Acquisition and Language Learning;
- Language Testing and Evaluation;
- Production of Language Teaching Materials;
- Methods and Practice of Teaching, and
- Methodology and Microteaching in Language.

One may ask, how can Microteaching in Language contribute to NINLAN production of the competent NLTs of our dream?

Microteaching in Language

According to Ukeje (in Ohuche & Izuwah eds. 1985:ii) Microteaching is one of the most recent and most effective innovative pedagogical strategies designed to maximize efficiency and effectiveness in the process of guiding student teachers develop teaching skills and competences”.

As Olivero put it:

Microteaching is a scaled down sample of actual teaching which generally lasts ten to thirty minutes and involves four to ten students (1970:1). It can also be viewed as a controlled laboratory simulation of regular classroom instructions designed to break down the complex act of teaching into its simpler elements.

In addition, Ukeje explained that through the structured microteaching sessions, the student teachers strive towards perfection by practicing the skills one at a time. Hence, microteaching may also be viewed as a process of developing, under laboratory conditions, small elements of teaching skills by a small group of students practicing for a short period of time. Furthermore, through its pattern of Teach-Critique-Reteach cycles, the specific teaching behaviors are developed and teaching competences achieved (in Ohuche & Izuwah eds. 1985:1). Allen and Ryan (1969:2-3) agree that “microteaching is real teaching that lessens the complexities of normal classroom teaching ... by focusing on training you to accomplish specific tasks, thus allowing for increased control of your practice, which in turn gives a focus to your feedback that allows it to be greatly expanded beyond the usual knowledge-of-results dimension you would normally experience in teaching”.

Microteaching is real teaching depending on the situation. Gregory (1972:5-4) argues that the amount of realism in microteaching varies from situation to situation; hence, some view MT as simulation of real teaching. Continuing, Gregory explained that microteaching is designed to give student teachers teaching experience in a highly structured laboratory setting where the risk of failure is low and opportunities for refining teaching skills are high. The scaled down teaching encounter is short – about 5 to 20 minutes, the number of students is small, one to five and the instructional task for a lesson small and well-defined.

In Izuwah’s words,

Microteaching is a scaled down teaching encounter. It is scaled down in terms of time, number of students, concepts taught and the teaching skills used. It may also be viewed as an attempt to use simulation techniques to break down the teaching process into smaller and more easily understood and manageable units for practice (in Ohuche and Izuwah, 1985:11).

Furthermore, Izuwah (1981:19) pointed out that microteaching provides an on-campus laboratory teaching experience in which student teachers practice in a non-threatening environment and that microteaching has a built-in opportunity to help to correct mistakes through its system of teach-critique-reteach cycles. She also stressed that microteaching is not a substitute for but preliminary to school experience.

Another important point about microteaching is its competency-based approach to teacher education. Ukeje (in Ohuche & Izuwah, 1985:11) maintains that:

Thus far, microteaching is, perhaps, the most effective means of implementing the equally innovative and effective strategy in teacher education known as Competency-Based Teacher Education.

Continuing, Ukeje argued that the traditional approach to teacher education assumed that if a student learns some theoretical concepts in a given area of knowledge, and is let loose on school children for what is termed supervised teaching practice and passes a set of written examinations, then the student is adjudged ready to begin the task of teaching. This approach, he argued, does not normally specify what precisely prospective teachers ought to do or be able to accomplish before letting them loose for actual school teaching experience. The traditional approach also “tells” instead of “teaching and showing” students the way to teach. In contrast, in Competency-Based Teacher Education programme, performance goals are specified, agreed to, in rigorous details in advance of teaching. The student teacher is held accountable not just for passing a set of written examinations but for attaining a given level of competency in performing the essential task of teaching. This is so because the procedure requires students to practice one skill at a time in a laboratory environment. Later in the course, students practice a relevant combination of the skills before school experience. Consequently, the assessment/evaluation of student teaching is criterion-based not norm-based approach. Therefore, microteaching is one of the most effective devices to ensure the attainment of the required level of competency in language teaching.

Usually, the teach-critique-reteach cycle includes the following steps:

1. Plan or prepare a micro-lesson incorporating the well-defined task (specific objective, content, teaching skill, instructional material and performance assessment).
2. Teach the micro-lesson video tape recorded
3. Receive oral/written and recorded feedback on the strengths and weaknesses of the teaching task.
4. Reorganize your micro-lesson (if necessary) in the light of this feedback
5. Reteach your micro-lesson
6. Again receive oral, written, recorded feedback that, in this case, focuses on the improvements that you have or have not made.
7. Replan your micro-lesson further if necessary, etc.

The reteach phase of the microteaching cycle is sometimes optional because the teach phase may go so well that the supervisor may decide that the reteach step is unnecessary.

Models of Microteaching and Modelling

Models

Gregory (1972:6-9) identified about three models, namely Clinical model, the intra-course model and the extra-course model. Each model has its advantages and disadvantages.

Modelling

Modelling enhances the effectiveness of microteaching strategy by providing ideal examples or models of the sample of teaching behaviour being expected in a specific task. The models are presented via typescripts, audio video tape recordings or films. The model may be the teacher or students. Research findings indicate that models can be so influential in behaviour modification that interns behaviour can be changed simply by observing the behaviour of the model and the consequences of that behaviour (Bandura and Walters, 1963, Koran, 1969 in Gregory, 1972:8).

The modeling approach may involve the instructor or lecturer/supervisor model the desired teaching skill using a small group of pupils or students and video-recording an appropriate micro-lesson. During the playback to the group, the lecturer provides cues to help to focus the learners' attention on the skills involved in the teaching task.

The modeling approach helps the development of the student teachers' ability to identify the desired teaching behaviours as well as the realistic constraints. The teacher guides the learners to improve the quality of the feedback they receive/give to each other. The mere seeing that even experts have strengths and problems, do promote a relaxed atmosphere and help student teachers to see mistakes as stimuli to learning and not failure. The students by viewing models of themselves/their colleagues/the teacher, improve their observation skills as well as assist and provide support and additional feedback for one another and thus learn how to supervise and critique micro-lessons effectively and objectively.

Microteaching and In-Service Teacher Education

Microteaching as Gregory (1972:4) pointed out has also functioned effectively in in-service settings by helping experienced teachers to improve their teaching. Alvan Ikoku College of Education Owerri (AICE) experience eloquently testifies to the role of microteaching in helping experienced teachers innovate/renovate their teaching and supervisory skills. Izuwah (1983:99-109) indicates that successful in-service Microteaching sessions have been organized for various categories of professionals. These professionals were selected from State Schools Management Board officials, State Inspectors of Education, Supervisors of Schools, Education Officers, Principals of Post-primary Institutions, Teacher Training College Methods Teachers, AICE Staff, Staff of other Colleges of Education, Advanced Teachers' Training Colleges and Faculties, Institutes of Education of Nigerian Universities. In the words of the National Policy on

Education (1981:38-41) the in-service microteaching participants stated that the experience helped them to “take cognizance of changes in methodology and in the curriculum”. The participants were highly excited by the immediate feedback of the teaching laboratory through its system of teach-critique-reteach cycles.

The Purpose/Setting of the Microteaching Laboratory

The purpose of the micro-teaching laboratory is to bring high activity, reality, specificity and more convincing feedback to structured phases of teacher preparation before students’ actual school teaching experience. The microteaching laboratory is a small room equipped with the basic, relevant and complete classroom furnishing, facilities and equipment.

A typical microteaching laboratory has the following:

1. Enough Staff Offices;
2. Maintenance Workshop;
3. Observation room;
4. Control room;
5. Micro-laboratory class rooms;
6. a Resource library, and
7. a store

Microteaching Laboratory Equipment

The typical furnishing, facilities and equipment in the teaching laboratory include:

1. Closed-circuit colour TV monitors
2. Video colour cameras and VTR
3. A.C. Adapters
4. Flourescent light
5. Electronic Switches
6. Tables and chairs/desks
7. Intercom speaker
8. Maggi boards/Magnetic Boards and stands, ink, duster/brush, newsprint, crayons and celotapes.
9. Cupboards
10. Tapes
11. Monitors stands
12. Overhead projectors/Opaque projectors
13. Film projectors
14. Ahuja speakers
15. Microphone
16. Air conditioners
17. Steel cabinets
18. Amplifiers/horn speakers
19. T.V. Wave form generators

20. Vacuum Cleaners
21. Rankaldis Tutor for slide projections
22. Transparency maker for lamination
23. Box speakers
24. Turn table players
25. Test pattern generators
26. Film screen
27. Speaker and mic stands, etc.

These equipment, their brand names/models/modules, acquisition of latest types, installation, spare-parts, etc., may be obtained from suppliers. Maintenance staff form part of the staff requirements.

The summary of current costs of modern equipment, spare-parts and installation may be obtained from suppliers also.

Security and Insurance

Microteaching equipment are very costly and sensitive to weather changes. They require proper protection and handling for maximum life span and benefits. The following points/instructions are important.

1. The staff should be transparently honest and of high integrity, so that the equipment in their care may remain safe.
2. Internal protection also requires expanded metal and iron rod protectors and other necessary burglary proof facilities.
3. The equipments require continuous air conditioned environment
4. The VTR heads, for example, are sensitive to dust and therefore we use magi boards, felt pens, ink and brush or crayons and Newsprint not chalkboards.
5. Install fire extinguishers in the laboratory;
6. Plug off all equipment when not in use from the wall socket;
7. In the event of power cut, all VTRs, monitors, cameras and laboratory instruments MUST be switched off immediately and SHOULD NOT be switched on again until about 15 minutes after the restoration of full power.
8. First aid box is indispensable
9. Engage enough vigilant and honest security guards who are not themselves security risks.

Microteaching in Language Course Outline

1. Philosophy, rationale and historiography
2. Meaning development and procedure
3. Models of microteaching and modeling
4. Microlanguage skills/Practicum
5. Microteaching Language presentation skills/Practicum
6. Questioning skills/Practicum

7. Planning language classroom activities/Practicum
8. Supervising language microlessons/Practicum
9. Educational technology in microteaching in language/Practicum
10. Research in microteaching in language and modeling/other issues/Practicum.

Conclusion

NINLAN is established by Decree 117 of 31st December, 1993 to maximize fluency in speaking NLs, proficiency in teaching/learning NLs and competence in problem resolution oriented research and development in NLs. Furthermore, the Institute is a centre for inspiring and firing patriotic interest in communicating in NLs among different language groups in Nigeria. In addition, the Institute is to stimulate curriculum engineering in designing curricula, course construction, implementation and evaluation. It will also disseminate significant research results and undertake book publication and sales in NLs. Significantly too, NINLAN is to contribute maximally towards the resolution of the staggering demand for enough qualified NLs that will spread the gospel of NINLAN at all levels of our educational system and reach out to all people/sectors of the economy nationally and internationally. Very importantly too, NINLAN is the EXECUTIVE IMAGE MAKER for NLs.

Therefore, NINLAN is challenged to develop incisive comprehensive vision, initiative, creativity, resourcefulness as well as demonstrate knowledge of current powerful curriculum innovations and technological break-through that fire imaginative achievements. In view of this, this paper recommends the establishment of a modern and rich microteaching laboratory. Microteaching in language in NINLAN will serve as one of the most recent and most powerfully effective innovative pedagogical and competency-Based Teacher Education strategy. The microteaching device is designed to maximize efficiency and effectiveness in the process of guiding student teachers/in-service teachers/all clientele develop relevant empowering knowledge, skills, competences and attitudes in learning/teaching and/or developing the desirable level of fluency, proficiency and competency in NLs studies. NINLAN is in the best position to tap the potentialities of microteaching in language.

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30. Nigerian Languages in the Contemporary Scientific Age: The Yoruba Model

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Introduction

In view of the prevailing technological culture and of the important position occupied by science and technology in the modern world, there is an obvious need for Nigerian languages to develop linguistic tools that can enable them to cope with expressing scientific concepts without first using some foreign language as a medium.

It is the firm belief of this paper that Nigerian languages, like all other human-evolved languages, possess (as Afolayan said of the Yoruba language) the required phonological and morphological resources which are rich enough to meet any new demands that may be made on them. It therefore adopts Yoruba, a widely spoken Nigerian language, as a model of an authentic indigenous language which could be linguistically developed to describe scientific matter. This is an exercise meant to cope with the present linguistic challenges facing Nigerian languages in the contemporary scientific age.

Language as a Scientific Tool

Andah (1992:7) draws attention to the fact that language is the first tool invented by man to cope with his scientific environment. He further asserts that language has always played and continues to play an important role in man's production of physical tools.

In the Nigerian scientific and technological environment, specifically among the Yoruba, the importance of locating an iron smelting site not too far away from human voices is emphasized by Adeniji (1977:21). This is so that the resultant iron to be produced would have a 'ringing' tone characteristic of living things, and not turn out 'dumb' or without a tone.

The above serves to illustrate to what extent language is considered vital in local technological productions among the Yoruba. But more importantly, it should be noted that, language being man's first contact with the outside world, it is extremely vital that Nigerian languages should be consciously developed to describe scientific phenomena in them. As Crystal so eloquently observes, while expounding the famous Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, the visualization of a physical concept is often made much easier by its linguistic expression.

The Nigerian environment, very fortunately, contains an abundance of scientific phenomena that require linguistic expression. Such scientific and technological realities as energy, fossil fuels, renewable energy resources, electromagnetic waves, hydro-power, biomass, x-rays, photovoltaic effects, etc., exist in the Nigerian environment and with some effort could be adequately expressed in indigenous languages. To do this would be to fully utilize the various languages as potent scientific tools to better understand and properly cope with the modern scientific demands of the present age.

Indigenization of Scientific Concepts

Adeniyi (1996:4,10) makes a case for indigenizing scientific concepts by creating associations between scientific terms and existing traditional activities or beliefs of the people. Some of the word pairs proposed include:

- Garri making // fermentation;
- Local spirits // distillation;
- Canoe making // mass-volume relationship;
- Rice separation // specific gravity;
- Thunder: anger of gods // distribution of positive and negative electrical charges;
- Rainfall: act of God // evaporation, condensation, precipitation: etc.

It is our view that the indigenization of scientific concepts can only be achieved through indigenous language development. It is perhaps in recognition of this that Awe (1992:10) calls for the diffusion of science and technology in Nigerian indigenous languages. The current practice whereby these terms are taught in foreign languages is probably responsible for the general perception (or misperception) by Nigerians, and indeed by most Africans, that science and technology are foreign ideas that can only be understood through a foreign language.

For us, indigenizing scientific and technological concepts would have the very desirable effects of:

- (i) Creating a much-needed scientific awareness in speakers;
- (ii) Making speakers more inward-looking for scientific succour;
- (iii) Vastly enriching speakers' technical and scientific vocabulary;
- (iv) Mentally orientating speakers in a technical and scientific direction, and
- (v) Hopefully motivating speakers to give physical interpretation to their linguistic expressions by applying scientific principles to make technological inventions.

Fortunately, it would appear that the need for such an indigenizing exercise is gaining ground among our Nigerian linguists, and is thus responsible for the publication of some metalanguage manuals in a few Nigerian languages (see References). Nevertheless, the area of scientific and technological terminology has not been adequately addressed, and this will be our focus in the next section where an illustration of linguistically evolved scientific discourse in a Nigerian language will be given. This is based on the technical translation of an English scientific text, and the Yoruba language will be our model for achieving this.

Yoruba as a Model for Scientific Discourse

For a discourse to qualify as technical or scientific, it must, according to Vigner and Martin (1975:19), possess certain characteristics. These include:

- A homogeneous use of language resulting in the absence of language registers;
- A reduction of temporal forms resulting in the permanence of the technical fact, and also a reduction of the intemporal aspect of technical operations and of the properties of materials used;
- An objectivity in communication resulting in the disappearance of all processes that may entail sentiments or subjective appreciations, and
- The precision, as well as the concision, necessary for technical communication.

In using Yoruba as our model for scientific discourse, it is recognized that by its very structure, the Yoruba language may not possess some of these attributes, but it is not here a matter of forcing the formal structure of one language upon another (cf. Nida and Taber, 1974:4). Besides, a knowledge of translation procedures makes it possible to know which changes can be made to reproduce the message in a given source-text in the distinctive structural form of the receptor language. Also, the application of certain lexicological strategies (Iyalla-Amadi, 1996) could make it possible to achieve the required precision of terms needed to bring about a concision in the thought-processes of language users. The English text and its Yoruba translation appear below.

Solar Utilization on the Verge of Market Introduction - Facts and Figures

After fifteen years of modem research and development, solar energy technologies are on the verge of market introduction: worldwide, twenty thousand (20,000) wind energy converters are in operation. The installed capacity is one thousand seven hundred megawatt-electric (1700Mwe), three hundred and fifty megawatt-electric (350MWe) of which is in Europe. Some 2.4Gwh/a were produced in 1990. The performance trend ranges from tens of kWe per unit, to several hundred kilowatt-electric, to a few megawatt-electric. Solar thermal hybrid power plants in the U.S. have an installed capacity of more than three hundred and fifty megawatt-electric (350Mwe). They provide peak load supply at market rates. The photovoltaic market is growing rapidly; the current production capacity is fifty megawatt-electric per annum (50Mwe/a). Biomass supplies seven to nine per cent of the world's energy needs especially in developing countries, the highest percentage of all the solar energies. Passive and active solar energy utilization is becoming routine in solar architecture.

Agbára Atinu-Oòrùn-wa fẹ́fẹ́ di Ohun Amówówalé – Òkodoro átí Aridájú ibẹ̀

Itèsíwájú nínú imọ̀ sáyẹ́nsì àti idàgbàsókè ọ̀gbón-amúlò rẹ̀ láti ọ̀dún méeḍogun sẹ́yìn tí mú kí agbára àtinú-oòrùn-wa wà lárọ̀wóto. Káàkiri àgbáyé, ogún ẹ̀gbẹ̀rún (20,000) ẹ̀rọ afẹ́fẹ́ ní o ń ńsìsẹ́ lówó. Ipá ilémúṣisẹ́ wón sì tó ẹ̀gbẹ̀rún kan àti ọ̀górùn-ún méje mẹ́gáwáàti-onílẹ́ntíríkì (1,7000Mwe). Nínú èyí, ọ̀górùn-ún mẹ́ta àti àádótam ẹ́gáwáàti-onílẹ́ntíríkì (350Mwe) wà nílẹ̀ Yúròpù. Ipá ìsìsẹ́ àwọn ẹ̀rọ wònyí bẹ̀rẹ̀ láti kílówáàti-onílẹ́ntíríkì (kWe) mẹ́wàà-mẹ́wàà, àwọn mīran jẹ ọ̀górùn-ún ọ̀górùn-ún, bẹ̀ẹ̀ ní àwọn mīran ní mu ọ̀ṣùwọn mẹ́gáwáàti-onílẹ́ntíríkì bí

mélóó kan jade. Àpapò iná ilẹ́ntiriki ti ẹ̀rò wònyí mú jade ní ọ̀dún 1990 nikan to iwón méji àti ipín dẹ́símà mérin gígáwáàti-onílẹ́ntíríki (2.4Gwe). Awón ibùdó-nà ọ̀lónà-púpò to lé ní 350Mwe ni a rì mólẹ́ l'Améríkà ní ọ̀dún 1990, tí àgbejádẹ wón fún òwò síṣe sì ní lọ déedée. Ojà arímòọ̀lẹ̀tàn ní gbilẹ́ síi ní báyyí, agbára awón arímòọ̀lẹ̀tàn wònyí sit ó àádótam égáwáàti-onílẹ́ntiriki (50Mwe) l'ọ̀dún 1990. Agbára atínu ewéko-òun abẹ́mí ní pèsè nńkan bíi idàgórùnún méje si mèsàn-án (7%-9%) nínú àgbájọ̀pò agbára àgbáyé, ní pàtàkì l'awón orílẹ̀-èdè aṣṣẹ̀-ńdídẹ̀-nlẹ̀, agbára atínu-oòrùn-wá ni o sì pò jù nínú wón. Ilò agbára atínu-oòrùn-wá taratara àti léréfẹ̀ nínú iṣẹ́ aya-bátàni-ilẹ́ pàápàá ti di mímò káàkiri l'óde-òní.

It could said that the main feature that has emerged from this translation exercise is a glossary of possible English-Yoruba scientific terms which could serve as a starting point for future attempts of a similar nature:

English-Yoruba Glossary of Scientific Terms & Phrases

1. Biomass – Agbára atínu ewéko-òun-abẹ́mí;
2. Installed capacity – Agbára iṣíṣẹ́;
3. Kilowatt-electric (kWe) – kílówáàti-onílẹ́ntíríki;
4. Megawatt-electric (Mwe) – Mэгáwáàti-onílẹ́ntíríki;
5. Passive solar utilization – ilò oòrùn léréfẹ̀;
6. Performance trend – ipá iṣíṣẹ́;
7. Photovoltaic market – Oja arímòọ̀lẹ̀tàn;
8. Solar energy – Agbára atínu-oòrùn-wa;
9. Thermal hybrid power plant – Ibùdó-nà ọ̀lónà-púpò;
10. Wind energy converter – ẹ̀rò àṣọ-afẹ́fẹ́-di-agbára.

Some of the translated terms, especially the numerals, we owe to a team of language experts (cf. 4th Dimension Publishers & NERC, 1990:104-110) who were able to evolve a new counting system in consonance with the prevailing decimal system of the present scientific age. It is a system that has received active support from such notable linguists as Bamgbose (1986:36) who affirm that it is a necessary shedding process of the traditional counting method to free speakers from the cumbersome mental requirements of the traditional method. He, however, adds that the old system could always remain a part of Yoruba culture and be learnt later as an example of the mathematical genius of our ancestors. On our own part, we wholeheartedly adopt the new system and believe that it is very much in consonance with the scientific tempo of the times. Furthermore, we believe that it will in no small measure, help to promote greater precision in expressing scientific concepts when used in various indigenous Nigerian languages.

Some other terms like: kilowatt-electric, megawatt-electric, gigawatt-electric, etc., have been phonologically integrated into the Yoruba language. This is, in part, in agreement with some of Bamgbose's (1987:17) recommendations that borrowed terms be retained for terminology referring to certain technical primes such as subject names (e.g.

biology, physics, etc.) and conventional international scientific terms (e.g. metre, kilometer, kilowatt, etc.). It is also, in part, an affirmation that the Yoruba language effectively belongs to the world family of languages and as such, shares certain attributes with these other languages.

Conclusion: The Technological Leap

Technology has been defined as the application of scientific knowledge for practical purposes (Morris: 1992). Obasanjo and Mabogunje (1991) stress the need for technological advancement to be inward looking by relying on available resources in the local environment.

This paper has tried to establish that the Nigerian environment is very rich in scientific and technological potentials such as biomass, wind energy, hydropower, etc., and that these can be tapped and used for the improvement of the living conditions of its inhabitants. For us, a first towards achieving this lies in the formulation of indigenous terms to give linguistic expression to scientific realities. Thereafter, the necessary technical orientation would have been created for an inward looking approach for scientific succour without having to rely on the foreign expertise of foreign speakers.

It is true that no society can hope to develop meaningfully in isolation, especially in the present context where the whole world has been reduced to a global village – thanks to sophisticated telecommunication systems. This is a *fortiori* why Nigerian languages would need to take a cue from some other languages, which, as a result of early industrialization, have been able to evolve concise linguistic terms to cope with the expression of technical and industrial realities.

This has been the strategy adopted in this paper where an attempt was made to evolve scientific discourse in the Yoruba language based on the technical translation of a scientific English text. On the other hand, this could be made to portray a mutually beneficial language contact situation (one language serving to clarify or enrich the other, and vice versa) and on the other hand could be a necessary linguistic impetus for the actualization of scientific creations through imbibed scientific concepts.

To be technologically relevant, Nigerian languages would have to, not only display proof of an understanding of scientific principles through scientifically coined terms, but also go beyond this understanding by provoking the actual application of scientific knowledge to identify areas for human improvement.

This could be done through the expression of scientific concepts in the various Nigerian languages where linguistic strategies would be consciously evolved within the framework of each language to achieve for the Nigerian nation the much-needed technological leap into the present millennium: it would thus be able to occupy an incontestable place in the scientific scheme of things.

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31. On Multilingualism and the Medium of Instruction

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1. Introduction

The system of education has become increasingly hydra-headed. The scope of this complexity is continually widening as the societal needs of the community continue to change. Ukeje et al. (1992:330) captures this situation aptly by observing that “the society which is ever-changing is making enormous demands on the educational system not to remain static but to be outward-looking and innovative so that it does not prepare the youth for a society that no longer exists”. Educational Programmes, therefore, serve to provide for and up-date the social, economic and psychological needs of the society, and to prepare the individuals for a successful and responsive living in a dynamic society.

Given the above, it is highly imperative that a sound and firm foundation is laid for education of the children. The soundness and firmness of the foundation is very much dependent on the language of instruction. In monolingual societies where only one language is in use (which hardly exist), there is no doubt that the language of instruction will be the language of the community (LOC). A multilingual situation where many languages are in use, however, presents a problem of choice of language of instruction. The research problem, therefore, becomes: which language is most effective for educational instruction in a multilingual environment?

To find a solution to this problem, these nagging research questions will be examined:

- a. What is Multilingualism?
- b. To what extent does multilingualism prevail?
- c. To what extent is multilingualism desirable?
- d. To what extent does multilingualism influence literacy instruction?

The main aim of this paper is to highlight the pervasiveness of multilingualism as well as propose effective means of managing this sociolinguistic Phenomenon for purposes of education.

It is hoped that this work will be useful in formulating a language policy and planning strategies in a multilingual setting, and in enhancing ethno-linguistic vitality of languages, thereby reducing incident of language conflict, language shift and language death.

2. Multilingualism

Brought about by the Creator Himself when he upset the linguistic equilibrium at the Tower of Babel, multilingualism remains one of the most interesting and wide spread of all sociolinguistic phenomena. The term ‘multilingualism’ refers to a linguistic state where

numerous languages are in use by one individual or in the same nation (societal multilingualism).

Societal multilingualism can be official when it is only recognized in the constitution or *de facto* when it is not recognized in the constitution, but is actually prevalent in a nation. Symmetrical and asymmetrical multilingualism can equally be differentiated based on the status of languages in a given nation. When all the languages have equal status, it is said to be symmetrical. It is asymmetrical when at least one of the languages has more status than others. Asymmetrical multilingualism is characteristic of diglossic, triglossic or polyglossic situations.

Social multilingualism is a product of contextual factors such as migration, imperialism, border areas, federation and intermarriage, particularly exemplary is the intermarriage-born multilingualism of the Tukano in the North West Amazon. These people are multilingual as a result of “pattern of marriage and the living arrangement consequent to marriage” (Wardhaugh 1998:96).

The spread of international languages like English, French, etc., as languages of political and economic strength attracts the non-speakers of these languages to learn to speak them. With these economic and socio-political sources of multilingualism, it is obvious that one way or the other, a “living society” should be multilingual to be able to influence and be influenced by other linguistic societies. Thus, a monolingual society would be regarded as backward and insensitive without any window to the rest of the outside world in the ordinary business of living. Wardhaugh (1998:44) reiterates this by remarking that, “in many parts of the world it is just a normal requirement of daily living that people speak several languages. Perhaps one or more at home another in the village, still another for purpose of trade, and yet another for contact with the outside world of wider social or political organization”.

From the above, we may infer that as far as man remains a social being, he will continue to interact and exchange ideas. As far as this exchange of ideas is inconceivable without language, multilingualism is a necessity. This underscores the essential influence of language in all its ramifications in education and its associated development.

The upset of linguistic diversification at the ‘Tower of Babel’ added variety to language situation, and only the acknowledgment of this fact and subsequent planning and harnessing of this rich linguistic resource in education can yield desirable results and make for genuine and meaningful development.

For education to achieve its goal of national development, there is need for serious language and educational planning from which an effective language of instruction will emerge. Language planning requires the use of data to make realistic projections for the future. Ansre (1976) in Essien (1998:4) states that, “national economic development is the extent to which a state is able to harness its resources productively and prudently for the beneficial and equitable distribution and use of its members the greater ... the number of citizens who actively participate fully in the harnessing and the greater the number of those who benefit from it, the better. Therefore, factors which restrict sections of the state’s population from active participation, as well as those which deprive sections of it from full enjoyment of the benefits should be eliminated”.

The choice of language of instruction (LOI) can no doubt, pose a barrier to national development as stated above, when only a section of such a society has access to effective education in the chosen medium.

To propose the basis for the selection of effective medium of instruction in a multilingual society, a critical look at the multilingual situation of some countries is imperative.

3. Multilingual Situations

“Multilingualism, official or not, seems to be the norm nowadays” (Essien 1998:7). Some countries recognize the importance of multilingualism in their constitution. In India, for instance, fourteen (14) languages are recognized in the constitution, Philippines has at least six (6) major regional languages. Nigeria, officially bilingual in English and French, has three major and about 397 non-major languages in addition to Arabic and Pidgin. The former Soviet Union has about 85 nationalities and languages. In Canada, numerous Indian and Eskimo languages exist together with French and English, Switzerland has French, German and Italian as national languages. In Norway, Bokmal and Nynorsk are the official languages with other countless dialects like Samisk and Lapps. Australia, a multicultural nation, has a de facto official language, English, and numerous languages. In fact, the list is very long. “Even such seemingly monolingual nations like the United States, the United Kingdom, France, etc. have their own respective multilingualism” (Essien 1998:7).

Incidentally, some multilingual nations have been able to manage their complex linguistic situations better than others, and have been able to reap the attendant benefits of proper planning and management in their national development. For instance, Europe granted independence to local ethnic minorities and, over the years, numerous “full-fledged” languages are the corollary. These languages became the basic expression of *Identity* and aspiration of the new nations, and their governments responded by embarking on language planning. In fact, according to Clyne (1997:303) “the charter on regional and minority language, passed by the European parliament in 1993, gives the minorities the right to the use of their language in education, the media, public administration, care of the aged, and cross border communication”.

By the 16th century for instance, Danish became the official language of Norway because of Denmark’s domination of the Norwegian administration, but in the 19th century, Romantic national sentiment developed and interest returned to the restoration of the Norwegian language. Then in 1853, a linguistic genius, Ivar Aasen, published a dictionary of the language called Landsmaal (country language). Today, Norway has a language policy that recognizes two mutually intelligible but socially differentiated indigenous official languages: Bokmal (book language), a Norwegianised form of Danish and Nynorsk - New Norse - the Modern form of Aasen’s compiled language. Switzerland adopts a policy of symmetrical multilingualism such that the three national languages- French, German and Italian have equal status and are distributed on territorial principles. Hence, Cantons are either the French language, the German language or the Italian language and never a combination of any of these languages. Afrikaans and German were identified with oppression and colonialism, and so Namibia made English a sole official language though

it is the native language of not more than 3 percent of the population, and only 53 percent have any competence in it. In Singapore, three indigenous languages, representing the three major ethnic groups, Mandarin, Malay, Tamil, and a fourth language- English- are recognized in the language policy as official languages. English is for inter-ethnic communication and constitutes in Singapore, a vehicle for trade with the rest of the world. The former Soviet Union had Russian as the official language, and each republic had a second official language. Now, only the Russian Federation has Russian as official language, while the other republics have developed their individual official languages. Australia has a multicultural policy of unity in diversity. Though English is the de facto official language, Australian language and literacy policy provides for the following:

- (a) Competence in English for all
- (b) Maintenance and development of languages other than English
- (c) Provision of services in languages other than English
- (d) Opportunities to acquire second languages.

In pursuant to this language and literacy policy in Australia, Clyne (1997:306) reports that: most of the efforts have concentrated on education with primary and secondary schools teaching children from all backgrounds a range of language ... and about 38 languages examine in the end – of-secondary school examination ... many public notices are published in a variety of languages ... there are government and publicly subsidized radio stations broadcasting in a total of over 60 languages ... and there is a telephone interpreter service available in about 90 languages.

4. Literacy Educational Instruction in Multilingual Setting

Education is a cumulative process of development. Thus, educated people are developed people and they contribute immensely to the development of their nation. From the above, we may infer that education is necessary for children if they must contribute to the development of their nation. This means that the way a child's intellect is groomed and how familiar he is with his surrounding determines how the child grows up, what he becomes at maturity and his contribution to the development of his community. Chumbow (1990), Afe (1991) and Azikiwe (1991) have variously argued that to grow with better understanding of his environment, the child has to be groomed, at least to a notable stage in his life, with the mother-tongue as the medium. Azikiwe (1990) further states that unless it be made feasible for the child to learn the basis of modern technology, science and mathematics in his mother-tongue, the seed of transferred technology will fall on barren ground and will not germinate. It has been further observed that the adoption of mother-tongue in teaching the child enables him to follow the teacher closely with his mind's eye and be able to easily conjure what the words imply in real life. In addition, the child's creativity and involvement during academic activities, the speed with which he masters reading and understands what is taught are encouraged when he is taught in his mother-tongue. Mother-tongue instruction therefore efficiently imbibes in the child a higher knowledge of his cultural heritage which helps him to understand and to appreciate his

cultural and democratic values, and meaningfully contribute to the socio-cultural and techno-economic development of his nation.

The situation presented above makes multilingualism seem problematic when the seemingly insurmountable challenges of teaching the different linguistic groups in their respective mother-tongue is considered. But just as Jowitt (1991) observes, an effective solution to this problem of multilingualism should not border on sentiments, but should be nationalistically based.

By and large, one way a nationalistically informed solution to the problem of multilingualism can be achieved is to grant every child the linguistic right of education in his mother-tongue through the policy of "Multilingual Education". Only then will the seeming liabilities of multilingualism be properly perceived as an asset for, as Clyne (1997:307) observes, "Australian policy of Unity in diversity challenges the myth that national cohesion is possible only through a single common language". There is no doubt, therefore, that a multilingual nation like Nigeria can achieve peaceful co-existence contrary to the views of writers like Bamgbose (1970) and Jowitt (1995) who see the numerous different voices "as impediments to mutual understanding and efficient network of communication, and enhancement for hostilities among the ethnic groups as well as a barrier to the realization of a national language policy". Moreover, evidence, in (3) above shows that, though multilingual, most nations have successfully evolved effective language policies.

5. Advantages of Multilingual Education

Pedagogically, language has been held responsible for the poor performance of children from minority language groups at school. As a socializing instrument, the school plays a powerful role in exerting control over its pupils. Thus, children of different cultural and linguistic groups are likely to experience conflict when the school does not operate in their mother-tongue. Multilingual education, however, provides for instruction in numerous languages thereby exposing different pupils to their respective home languages and cultures in school. This helps to eliminate shock, and to reduce the rate of failure at school as effective learning is promoted through the MT.

When no group is made to learn another's language and drop its own, when no language is unnecessarily 'exalted' to the debasement and neglect of another, every language group will have a feeling of belonging. Equity will be entrenched and ethnolinguistic vitality enforced among all the ethnic groups. Ofelia (1997:409) supporting this view asserts that, "... multilingual education is true multicultural education, going beyond just expressing positive feelings to giving people an actual tool ..., to create greater knowledge and understanding ... It uses language to combat racism and establish equality between different language groups". For the genuine fact that the medium of instruction is a catalyst in the acquisition of the desired quality of education, multilingual education equips every ethnic group with facilities to participate in political matters. This Essien (1997) considers as very important in national development as he maintains that for language to play a facilitatory role in such factors that are crucial to development as

thought, description, analysis and argumentation, it should not be allowed to restrict any part of the nation-state from participating in the development.

Multilingual education, therefore, increases children's cognitive advantages, makes them more versatile and creative in thinking, imbues them with greater metalinguistic awareness, cognitive control of linguistic process and communicative sensitivity, and prepares them for successful and accommodative adulthood because the children derive maximum benefit from the school system via instruction in their mother-tongue.

At this juncture, it is proper to say that multilingualism is, after all, not a curse but a rich linguistic mine which if adequately exploited becomes highly treasurable. As we consent to the above position, we are still left with the problem of how to make multilingual education feasible. The object of the next section is to make recommendations to that effect.

6. Recommendations

For multilingual education to be tenable, every multilingual nation should put in place multicultural and multilingual policies. We see in (3) that most of the countries discussed have their language policies in favour of two or more languages. The Australian example is particularly worthy of emulation.

In a multicultural and multilingual policy, every language should be part of the school curriculum, so that children of all linguistic groups can learn in their mother-tongue initially and when their mother-tongue ceases to be a medium of instruction, it will continue to be taught as a subject.

Languages should be assigned distinct roles in a multilingual society. With role differentiation, language choice will be dependent on context and every language will have a function to perform, and consequently a feeling of belonging will be entrenched.

In multilingual education, language compartmentalization is desirable. This is a situation where different languages have different teachers, and are taught in different locations.

Language development and planning should receive priority. This is necessary to prepare the languages to carry the roles assigned to them. Writing about some European languages, Essien (1998) notes that in the 15th century, languages like French, Italian and English had problems of enriching their vocabulary to meet the demands that would be placed upon them in their wider use.

7. Conclusion

Multilingualism is a necessary outcome of cross-cultural interaction which though presents a seemingly problematic situation in the choice of a medium of instruction becomes a rich sociolinguistic resource when properly harnessed.

Since the participation of all sectors of a nation is necessary for a meaningful national development, multilingual education has been proposed as a viable approach to educational instruction. This is because it offers every child the opportunity to receive instructions in his/her mother-tongue or language of immediate community for some time at least at some level, depending on the roles assigned to different languages.

It is strongly believed that with a multilingual policy in place every language will have a role to play and every group will have a feeling of belonging and will therefore ultimately contribute positively towards national development.

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32. Trends in the Development of Anaang

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1. Introduction

Anaang is a language spoken in the south-south geo-political region of Nigeria. The language is named after its speakers. The native speakers are located in the western part of Akwa Ibom State, and they occupy the present Abak, Essien Udim, Etim Ekpo, Ika, Ikot Ekpene, Obot Akara, Oruk Anam, and Ukanafun Local Government Areas. The language is largely used as a second language (L₂) by their Igbo neighbours and the Ibibios as well.

The Anaangs number 1.4 million following (1991) population census and 2 million, according to Okorukpong (1999). The Anaang land occupies an area of 2.73 sqkm Anaang is bounded by the people of Abia State in the north, Rivers State in the West, and by the Ibibios of Akwa Ibom State in the south, east and north-east.

2. Anaang Language

2.1 Classification

Genetically, Anaang is classified as a Central Lower Cross (CLC) Language, of the Lower Cross Language of the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo family of languages (Connell 1991, Urua 1996). This is illustrated on the family tree in figure I.

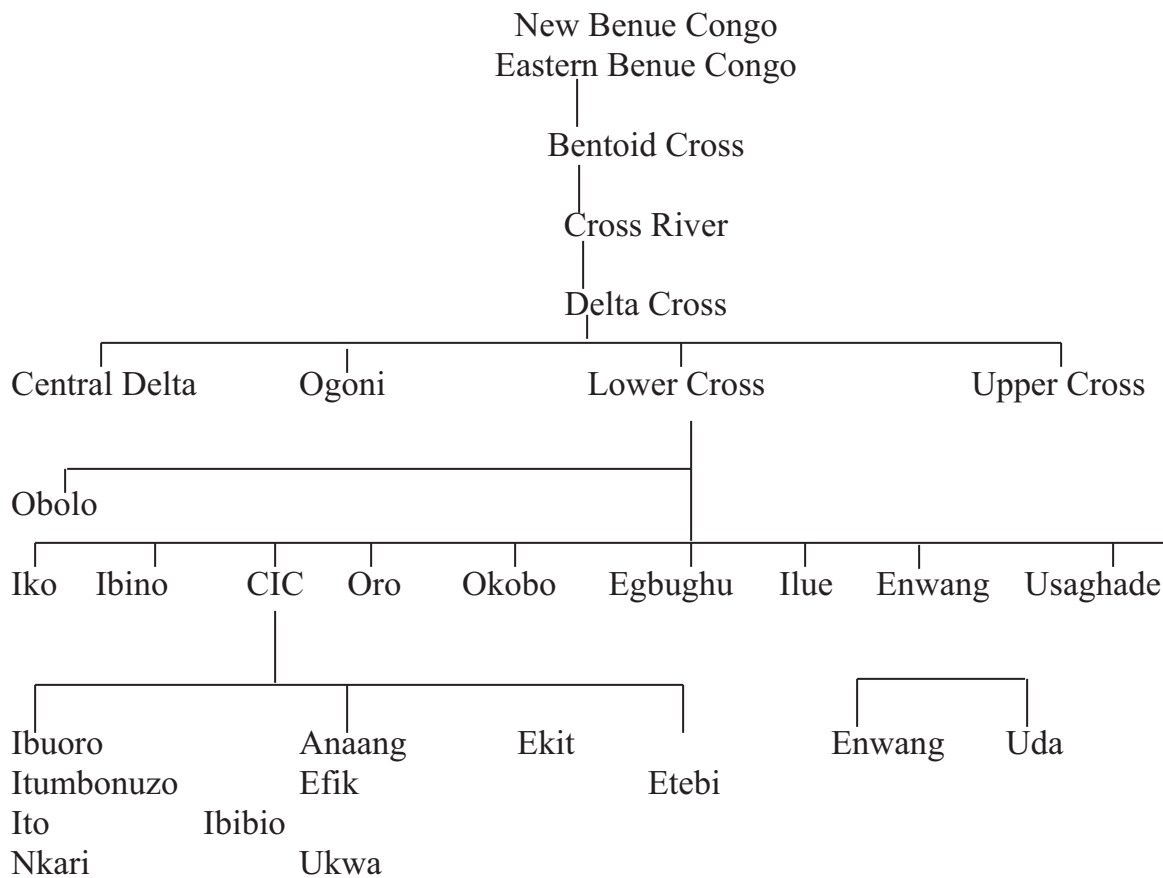
Anaang is closely related to Efik, Ibibio, and Ukwia as seen in the family tree. Anaang is rightly regarded as a language on its own with a number of varieties: Abak, Ikot Ekpene, Ika and Ukanafun. The level of variation is more pronounced at the lexical and the phonological levels. These dialects are mutually intelligible and the level of their intelligibility is bi-directional.

2.2 State of Development

The state of development of a language is determined by the number of published texts, approved standard orthography, socio-linguistic readiness of the language for literacy, numeracy, effectiveness in the mass media and other domains of function of the language. Anaang is a developing language with few published texts, fairly recent standard orthography. Although the Anaang language is as old as her speakers dating back to centuries ago, it is rather unfortunate that the language had no standard orthography until 2002. (We shall return to this point later in our discussion).

It should however be noted that, there existed diverse spelling forms of the language (Anaan Annang, Anaang) before 2001. But with the publication of the standard orthography of Anaang in 2001, the conventional spelling form of the language is “ANAANG”.

Fig. I: A family diagram showing the genetic classification of the Anaang language



Adapted from Connell (1991)

3. Trends in the Development of Anaang

The year 2001 marked a turning point in the development of Anaang, when the Anaang Community, through the assistance of the National Institute for Nigerian Languages (a Federal Government Agency, an arm of the National Universities Commission, the lifewire to ENDANGERED languages and comrade to all lovers of NIGERIAN languages), produced an orthography of Anaang.

The need for the development of Anaang was motivated by a process of change and language displacement which happened to put Anaang in a kind of linguistic oblivion. Before state creation, Efik was used as the lingua-franca in the former Cross River State. The language was also used as a second language (L₂) outside its linguistic region. Soon after the creation of Akwa Ibom State in 1987, Efik ceased to function as the lingua franca, this was suddenly replaced by Ibibio.

Though Ibibio was the only indigenous language in the State with a standard orthography, the language was developed to take care of the need of the writing system, literature and culture of only the Ibibio people. The policy of the State Primary Education Board did not even helping matters. In Akwa Ibom State, inter-local government services

are not permissible at the primary school level. Teachers are restricted only to their local government areas of origin. In this case, the use of Ibibio in schools is restricted to the Ibibio language speaking areas only. As a result, the language provision of the National Policy on Education (NPE), (1977, revised 1988, 1998) could not be implemented in the Anaang nation.

As a vital thrust to its mother-tongue education policy campaign, a committee was set up in 1987, 1991, concurrently by the Afe Anaang (a socio-cultural organization in Anaang land). The committee which was headed by Ete Sunny Akpaidiok was charged with the responsibility of producing a standard published orthography of Anaang, and of course, primers and pictorials for the teaching of the language in schools. The work of this committee did not yield any fruitful result owing to certain constraints.

Worried by this problem, the Anaang Community in 1997, set up another committee to look into the existing works on Anaang, collect data, produce and publish a standard orthography for Anaang. The committee headed by Prof. Johnson U. Obot of the University of Calabar worked in collaboration with the National Institute for Nigerian Languages, (NINLAN), Aba, and produced a published orthography of the Anaang language in 2001. The orthography which is co-edited by Ito Michael, (a linguist on staff of NINLAN) and Prof. Johnson U. Obot (Chairman, Anaang Language Committee) was presented formally to the native speakers on 16 November, 2001 on an enlarged workshop organized jointly by the Ate Anaang and NINLAN at Ikot Ekpene Local Government Council Hall. The workshop, was the first of its kind. It was well attended by all and sundry including a former Governor, Speaker of the House of Assembly, Professors, and fully covered by the media. The workshop succeeded in sensitizing the Anaang nation as to the development and preservation of the Anaang language and culture as well as the production of texts in Anaang following the standard spelling rule or the orthography. The Guest Lecturer, Prof. 'Nolue Emenanjo, the Executive Director, NINLAN, urged the Anaang nation to show interest towards the development of the Anaang language and stressed the need for non-governmental organizations, interest groups and other associations to be actively involved in the development of Anaang.

The outcome of the workshop was the establishment of the Anaang Language Development Commission. The objectives of the Commission are as to:

- (i) promote the development of the Anaang language and culture.
- (ii) develop and produce curriculum and syllabus for the teaching of Anaang in schools.
- (iii) produce primers and texts in Anaang.
- (iv) sensitize the people on the importance of mother-tongue education through regular workshops.
- (v) co-operate with other research bodies and various educational and language agencies, and to develop Anaang beyond basic communication needs.
- (vi) act as the custodian of the Anaang language and culture.

3.1 The Development of Anaang: An Assessment

Before 2001, several attempts had been made by scholars and research groups to produce a writing system for Anaang. The development of a writing system in Anaang actually started in 1983 when Eno Utip, wrote her M.A. Thesis at the University of Port Harcourt on a Comparative Study of Efik, Ibibio and Anaang vowels. This was followed by Udondata (1983), on *English and Anaan phonological systems: A comparative study*", M.A. Thesis University of Uyo. He also wrote an article on "The Case of a Hidden Pearl: A study of Anaan, published in *Afe: Anaang Journal of Minorities Studies*. He also wrote a Ph.D Thesis at University of Uyo on *Anaan Structural Pattern in 2000*. In 1994, Unyierie Idem, of the University of Edinburgh wrote her PhD Dissertation on "*The Phonological Processes in the Acquisition of Liquid Stop Segments in English by Anaan Speakers*. She also wrote an article "on the Development of Anaan". The article which is published in *Afe: Anaang Journal of Minorities Studies* Vol. 2, highlights on the procedures and processes of language development with emphasis on the development of standard orthography of the Anaang language.

Several other works followed Idem's publication. These are Udo (1996) Vowel Deletion in Anaang, in the Journal of Humanities, Vol. 5, University of Uyo, Udoh, (1998) *Effects of Duration on Intonation of Anaang Learner of English* PhD dissertation University of Calabar. Udoka, (1998) '*On the phonotactics of Anaan*, M.A. Thesis, University of Uyo. Udom, (1999) *Morphosyntax in Anaang*, M. A. Thesis University of Uyo. Michael, (2000) *Assimilatory and Syllable Structure processes in Anaan* M.A. Thesis. University of Uyo. In all these works, the segments, non-segments, structure, and phonological processes of Anaang have been analysed. These laid the foundation for the development of Anaang orthography. Papers on Anaang have also been presented at national and international conferences. There also abound texts on Anaang Religious, socio-Cultural and traditional activities. This shows that there is now a serious awareness on the development of Anaang.

3.2 Anaang Orthography

The current orthography of Anaang was first published in 2001 by the Anaang Community. The rationale behind this publication is outlined in Michael (2001:4). The choice of the orthography is based on the preferences and recommendations of the Anaang Language Committee. It covers the speech forms of all the four dialects of Anaang. No variety is selected as being central. This of course makes room for wider acceptability of the current orthography by all the speech communities in Anaang.

3.2.1 Current Standard Orthography

The current orthography of Anaang adheres strictly to The National Educational Research and Development Council's (NERDC) format and design for the current orthographies of Nigerian languages. The orthography consists of letters of the alphabet, distinctive features, non-distinctive features and sample texts in Anaang.

The orthography comprises 30 letters of the alphabet. The segments consist of 22 phonemic consonants, seven phonemic single vowels, six diphthongs, seven lengthened vowels etc. See Michael and Obot (2001).

The segments are represented as follows. We shall adopt both orthographic and phonetic representation.

(2) Vowels

		Phonetic	Orthographic	gloss
(i)	/i/	/íkpa/	íkpa	skin
		/ním/	ním	dive
		/étî/	étî	good
(ii)	/e/	/ènò/	ènò	gift
		/bén/	bén	carry
		/tsé/	ché	look
(iii)	/a/	/ádʒòp/	ájòp	palm fruit
		/bàt/	bàt	count
		/tá/	tá	chew
(iv)	/c/	/kòp/	kòp	hang
		/tó/	tó	plant (verb)
(v)	/o/	/kòp/	kòp	hear
		/kó/	kó	there
(vi)	/u/	/úbók/	úbók	hand
		/bùm/	bùm	roast
		/ádú/	ádú	hole
(vii)	/ʉ/	/kùk/	kùk	close
		/àwû/	àwû	crayfish

Among the seven vowels, only /a e i u/ occur in all the environments while /ɔ o ʉ/ do not occur word initially; they occur elsewhere.

(3) Consonants

		Phonetic	orthographic	gloss
(a)	/b/	/bán/	bán	sharpen
		/ébá/	ébá	breast

(b)	/p/	/wùppè/ /dzèp/	wùppè jèp	uproot spy
(c)	/d/	/dóm/ /ídà:t/	dóm ídààt	bite madman
(d)	/t/	/tùk/ /ítú:t/ /fát/	tùk ítúút fát	cheat caterpillar embrace
(e)	/k/	/kòŋ/ /ìkó/ /tók/	kòñ ìkó tók	knock tin urinate
(f)	/k ^w /	/k ^w ó/ /ìk ^w ó/	kwó ìkwó	sing song
(g)	/g ^w /	/g ^w à/ /ígwàt/	gwà ígwàt/	sacrifice grey hair
(h)	/kp/	/kpá/ /ùpùt/	kpá ùkpùt	cut cassava
(i)	/m/	/mèn/ /ùmán/ /únàm/	mèn ùmán únàm	swallow female animal
(j)		/nék/ /únék/ /mèbèn/	nék únék mèbèn	dance (verb) dance (noun) edges
(k)	/ŋ/	/ŋkà/ /sáŋá/ /ísòŋ/	ñkà sáñá ísòñ	age grade walk ground
(l)	/p/	/pàm/ /àpán/	nyàm ànyán	sell length
(m)	/nw/	/nwóŋ/ /ìnwán/	nwóñ ìnwáñ	drink farm

(n)	/f/	/fóp/	fóp	roast
		/mífúk/	mífúk	cheek
(o)	/s/	/sín/	sín	put
		/ñsjâ/	ñsiâ	intestine
(p)	/ts/	/tʃá:t/	cháát	be dry
		/ítʃíp/	íchíp	palm kernel
(q)	/dz/	/dʒét/	yét	wash
		/ádʒòp/	ájòp	oil palm nut
(r)	/n/	/ùtèrè/	ùtèrè	vulture
(s)	/l/	/ùlòk/	ùlòk	door
(t)	/j/	/íják/	íyák	fish
(u)	/w/	/wòt/	wòt	kill
		/éwá/	éwá	dog
(v)	/ɸ/	/fɸó/	fúhó	be sad
(w)	/R/	/fáRá/	fághá	wedge oneself

Note (ɸ) occurs after back vowels while (R) occurs after front vowels in Anaang.

It has been observed that there is strict restriction of occurrence of consonant segments at word-final position, such restriction does not hold word medially. In the examples above, tone is placed on all the syllabic segments. The tones are:

- [´] = high tone e.g. tém ‘clear’ a bush
- [`] = low tone e.g. tèm ‘look’
- [!] = downstepped e.g. úké ‘where’
- [ˇ] = low-high e.g. kã ‘go’
- [^] = high-low e.g. etî ‘good’

3.3 Anaang and Domains of Use

Before the publication of the standard orthography of Anaang, the language has been developed to serve various basic communication needs. The language is used as the medium of wider communication in Anaangland. It is also used as a second language in neighbouring Igbo communities. It is widely used by the Ibibios and Efiks. Where interlocutors do not share the same code, English or Nigerian Pidgin is used by the people for communication. Anaang is used in the mass media (radio and television services of Akwa Ibom State) for news translation, advertisements, drama, etc. The language is developed to take care of local/regional administration in the Anaang nation. It is also used for political campaign, promulgation of laws at local and state levels and for administration

of justice in the court and villages. It is also used as the language of instruction in primary schools, adult and non-formal education. It is the language of religion alongside Efik and English. Though this language functions in several domains, it is yet to be taught as a subject in schools, probably because the orthography is quite recent and the curriculum and primers are still in the processes of being developed.

On the area of text production, there exist several texts on the Anaang, culture, philosophy, etc. but there are very few texts written in the language. We commend the efforts of the Anaang community, for preserving and transmitting the Anaang language and culture through a written media ANNANG TODAY, which is published monthly. Several workshops/conferences have also been organized by some interest groups and socio-cultural organizations in Anaang, to sensitize the people on the development, preservation and the use of Anaang for all purposes. Today, Anaang has gone from oral to stage and now to written form, because of the linguistic awareness created.

4. Conclusion

Though Anaang has undergone some of the stages of language development, there is still much to be done to meet the demands of the people in today's technological and changing society.

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33. The Pedagogical Effects of Learning Yoruba in Dialectological Perspective

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The sociology of language usually tries to disclose the norms of language which is the generally accepted social patterns of language use. The Yorùbá language standardization catalogues the dynamism that is reflected in such usages. However, there are pedagogical effects in learning the language vis-à-vis its numerous varieties. Such effects are contrary to the thematic approach of sociolinguistics. This study reports the results of an investigation carried out to the effect that the application of some grammatical rules of the Yorùbá language are now streamlined when compared with some dialectal analysis. The paper postulates that the Ọ̀yọ́ variety serves as the foundation of the so-called Standard Yorùbá. So, learning the Yorùbá language has underlyingly been learning the Ọ̀yọ́ variety i.e. learning a language by using a dialect. The rationale behind this is traced to efforts of the Yorùbá early grammarians while reducing the language into writing. The study is carried out within the framework of the Polylectar Grammar. Our corpora are taken from various dialectal renditions and written texts. Oral and detailed structured interviews, including analysis of the results of the senior School Certificate Examination among some selected schools in Ilé-Ife, Nigeria were also conducted. The overt claim of the paper is that Yorùbá should be viewed as a ‘lect’ and every dialectal varieties of the language is in itself a legitimate form contributing to the well-formedness of the language.

1. Introduction

Àjàyí (1960) reports the impressive efforts of the early grammarians in reducing the Yorùbá language to writing. When Crowther finally put some words down in 1843 while translating the opening Chapter of St. Luke, he writes:

ohung ohworh ti aobih ni inoh reh li aomakpe li omoh Olorung.
(that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the son of God)

Unknowing to Crowther, he was speaking and reducing his dialect into writing. According to Crowther’s biography, he was born in Òsogùn near Ìsẹ̀yìn, thus he was from the Ọ̀yọ́ dialect area. Crowther, therefore, reduced the Ọ̀yọ́ variety of the Yorùbá language into writing and this formed the foundation of the Yorùbá language standardization. Should Crowther hail from Ilẹ̀sà i.e. from the Ìjẹ̀sà dialect area, he would have reduced the same above expression into writing thus:

Un ọ̀wọ́ kìn ọ̀n a bí nínú
rẹ̀ nì ọ̀n a maa pẹ̀ lómọ Ọ̀lọ̀un

Similarly, should he hail from Ekiti, he would have written:

Un ọ̀ọ̀ kàà bí nínú rẹ̀ làá mǎa pè lómọ̀ Ọ̀lọ̀un.

If Crowther was from the central part of Yorùbá land like Ilé-Ifẹ̀, he would have written thus:

Ohun ọ̀wọ̀ kan mǎa tǐnu rẹ̀ bí la mǎa mǎa pè lómọ̀ Ọ̀lọ̀un.

The dialectal variation of the above Yorùbá expression are in myriads. Since 1843. Yorùbá language development, learning, and usage have therefore been prescribed, described and analysed along Crowther's proposition. But scholars of the Yorùbá language should imagine what would have resulted phonologically, syntactically, and semantically if Crowther were to hail from Ìjẹ̀sà, Ifẹ̀, Èkìtì, Ìgbómìnà, etc. The number of Yorùbá vowels would not have been seven as generally known today, it would have been nine apart from the nasalised ones. Again, the vowel /u/ would have been initiated into the group of those vowels that can feature at the initial position of Yorùbá words. Consonant clusters would also have been a phonological feature in the language. In addition, **mí** instead of **ń** would have been the progressive aspect marker in the Yorùbá language. The resulted phonological, syntactical even morphological differences are many.

We need to investigate the implications of these derivations in the process of learning and using the language in question. What impact does this have on students and teachers of the Yorùbá language who happened to hail from different dialectal areas apart from that of Crowther? When users of the language read a textbook and find the expressions therein completely different from their own ways of speaking, what happens to their comprehensions? Do students from other dialectal areas aside from Crowther's cope and perform creditably well in both their internal and external examinations, of which the foundational standard was nonetheless laid on the Ọ̀yọ̀ variety of the language? Conspicuous problems are bound to confront the Yorùbá language users along these axis.

This paper attempts to examine the phenomenon of learning the Yorùbá language by using a dialect contrary to the thematic approach of sociolinguistics. The paper aims at reporting the results of an investigation that many grammatical rules of the language do not have an overwhelming applications when viewed against the background of other expositions based on dialectal findings. On the whole, the paper draws a conclusion from observable premises that other dialects of the language, aside from the Ọ̀yọ̀ variety, are also helping towards the well-formedness of the language.

2. Dialectal Stratum

Dialect and standard language are fast becoming complementary. This is inspired by the hypothesis that, although there are clearly social differences between language varieties, no one language or dialect is linguistically superior to another. One of the various thematic approaches of sociolinguistics is learning language by using language. However, one would be nervous discovering the idea of learning a language by using a dialect. This paper

postulates this, regarding the so-called Standard Yorùbá as a dialect used in learning the Yorùbá language. This is again sequel to the assertions of writers like Capo (1980: 277-282). He suggests that:

Yorùbá be viewed as a lect within the cluster, which has its distinctive characteristics... Ede-Yorùbá will then be a dialect, but still the most prestigious dialect of the cluster and the standard of the whole area.

Bamgbose (1966:2) had earlier commented on the status of the so-called Standard Yorùbá. According to him, “the type of Yorùbá used is a koine” which may be called Standard Yorùbá. Capo’s suggestion conforms with the hypothesis of the Polylectar Grammar, which regards a ‘lect’ to be unique and distinct. This, no doubt, raises the status-quo of other Yorùbá dialects numbering about thirty after the previous studies of Koelle’s *Polyglotta Africana* (1854).

Oyelaran (1976:1) while commenting on the standardization of Yorùbá as a language declares:

We shall normally speak of language standardization only where there are competing norms of the same language or where a norm is to be constituted out of elements of several norms or languages.

He then goes on to highlight the phonological, syntactical and lexical features of the variety to be characterised as standard. We believe that since norms of the same language are competing for standardization then they must, first of all, be occupying the same language stratification before questing for the so-called standardization. However, apart from linguistic plausibility, there are other strong factors completely outside language analysis that aid the choice of norm. The Òyọ dialect, out of the varieties of Yorùbá that eventually became the standardized norm of the language, is a reference point. As extensive as the numerous literatures on the Yorùbá language (either textuality or orality) even since 1819 when Bowdich published the numerals he collected in Ashanti two years earlier, dialect is still the thematic approach of learning the language. The advent of modern linguistic analysis based on diverse theoretical frameworks does not, in the least, change this situation.

3. The Pedagogies

The Òyọ dialect is the foundation of the Yorùbá language standardization. That is to say, a dialect is being utilized to teach the language in schools. Should we view the language as “a lect within the cluster, then Ede-Yorùbá will be a dialect” (following Capo: 1980) corroborating what we refer to as learning a “dialect” by using a dialect. However if only one dialect is involved, may be because such is believed to be the most prestigious (whereas this is in sharp contrast to the claims of Raven (1971:42) that “no dialect is simply good or bad in itself: its prestige comes from the prestige of those who use it”) the choice of Òyọ variety for the standardization will be well accounted for. But we discovered

that several varieties of the language are richly involved, each of them having definite phonological, syntactical as well as lexical inputs in the well-formedness of the language. So, every dialectal varieties of Yorùbá as a language¹ are in themselves a legitimate form of the language. The validity of each of them as a means of human communication among the Yorùbá race, and “as a language spoken in the southwest of Nigeria, in east and central Dahomey and in isolated pockets in the rest of Dahomey and in Togo”, cannot be overemphasised (Oyelaran 1976: 1-2).

The linguistic peculiarities of these varieties are detected in the aspects of phonology and grammar. Linguistic works to be cited as references are many buttressing the notion that the applicability of Yorùbá dialectal findings is tremendously helping scholars in reappraising the grammar of the so-called standard language. Hence, the Òyó dialect fails to capture a general and wider acceptable linguistic analysis. Scholars of the Yorùbá language are now paying greater attention to the dialects of the language largely to deduce what new things these dialects may teach us about the language.

Awobuluyi (1992:1-79) realises the importance of learning the Yorùbá language by examining its dialects. He discovers Homonymy Avoidance Principle which is peculiar to the contemporary standard Yorùbá but which dialects like Òndó, Ìkálẹ̀ and Ìlájẹ highly tolerate. Hence, they innovate a “device of the low-to-mid tone change for contrasting their utterances”. Again, when disputing the forms of the second person singular subject pronoun which Fresco (1970) claims appears as either **wọ** or **ọ** in standard Yorùbá, Awobuluyi (1992:17) has to cite the Ìjùmú dialect utterances which has **wọ** as the underlying form, and which is clear and closer to the long pronoun **iwọ** used in standard Yorùbá. While radically breaking with tradition on the claim that the third person singular object pronoun “has a distinct form of its own in the shape of the vowel /i/. Awobuluyi (1992:19) again delve into data analysis from the Òndó dialect where the pronoun “has one single form **un**”. Awobuluyi realises the complementary status of the standard Yorùbá and its various dialects, he admits: “they had earlier had a common stage”.

Similarly, in his phonological analysis of the standard variety in dialectological perspective, Awobuluyi (1992: 44) opines that:

... very many rules of grammar which in popular belief apply throughout the Yorùbá speaking area actually turn out to be confined to only some of the varieties of the language.

One of such rules is vowel elision. We should not forget that such rules are largely based on what are obtained in the Òyó variety of the language. This again shows that since the so-called standardization, learning the Yorùbá language has underlyingly been the learning of the Òyó variety i.e. learning a language by using a dialect. The unpredictability that operates in the vowel elision of the standard Yorùbá makes Awobuluyi (1992:45) to discover that this well-known phonological phenomenon (vowel elision) is, to a very large extent, untrue. At least in dialects like Ìlájẹ and Itsekiri, “vowel elision behaves for the most part in a fully predictable manner”.

On vowel coalescence, Awobuluyi (1992:47) makes it clear that earlier works in the Yorùbá language had given it wrong impressions. Again we should not be unmindful of the fact that these “earlier works” are based largely on what are obtained in the Òyó variety of the language. Perhaps if recent data from different dialects prove otherwise, it is because the Yorùbá language has been vigorously learnt principally by learning the Òyó variety. This is what Awobuluyi says precisely:

Data gathered from different dialect now teach us several new lessons concerning the nature and incidence of the phenomenon in the Yorùbá language. Earlier works give the distinct impression that the only variety of the phenomenon found in the language is the one exemplified by: *ibi-ìjẹ* - *ibùjẹ* (manger) *dá-ọpẹ* - *dupe* (give thanks).

If truly all the earlier impressions on most aspects of the Yorùbá language are questioned by data from many different dialects of the same language, it is high time we started re-appraising the grammar of the language by taking cognizance of the other dialectal inputs. This will be achieved by upholding the fact that every dialect is in itself a legitimate form of the language. Meanwhile, scholarly works to be cited as far as buttressing various dialectal inputs in the Yorùbá language are numerous: Awobuluyi (1992), Bamgbose (1990: 65-70), Oyelaran (1978:624-651), Adewole (1991:32-46), etc. From these, it has now been established that both the standard and the dialect grammars are co-existing.

4. The Yorùbá Standardized Clusters

If the standard Yorùbá and its various dialects are in complementary and their grammars now co-exist, then there must be the need for a more structured approach to the Yorùbá language teaching and learning. This is quite inevitable because further linguistic hypotheses which have the so-called standard Yorùbá as the base, will only uphold confinement to some of the varieties of the language. Earlier overall approach to grammatical analysis of the language now reveals nothing but a parochial approach based on just a variety. We agree with Edwards (1989:318) that introducing dialects in the classrooms will be seen as an approach designed to reject existing knowledge. He says:

The use of dialect in the classroom can be seen as a traditional prop in the acquisition of the standard, which remains none the less the primary educational target. The emphasis has therefore changed exclusive attention on the standard as part of a much larger linguistic repertoire.

Introducing the grammar of any of the numerous dialects of the Yorùbá language where the standard has previously been used, will not only be extremely complex and difficult, its awareness will also be catastrophic in a geographical region like Nigeria where there are competing languages to be tagged as the formal or national language. None-the-less, what do we call standard Yorùbá? Does it not tantamount to “standard” Òyó variety of the language? Are we not only helping other speakers of the various dialects of Yorùbá to

acquire the “standard” Ọ̀yọ́ variety? If otherwise, there must be a re-appraisal; hence the so-called standard Yorùbá will not only be a “koine” but the whole exercise would be seen as a linguistic prejudice. This is so because learning the Yorùbá language as depicted by various dialectal researches, is as well learning a variety of the language.

Should scholars decide to remove any trace of linguistic prejudice in the grammatical and phonological analysis of the Yorùbá language (even in other aspects of the language cf. Fabunmi (1998), then any dialectal findings which eventually prove the existing analysis otherwise, linguistically raise such norm as contributing to the standardization. Therefore, the dialect in question is now distinct, prestigious, and regarded as a unique and legitimate form of the Yorùbá language. The result of such dialectal elevation is not far-fetched; contrary to Capo’s (1980) deduction, there will be what we call the “standardized clusters” of the language. The Ọ̀yọ́ variety will also be a part of the standardized clusters but never the “most prestigious”. The variety that has distinctive features that will teach us “several new lessons” about the grammar of the language, will be considered as having equal status. The speakers of such dialect are no more helped to acquire the standard language but they are also helping towards the well-formedness of the language.

5. Our Data ease

The corpora for this study are drawn largely from results of the Senior School Certificate Examination on Yorùbá; a subject taken by students of some selected secondary schools in Ilé-Ifẹ̀. Ilé-Ifẹ̀ is classified among the cities in the central part of Yorùbá land: the town is also popularly referred to as the cradle of the Yorùbá race. This could validate our corpus as the conglomeration of various dialects spoken in all parts of the land.

Since the inception of the new educational system of 6-3-3-4 in Nigerian schools, Yorùbá language is one of the three Nigerian languages which are compulsory subjects to be offered during the Senior School Certificate Examination. In order to be able to expound our claims i.e. regarding the so-called standard Yorùbá language as a dialect (Ọ̀yọ́) used in learning the language, we need to evaluate the academic performance of both the Yorùbá language teachers and their students. To what, extent do the students from the Ọ̀yọ́ variety and their counterparts from other dialectal areas, excel in this Senior School Certificate Examination?

6. Data Analysis

We administered copies of questionnaire on about four hundred and eleven students from six secondary schools in Ilé-Ifẹ̀². This include their Yorùbá language teachers numbering about twenty-one. The major information we needed was to ascertain the dialectal area each of them (their teachers inclusive) belong to vis-à-vis their S.S.C.E. results in their S.S.C.E. results in Yorùbá language. Although some of them were initially confused about their dialectal areas, we were able to put them through after disclosing their towns or cities to us. This therefore formed the most important part on the questionnaire. Tables one, two, three and four below are the grand summary of our findings:

Table I:

S/NO.	Schools	ST ³	T	EX	VG	G	RESULTS ⁴	
							P	W
1.	Moremi	82	4	67	12	3	-	-
2.	Oluorogbo	76	3	-	-	48	27	1
3.	Oduduwa	79	4	-	37	3	8	-
4.	Urban-day	57	3	-	7	41	7	2
5.	Ifẹ Girls	63	3	51	11	1	-	-
6.	St. David	54	4	-	-	46	7	1
	Total	411	21	118	67	173	49	4

Table II:

S/NO.	Dialects	ST	T	EX	VG	G	RESULTS	
							P	W ⁵
1.	Ifẹ	200	7	17	26	113	41	3
2.	Ọyọ	118	7	78	31	9	0	0
3.	Ìjèsà	58	3	9	5	39	4	1
4.	Èkìtì	6	2	3	1	1	1	0
5.	Ijebu	6	0	2	2	2	0	0
6.	Ìgbómìnà	6	0	2	0	3	1	0
7.	Egba	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
8.	Modakeke	16	1	7	2	5	2	0
9.	Òndó	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	411	21	118	67	173	49	04

Table III:

S/N	Schools Number of Students										
	Dialects	Ifẹ	Ọyọ	Ìjèsà	Èkìtì	Ijebu	Igbom	Egba	Modak	Òndo	Total
1.	Moremi	31	34	10	4	-	3	-	-	-	82
2.	Oluorogbo	53	18	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	76
3.	Oduduwa	37	19	23	-	-	-	-	-	-	79
4.	Urban-day	20	6	11	-	4	-	-	16	-	57
5.	Ifẹ Girls	21	37	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	63
6.	St. David	38	4	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	54
	Total	200	118	58	6	6	6	1	16	0	411

Table IV:

S/NO.	Schools Number of Teachers							
	Dialects	Ifẹ	Ọyọ	Ìjèsà	Èkìtì	Modak	Òndó	Total
1.	Moremi	1	3	-	-	-	-	4
2.	Oluorogbo	2	-	1	-	-	-	3
3.	Oduduwa	2	-	1	1	-	-	4
4.	Urban-day	1	1	-	-	1	-	3
5.	Ifẹ Girls	-	2	-	-	-	1	3
6.	St. David	1	1	1	1	-	-	4
	Total	7	7	3	2	1	1	21

A brief explanation of the contents on Tables I-IV are these: Table 1 explains the number of students that sat for the examination in each school, 411 in all. We also discovered the number of Yorùbá language teachers in these schools i.e. 21. Mòrèmi and Ifẹ Girls produce the highest number of students that got grades of A1-A2 (i.e. Ex); while Olúorogbo and Urban-day produce the three students with the woeful results (i.e. W). Again, we deduced that out of the total 411 students, about 53 of them failed the examination i.e. the number in P and W grades. Table II tells us the number of the students and their teachers from each dialect vis-à-vis their results. For instance Ifẹ has the highest number of students (200) but only 17 of them got Ex grade, whereas Èkìtì dialect is spoken by just 6 students and three of them got the same Ex grade, none of them got grade W but three of Ifẹ students got it. Table III further breaks the number of students and teachers per dialect in each school down, it is exemplary to Table II. Similarly Table IV shows the number of teachers from various dialect in each of these schools. For instance, despite the fact that the schools are located in Ilé-Ifẹ, yet the Òyó dialect could boast of the same number of teachers with the Ifẹ dialect.

5.2 Findings

It can be deciphered from Table I that out of the 411 students that sat for the examination, only 118 got an excellent grade. The rest 293 candidates ranged between VG and W grades. What is more interesting here is that only two schools (Mòrèmi and Ifẹ Girls)) produced all the candidates that excelled, the reasons behind this need to be examined. In the first instance, it was discovered that Mòrèmi has four Yorùbá language teachers while Ifẹ Girls has three. However, the number of Yorùbá language teachers in the two schools need no special emphasis because other schools like Odùduwà, St. David and Oluorogbo boast of the same number of Yorùbá language teachers. Meanwhile, what is responsible for the best results of both Mòrèmi and Ifẹ Girls is depicted glaringly on Table IV. Here we find out that out of the four Yorùbá language teachers in Mòrèmi, three of them are from the same Òyó dialect area. Similarly two of the three Yorùbá language teachers in Ifẹ Girls speak the same Òyó variety of the language. This discovery corroborates our assertion that the teachers from these schools will find impacting the knowledge of the language on their students less strenuous because:

- (i) they are the genuine native speakers of the Òyó variety of the language which is regarded as the standardized form of the language;
- (ii) the medium of expression of impacting the knowledge of the language is still largely the same Òyó variety which, again, is the foundation of the language standardization.

Another major factor that contributed to the excellent performances of the students from these two schools is again seen on the table II. The total number of candidates that sat for the examination from Mòrèmi is 82. Out of these, 34 are students from the Òyó dialect, followed by 31 candidates who hail from the Ifẹ dialect area of the language. The same thing is observed in Ifẹ Girls where the Òyó variety has the highest number of 37

candidates. What could be deduced from this added factor is not far-fetched. For those students in question, they are supposed to learn a language but they end up learning a dialect (Yorùbá is viewed as a lect within the cluster) which happens to be their own dialect, the medium of instruction is still through their local dialect (their teachers are using and speaking the same Ọ̀yọ́ variety). This discovery negates the thematic approach of sociolinguistics which is developed within the framework of learning a language by using a language, not learning a language by using a dialect.

Moreover, what is accountable for the not-so-good performances of other candidates that come from other dialect areas of the language? At least, 53 of them did not get the required 50% in their results, 4 of them even got woeful results (cf. Table I and II). We can opine that those candidates in this category are the ones who actually face the challenges of learning a language by using a dialect. This is so because, in the process of acquiring this “standardized” variety of the language, they must drop or completely put aside their own varieties. This, no doubt, adversely affects their level of comprehension and consequently dictate their academic results. Ìjẹ̀sà dialect speakers are an appropriate example of this, as seen on Table II where 44 out of 58 of them got an average results.

As Yorùbá language scholars, we observe that the bulk of the problem that will confront these students in the S.S.C. Examination on Yorùbá language and literature is in the linguistics aspect like the Yorùbá orthography, semantics, comprehension and compositions. For instance, most of the recommended Yorùbá textbooks for the examination are written in the so-called standard Yorùbá. Hence, only those students from the Ọ̀yọ́ variety, on which the standardization is based, will not encounter arduous difficulties in their studies.

Students are learning, so they can cope with this learning process. But for the teachers of the Yorùbá language that hail from different dialectal areas aside from Ọ̀yọ́, it is a little bit unadjustable. Dropping or putting aside their own dialects while teaching is a task that is not completely attainable (cf. Tables I and IV). Even if they try not to teach the language by using their local dialects, it is not because of the learning procedures, it is largely due to other factors which are outside linguistic framework like educational “civilization”. For instance if speaking vernacular is no more prohibited in schools, speaking one’s local dialect in schools especially while teaching is considered “barbaric”; Yet no dialect is simply good or bad in itself.

6. Conclusion

This study has attempted an exposition of a thematic approach of sociolinguistics: learning a language by using a language. This is in contradistinction to what is obtainable in the analysis of the Yorùbá language acquisition and learning device: learning a language by using a dialect. Although the Ọ̀yọ́ dialect is the foundation of the Yorùbá language standardization, this study upholds the hypothesis of the Polylectar Grammar which viewed Yorùbá as a lect which has its distinctive characteristics. Accordingly, every dialectal entity of the language is in itself a legitimate form of the language. Corpora examined for the study demonstrated that only students that come from the Ọ̀yọ́ variety excelled considerably in Yorùbá as a subject taken during the S.S.C. Examination. For

them, it is their dialect that is used to teach them their dialect, no wonder it is regarded as the most prestigious dialect and the standard of the whole area. Despite this linguistic prejudice, this study reveals that both the standard and the dialect grammars of the language are co-existing. Then there must be a re-appraisal. Actually, the present study hopes to contribute to the hypothesis that learning the Yorùbá language is as well learning a variety of the language.

Notes

1. Among the dialectal areas of the Yorùbá language are: Òyó, Ìbàdàn, Ègbá, Òhòrí-Ìfòhìn, Òkè-ògùn, Kétu, Òndó, Òwò, Ìjèbú, Ìkálè, Ìjàjé, Ìjèsà, Èkitì, Ìgbómìnà, Ìgbòlò, Qwóro, Ègbé, etc, etc.
2. The full names of the selected secondary schools are:
 - i) Mọ̀rèmi High School, OAU, Ilé-Ifẹ̀.
 - ii) Olúorogbo High School, Ilé-Ifẹ̀.
 - iii) Odùduwa College, Ilé-Ifẹ̀.
 - iv) Urban-day Grammar School, Ilé-Ifẹ̀.
 - v) Ifẹ̀ Girls High School, Ilé-Ifẹ̀.
 - vi) St. David Secondary School, Ilé-Ifẹ̀.
3. The meanings of the codes used on the tables are:

S/N	-	Serial Number
ST	-	Students
T	-	Teachers
Ex	-	Excellent
VG	-	Very Good
G	-	Good
P	-	Poor
W	-	Woeful.
3. We administered the questionnaire when these S.S.C.III students were preparing for the S.S.C. Examination. We went back to obtain their results which were released later.
4. The categorizations of the S.S.C.E. result grades are ours. For example we categorise A1 and A2 under Excellent, A3 and C4 as Very Good, C5 and C6 under Good, P7 and P8 as Poor, and F9 as a woeful result.

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34. Some Reading Disabilities among JSS Students

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The influence of Television notwithstanding, reading in our generation is becoming increasingly important. The value of reading is so enormous that in our society nowadays, time, efforts and money are being devoted towards improving reading. Some professional bodies and learned societies have engrossed themselves in workshops, seminars and conferences aimed at promoting reading, and consequently eradicating illiteracy. However, there are basic factors that affect growth in reading and these factors in their adverse, cause disabilities among young readers. This paper identifies and discusses the various disabilities in oral and silent reading among junior secondary school students, and concludes with suggestive remedial practices for both the learner and the teacher.

Introduction

A substantial percentage of the street hawkers and those involved in manual jobs are of the school going age. Such have got used to their hand to mouth means of survival that they no longer give thought to the future. It is not disputable that one of the major reasons these children left school was financial constraints or lack of sponsorship. As a salvage measure to this situation, Government has introduced free education (UBE programme) to a certain level; this has raised hope for those whose problems hinge on finance.

Gerhad (1981) asserts “reading is not a simple matter”, a point that reveals another factor that had shown some other children the way out of the school gate.

The crux of the matter is how would this latter problem be solved? What hope could be given to a drop out whose problem was a classroom factor and how would future occurrence be forestalled? These questions are very imperative given that reading is a stimulus to formal learning; ‘a key to much of the learnings that will come later...’ (Minovi, 1976:27). If reading means this much, it should be properly taught, otherwise children when they can no longer cope with the ‘impossible’ task of reading may get frustrated and quit reading.

The Concept of Reading

Many scholars have emerged with varied conceptions of reading. For instance, reading has been mystified by (Dellman et al 1974) as:

- a) a telescope: because through it we can look at the distant stars and speculate about life on them.
- b) a microscope: because through it we can not only examine chromozones and the atoms but also infer those minute particles that even the finest lenses cannot reveal.

- c) a never ending wide – screen film on which the human pageant passes in review. It is still the only time machine that can recreate the events of the past and open up the vistas of the future. Primitive man calls reading magic and he is right.

Coming nearer home, Umolu and Oyetunde (1991) see reading as simply “a dialogue or communication between the author and the reader via the medium of print”. This implies that reading is not a passive act. It involves making meaning out of a ‘mass of impression’ represented in various text aspects (Gerhad 1981). It is seen also as ‘a process of communication through which formal learning takes place’ (James 1984). Reading requires understanding of the thought behind or beyond the print. However a scholar views reading, comprehension or understanding remains the centre of the matter.

The Process of Reading

It is surprising to many people to learn that the rhythmical travels of the eyes from left to right over a page of print is not automatic, but a skill that has to be learnt. The eyes systematically move, stop, move, stop and move along the line of writing and this movement is called *saccadelic movement*.

The stops the eyes make between the saccadelic movements are known as *fixation* and it is during these fixations that reading takes place. The part of the line the reader perceives at a fixation is called *perception span*. Dellman et al. (1974) say that fixation time constitutes over 90% of the time spent reading, while the movement of the eyes from one fixation to another accounts for less than 10% of the time. The length of the perception span and the number of fixations per line are determined by the difficulty of the text, the readers’ purpose and his level of efficiency.

However, during reading, time comes when the reader makes a backward movement from a point of fixation to the previously read. This backward movement is called *regression*. Certain factors negative and positive can account for regression ranging from poor vision, difficulty of material, attempt to grasp a point, i.e. effort to reinforce the message and failure to imbibe the left to right orientation in reading. This is very important because a Chinese child learns to read from top to bottom of the page, a Persian child from right to left. In our own context, a child must be taught to cultivate the left to right eye movement as a habit. “Failure to do this accounts for why poor readers reverse letters in certain words” (op. sit Minovi, 24).

The Value of Reading

The value of reading is paramount in our existence in the society. In spite of competing mass media, reading in our space age is becoming increasingly important. As our society keeps transforming to a technological one, more and more types of employment are requiring skills in reading. Again, as long as competition among nations is based to a large extent on technological achievements, there will be a premium in knowledge that can best be attained through reading (Dellman et al. 1974). The printed pages are projected to reach millions of people still untouched by the electronics and for those who cannot take advantage of the newer devices, reading still serves a unique purposes. They further

acknowledged the powerful essence of reading when they asset “if all events of 100 years were destroyed and only book left, man will still be man”.

In agreement with this, Minovi (1976:11) declared: Despite the influence of television, we still live in what has been called ‘a print culture’. The insurmountable value of reading has aroused public interest to the extent that there is now a considerable concern in many countries including Nigeria about whether or not a child is learning to read or is reading to learn. Adults and parents are making painstaking efforts in ensuring that their children are able to read efficiently.

The Teacher and Reading

When analyzing the reason for the prevalent non-reading culture among children, various agreements emerged. Among the factors blamed are Television which is argued to erode reading time, exchanges communication through the print with visual communication and damage eyesight. Some others blame it on general lack of discipline in today’s schools and unnecessary expansion of the primary school curricular to the detriment of the basic skills. Yet others vocal enough blame it on shortage of teachers, too many poor teachers, lack of parental guidance and the permissive society. But Ramsey (1962) summarized “given a good teacher, other factors in teaching and reading tend to pale into insignificance”. This line of thought has given more relevance to the teacher factor. This, in essence, has increased and made more strategic the role of the reading teacher.

For instance, Moyle in Minovi reinforcing Ramsey says;

Children generally will neither begin to learn to read nor proceed to acquire the necessary reading skills if left to their own devices... No matter how rich the reading environment, they must be given systematic instruction.

Obah (1980) observes that “good reading habits are formed with regular application of good reading skills and attitudes”. Reiterating the importance of teaching reading, Blackie (1967) says in Minovi,

... traditionally, one of the first task of the infant schools is to teach children to read. It is still quite rightly, a major pre-occupation, since reading is a key to much of the learning that will come later....

If teaching of reading does not receive the magnitude of attention it requires in the infant school, the effect is longlasting. Hence (Minovi: 11) already reports;

Secondary school teachers complain frequently that the basic skills – what used to be known as the three Rs – are not being properly taught in the primary schools; so that 11 and 12-year olds are arriving at their comprehensive schools or even grammar schools without the foundations for further learning.

This imbalance in the teaching of reading has given rise to the shortcomings manifested.

Reading Disabilities Associated with Silent Reading:

Constant Fixation

Having discussed the process of reading earlier, it is believed that we are familiar with the term fixation. An efficient reader makes less and brief fixations because he may fully recognize two, three or even more words in one glance, while a child makes many fixations per line at first – at least one for each word and his fixations per line decreases as proficiency increases. This is very normal. However, it is observed that a lot of students at JSS level make too many and constant fixations while reading. This is a disability that may arise from poor vision, low concentration and inability to recognize words, etc. This should be diagnosed properly to proffer solutions.

Aimless or Reckless Regression

By regression is meant backwards movement of the eyes to a previously read word, sentence or paragraph. While reading, few regressions could be done to coordinate meanings. This implies that regression could be positive. When regression is frequent and mechanical it becomes a reading disability. A reader who makes aimless regression may be deficient in the left to right movement of the eyes on the print, word recognition or visual defect. Aimless regression impedes comprehension and should be checked.

Lip Movement

Lip movement is a reading disability prominent among primary and JSS students. Here the reader is conscious of the letters and the words being read and as such makes a subconscious articulation while reading.

Alternating Binocular and Monocular Reading

A good number of pupils and students have been frustrated, and consequently quit reading because of poor eyesight. However, visual defect is not necessarily the chief cause of reading disability because it is not peculiar to poor readers. Anybody who needs visual correction will certainly read better when effected. The issue of binocular vision entails the two eyes receiving the image of an object at the same time in the process of perception which does not happen with children with short-sight, long sight or astigmatism. Children with such defects in other words are monocular vision. This being the case, if an individual ignores the image received with one of the eyes and sees with one eye at a time, it means that the individual has monocular vision not associated with visual defect but more of a habit. In other cases, the individual may form the habit of changing or alternating between one eye and the other; and in yet another case may alternate between using one eye at a time and using the two eyes. In this regard, the individual alternates between monocular and binocular reading. This is reading habit that should be given attention.

Inappropriate Reading Rate

If a student fails to diversify, his reading rates to suit the purpose of reading, time available and the difficulty level of the material being read, he is most likely to employ too slow or too fast a rate and both have severe implications on comprehension.

Reading Disabilities Associated with Oral Reading:**Poor Articulation**

This is usually traced to home and social environment owing to poor models. This disability manifests in poor pronunciation and enunciation resulting in stuttering and stammering at times.

Delay This is also observable during oral reading. Here the reader hesitates for a long time before pronouncing a word. He either makes silent or subconscious practices before he pronounces or he may go blank while expecting help.

Exchange Here the reader substitutes the exact word on the page with a synonym or he paraphrases.

Dropping The reader in this case omits the word in the passage completely. This could be a defence mechanism or caused by a poor vision.

Slotting This is a disability that manifests when the reader inserts a word that was not originally in the passage.

Remedial Practices

A good number of factors affect growth in reading. One of such factors is physical which borders on visual, hearing and speech. It is obvious that any child who has an impairment on any of the three will not be able to read. For instance, a child with visual defect will find it difficult to read, a child with hearing defect may find it difficult to read, because he cannot distinguish sounds he did not perceive. Also if a child has problems with articulation not necessarily dumbness, he may be withdrawn from reading. Therefore, it is recommended that Government establishes an outfit in various central areas where teachers or parents could visit to establish the visual, hearing status of their students/pupils/wards. This is because, if the visual, hearing and speech problems of the children are corrected or alleviated, there will be a booster in their reading programme/culture, because some of the stuttering, stammering, delay, substitutions, dropping, slotting they do may have been ensued from the physical factor.

- If the difficulty level of the text is high, the child may have to go back constantly and this may deter his development. To curb aimless or reckless regression, simply running a finger along the line in the right direction can help the beginner as long as the level of difficulty is right.

Also in the interest of those reading to learn, authors and publishers are enjoined to endeavour to match the content of their texts with the mental level of the children/readers and also improve on the character of the prints.

- Words are formed by letters, sentences by words and proper syntactic arrangements of these words in the sentences produces the right meaning. But teachers should guide the

students to appreciate that attempt to recognize both letters and words in the sentences when reading for meaning is not fruitful.

The fact remains that when reading for letter recognition or word recognition, you won't find meaning and when reading for meaning, little or no attention should be paid to recognizing the letters in the words and words in the sentences, otherwise the purpose would be forgotten, concentration marred and comprehension lost. It is just like listening to the news. If your interest is the accent of the caster, you will not assimilate the news itself, but if your interest is in the news, you will not appreciate the accent of the newscaster. If the teacher gets the students to understand this, the problem of constant fixation would be pushed behind.

- Students can be guided to diversify their reading rates to suit the purpose of reading, time available, quantity of material and difficulty level of the material being read.

This can be achieved through drills on different reading strategies like survey reading, speed reading, phrase reading, close reading, inquiry reading, critical reading and aesthetic reading. Each of these reading strategies has a special speed rate measured in number of words per minute. Each has a unique method employed to get the information required from the text. The drills can be in form of locating a given word within a time frame, getting the number of times a given word appears in a given text, reading to get the theme and the supporting ideas.

If such drills are employed by the teacher, the issue of alternating binocular and monocular reading and that of inappropriate reading rate will be handled. The fact so important to mention is that drills on the various reading strategies will help the students not only to become fast readers, but also have the competence to vary their rates accordingly.

- The issue of lip movement can be tackled through counselling by the teacher. Omojuwa's (1985) study shows that "most teachers lack necessary training and interest required of a successful reading teacher". Also Abiri (1985) said that an ill-equipped teacher cannot impart a skill he does not possess and as such a reading programme under such a teacher suffers. This he emphasized when he stated: Most teachers do not have the inclination or experimental background to reflect appropriately on their own methods", and teachers so affected create problems rather than offer solutions to the reading problems of their students. Teachers should therefore be made aware of their vital influence on their students, especially in their reading habit. They influence their students significantly by their own example and by the procedure they adopt in teaching reading.

For the above reasons, it is recommended that seminars and workshops be organized for teachers at primary and secondary school levels to enhance their competence in reading and teaching of reading.

Conclusion

From studies so far conducted, it is obvious that the bulk of the job on improving reading lies on the teacher. However, others such as parents and government should contribute their quotas to complement the efforts of the teachers in ensuring that pupils and students go through their compulsory task of reading with ease, and this will help to curb the harmful norm of school dropping.

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35. Primary Education in the Mother-tongue in Nigeria: Problems & Prospects

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The paper focused on the issue of mother-tongue in primary education. It discusses the importance of the mother-tongue in education, i.e. advantages of using the mother-tongue in education. There is also a discussion of the Nigeria experience and the problems associated with the use of mother-tongue in education. Finally suggestions are proffered to harness the prospects of the use of the mother-tongue in primary education bearing in mind the problems.

Introduction

In every society, the education of its citizens (which could either be formal or informal) is of great importance. More emphasis, however, should be laid on the education of the young ones since they are the future leaders. These young ones must therefore be given the education that will be relevant to them and to the society in which they live.

The foundation for every formal education is the primary education. According to the National Policy on Education (1981), the primary level is the key to the success or failure of the whole education system since the education system itself is built on it.

It follows that to build a good foundation, the children in the primary school have to be taught in a language that they can easily identify with and understand without much difficulty. This brings us to the issue of using the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction.

The paper will focus on the advantages of using the mother-tongue in primary education, problems associated with it and the prospects in Nigeria.

What is Primary Education?

According to the *National Policy on Education* (1981:12), primary education refers to “education given in an institution for children aged normally 6 to 11 above”. The policy states the general objectives of primary education as follows:

- a. the inculcation of permanent literacy and numeracy, and the ability to communicate effectively;
- b. the laying of a sound basis for scientific and reflective thinking;
- c. citizenship education as a basis for effective partnership in and contribution to the life of the society;
- d. character and moral training and the development of sound attitudes;
- e. developing in the child the ability to adapt to his changing environment;
- f. giving the child opportunities for developing manipulative skills that will enable him to function effectively in the society within the limits of his capacity;

- g. providing basic tools for further educational advancement, including preparation for trades and crafts of the locality.

What is the Mother-tongue?

The mother-tongue is the first language acquired by the child. A child grows up with it naturally, that is, it is learned in a natural setting. Whatever a child learns in this language does not require much effort to understand on his part. According to Obanya (1985:19) the child's mother-tongue is the child's first language, "the one in which he feels most at home" and which he uses most of the time.

In this paper, in addition to the above, mother-tongue refers to any language indigenous to Nigeria (Olayemi, 1991).

Primary Education in Mother-tongue

This paper focuses on the use of the mother-tongue throughout the duration of primary education. This means that it is used as a medium of instruction and at the same time taught as a subject. It should be taught as a subject for the following reasons as put forward by Obanya (1985:21):

- a. To equip the learner with the essential elements of the basic skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing which are necessary for communication within the language community.
- b. To give the individual learner adequate practice in the standard form of the language to enable him to communicate easily with other users of the widely accepted variety of the languages;
- c. To equip the learner with the skills of reading at a level that should enable him to use the language as a means of acquiring information and of learning in the broadest sense of the term;
- d. To give the learner a deep insight into the working of his language (e.g.) its grammar, vocabulary and sound system;
- e. To open to the learner the cultural wealth of the language as embodied in its folklores, music, dance, theatre, oral and written literature and so on;
- f. To awaken in the learner a love for the study of the mother-tongue.

Importance of the Mother-tongue

On the importance of the mother-tongue generally, Awoniyi (1983:139) has this to say:

- a. The L1 (mother-tongue) provides the conceptual substance on which the child builds new thought.
- b. it is the language through which the child, early in life, learns to organize his environment, and relate himself to it. This fundamental experience outlives any other.
- c. The L1 is closely interwoven with the culture of the speakers.
- d. The L1 is closely related to the personality of the child.

Importance of the Mother-tongue as a Medium of Education

The mother-tongue plays a crucial role in education of the child, especially in the early years. According to Fafunwa et al. (eds.) (1989), the first twelve years are very crucial in a child's development. It is during this period that attitudes and aptitudes are developed. It is also during this period that the child needs to be cared for diligently in terms of his mental, emotional and social development. They continue that:

... if the Nigerian child is to be encouraged from the start to develop curiosity, manipulative ability, spontaneous flexibility, initiative, industry, manual dexterity, mechanical comprehension and the coordination of hand and eye, he should acquire these skills and attitudes through the mother-tongue as the medium of education, which after all is the most natural way of learning...

The Nigerian child, when he starts school, is in a kind of confused linguistic state since he is confronted with a new language of instruction that is completely different from the one he has grown up with. This, of course, is a problem to him. So, as Fafunwa et al. (eds.) (1989:11) contend:

.... a child, if helped to lay the foundation of his future development in his own mother-tongue, will likely be in a position to build upon it in later years in another language.

UNESCO has for the past 35 years been pioneering and promoting the use of the mother-tongue as a medium of education. It has also been universally accepted that a child learns best in his mother-tongue, Fafunwa et al. (eds.) (1989).

Advantages of Using the Mother-tongue as a Medium of Education

There are a myriad of advantages in the use of the mother-tongue as a medium of education. According to Fafunwa et al. (eds.) (1989); the use of the mother-tongue in education:

- a. Makes it possible for the learner to give free reins to his thoughts and express same in creative language thus paving the way to meaningful education.
- b. Frees knowledge from the preserves of a microscopic elite that operates in a foreign tongue to the disadvantages of the majority.
- c. Offers equal opportunity to a large number of people and enables them to participate actively in national construction and reconstruction.
- d. Compels decentralization of information and ensures free, as opposed to controlled, media.
- e. Gives a greater number of people greater access to education and personal development, so that the rural population can learn agriculture, improved business methods, etc.

- f. Provides greater opportunity for the advice and consent of a large number of groups and thus makes a better defense for the democratic process.
- g. Promotes an interactive and interdependent society.

According to Chumbow (1991:63), the mother-tongue:

- a. Plays an important part in moulding the child's early concepts.
- b. Is a means by which orientation in the cultural environment is made.
- c. Enhances continuity in the child's learning process and therefore maximizes his intellectual development.

Olayemi (1991:106), based on a research carried out, enumerated the following as advantages of the mother-tongue in education:

- a. Easier and better understanding leading to higher retention rate occur when the mother-tongue is used in teaching and learning.
- b. There is also a heightened confidence and interest of the learner as learning in school is seen as a continuum of some of the home activities.
- c. Psychologically, both teacher and students are satisfied. Emotional problems are minimal as concepts are explained using illustrations drawn from or close to one's experiences.
- d. Retention rate is higher because the learning situation is more natural and education is seen and accepted as a part of growth and of the culture of the society.
- e. Code – shifting is also relegated to the background.
- f. Reduction to zero level of alienation from one's culture.

According to Nwezeh (2002:45); the mother-tongue plays a big role in the traditional informal education. As children observe the techniques and skills as well as the habits of their elders and parents, systematic instruction in the local languages is given. Stories, songs, myths, legends, dancing, specific instructions are combined to stimulate children's emotions, quicken their perception and guide them as they explore, exploit and interpret their natural environment.

Existing Practice in Nigeria

The situation of the mother-tongue in education is far from ideal in Nigeria. The *National Policy on Education* (1981) states that:

Government will see to it that the medium of instruction in the primary school is initially the mother-tongue or the language of the immediate community and at a later stage English.

Before this present policy, the first time the importance of the vernacular in education was acknowledged in Nigeria was a result of the 1925 memorandum on Education in British

colonial territories. This is expressly acknowledged by Fafunwa et al. (eds.) 1989) in the following statement: “Thus for the first time in the history of western education in Nigeria, the colonial government officially approved the use of the mother-tongue in education”. As a result, the mother-tongue began to be used actively as both a medium of instruction and as a subject for the first two or three classes at the primary education level. Of course, this continued for some time. But then, ironically the pupils at the end of the sixth class had to take an examination in English, that is, all subjects will be taken in English and not in the vernacular.

At present, it is doubtful whether children are really being taught in the vernacular. Every state does what it deems fit. This is largely traced to the vagueness of the statement in the policy. The government does not state how it will “see to it” and at what level English should take over as a medium of instruction. Private schools do not even take that issue into consideration. They go straight to using English.

The Nigerian situation has given rise to a state of affairs which is far from desirable, that is, according to Fafunwa et al. (eds.) (1989:7).

With the switching of the medium of instruction from the mother-tongue after three years to English in the last three or four years of primary education, the average Nigerian child is usually neither proficient in his mother-tongue nor in English, thus defeating one of the primary aims of Nigerian education which is permanent literacy.

In essence, the policy, apart from being implemented haphazardly, still needs some modification. This situation can, however, be attributed to certain problems discussed below.

Problems

Several problems have beset the country in terms of using the mother-tongue in education. Awoniyi (1983:149) enumerates some of the problems as follow:

- a. Linguistic diversity
- b. Unsatisfactory standard of proficiency of many teachers of L1 and L2.
- c. Many of the languages have not been adequately analysed, no comprehensive literature on them.
- d. L1 curriculum has not been comprehensively revised to bring it up to date.
- e. National policy on education changes from time to time so that long policy and planning becomes impossible.
- f. Political instability is accompanied by changes in policy whenever the incumbent ruler is overthrown.
- g. Teacher training colleges have not expanded sufficiently enough to meet the challenges of primary or secondary education.
- h. Curriculums of these colleges are not adequately geared towards preparing stable bilinguals in the schools.

- i. Confusion on the role of L1 as a medium of instruction and as a subject in the curriculum to be taught in its own right.

According to Bamgbose (1992) some of these problems are:

- a. Multiplicity of languages and problems of choice.
- b. Existence of small – group languages in which education is hardly feasible, since there are few children of school going age who speak the languages.
- c. Lack of suitable texts – in fact, several languages are yet to be reduced to writing.
- d. Linguistically mixed classes, particularly in urban areas.
- e. Lack of technical terminology for use in teaching mathematics, science and other subjects.

Other problems, according to Olayemi (1991), Awoniyi (1983), Chumbow (1990), Garba (1996), Williams (1990), Bamgbose (1991), include:

- a. Societal acceptability.
- b. Difficulty in translation.
- c. Lack of seriousness on the part of government.
- d. Lack of encouragement by government of individual efforts.
- e. Diverse interpretations of policy arising from vagueness of the policy.

Mother-tongue and the target language are not clearly delineated in their related functions.

- f. Experimentation without necessary government back up.
- g. Cost of developing materials.

Without doubt, there are problems, but problems are meant to be solved. There has to be a move. We cannot just sit and bemoan our situation. That will be of no help to us, and so we should start from somewhere.

Prospects

It is encouraging to note that the Federal Government has shown interest in the use of the mother-tongue as a medium of instruction when it states in the National Policy on Education (1981) that:

Government will see to it that the medium of instruction in the primary school is initially the mother-tongue or the language of the immediate community and, at a later stage, English (p. 13).

In fact, this also affects the pre-primary education in these words of the Policy that the government will “ensure that the medium of instruction will be principally the mother – tongue or the language of the immediate community;...”

The Government should, however, be more definite on the steps it will take to ensure that the policy is implemented. This has been the major flaw of the policy. The government can start by planning adequately to be able to implement the policy. As the saying goes, "Rome was not built in a day". So the first thing is to have a comprehensive education policy, especially in the area of language education.

There should then be a move to train teachers in the mother-tongue. Incentives should even be given for those who wish to be trained.

According to Arua (2002), teachers are the core of an improvement effort, and so attention must be focused on taking care of their welfare, both personal and professional. He continues:

At the level of course design, the teacher education programme should be designed to take care of the training competence of MT teachers. The programme should be geared towards addressing the type of competence and methodology that would optimize the acquisition of proven teaching competence (p. 3).

Iroghuma (2002:33) adds his voice to this view when he states that "the type of background a teacher has determines to a large extent his performance".

It will definitely not be viable to start with too many languages at the same time. Instead the programme should start with the languages that have developed to a certain level, in the communities in which they are spoken.

Government should encourage experimentation, and back it up legally and financially. A case in point is the Ife Primary Education Research Project. Despite the success of the project, the government has not issued any statement to the effect that it wants to adopt the same programme or not.

The objective of the project was to compare the traditional system of mixed media with a new system in which Yoruba was used as a medium of instruction for the full six years of primary education. The results showed clearly that those who were taught in Yoruba throughout the primary school did better than those who were taught in Yoruba for the first three years and in English, the last three years (Bamgbose 1991). There is also the Rivers Readers Project.

Begun in 1970, the project was designed to introduce initial literacy in about twenty languages/dialects spoken by small populations of primary school children and to use the languages/dialects as media of instruction for other subjects, except English, in the first two classes of primary education (Bamgbose 1991:89).

In spite of the level of success, the programme cannot be extended because it is not backed up by any document, and it involves a lot of cost. So the government, both federal and state, should show some interest in such projects.

There should be a harnessing of community interest and participation. Part of the success of the two projects mentioned above was attributed to the immense contribution of

the various communities after involving them. In the same vein, cultural organisations should assist in any way they can.

The *National Policy on Education* (1981) also happily brings in the concept of the “the language of the immediate community” This concept (LIC), according to Bamgbose (1992), is an important innovation designed to take care of situations where an MT may not be viable as a medium of instruction for reason of size, lack of sufficient interest on the part of speakers or a deliberate choice of a more widely – spoken language. In any case, such situations involve speakers who are bilingual in their MT as well as the LIC, with the result that no hardship is suffered as a result of the LIC being used as a medium of instruction in primary schools.

According to the policy, education in the mother-tongue should start at the pre-primary school. It may be argued that since almost all pre-primary schools are privately owned, and are therefore outside government finding and control, they cannot therefore be forced to comply with the policy. This writer disagrees. The curriculum being run by such schools is in line with the dictates of the policy. So whatever else is contained in the policy must be adhered to by them. They can be forced to comply.

Conferences, symposia, seminars, etc., should be organized to gather ideas and suggestions on how to effectively plan the various stages of the programme.

Conclusion

It has been gathered from the foregoing that teaching and learning at the primary level should be done in the mother-tongue and at the same time teach the mother-tongue. And as has been proved by the Ife Project, a good grasp of the mother-tongue is not a hindrance to the acquisition of the second language (Obanya 1985). In addition, it is not true that bilingualism begun first with the mother-tongue, results in cognitive deficits and low productivity (Chumbow 1991).

The learners should be considered when planning anything at all concerning the school; after all they constitute a vital element of a school. Definitely problems will be encountered but they are not insurmountable.

It should also be noted that having education in the mother-tongue does not mean English will be relegated to the background. This view is expressed by Bamgbose (1992) when he states that:

Our multilingual approach should continue to accord serious attention to the indigenous languages as media of primary education, without sacrificing the need for a language of wider communication such as English.

Finally, according to Chumbow (1991:66), “a good cause cannot be achieved without a cost”.

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36. The Psychology of Learning Languages by Adults

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Psychology deals essentially with such things as human development, learning, individual differences, attitudes, personality, intelligence, learning patterns and behaviour, etc., as well as with the extent to which these things are influenced by biological and environmental factors (Ikediashi 1992, Ikediashi and Iroegbu 1998, Smith 1998). Furthermore, an important aspect of human development that has been of great interest to psychologists (e.g. Skinner in Harris 1996, Ikediashi 1998a, 1998b, Smith 1998) is development of linguistic abilities of language capacity, thinking and reasoning processes and problem solving abilities. Thus, psychology plays a vital role in the understanding of the behavioural patterns of human beings, their language and communicative behaviour and learning styles. This paper examines some psychological theories to language learning, and the application of psychological principles of Language teaching to adults.

1. Introduction

The term 'adulthood' is very difficult to define. Some psychologists (e.g. Brodinsky 1980, Craig 1980) speak of the age twenty as about the starting point. They define adulthood as the period after adolescence. Tanner in Ikediashi and Iroegbu (1998), for example, describe early adulthood in terms of psychological development, such as entrance into college or marriage. Thus, most psychologists agree that the parameters of entering into adulthood are culturally and personally determined. It is generally seen as a time in human existence when one expects himself to be fully developed, mature and grown up to adult responsibilities. Such an adult in such a situation feels capable of undertaking certain definite roles, responsibilities and decisions about his life spiritually, socially, cognitively and emotionally. There are three categories of adult.

- (i) Young adult (ages twenty to forty)
- (ii) Middle adult (ages forty to sixty-five)
- (iii) And old age (age sixty-five onwards) (Smith 1998)

The adult learner may or may have never been to school, but for one reason or the other could not cope academically. According to Agulanna and Nwachukwu (2001), an adult learner most probably works as an executive in an organization, on a farm, in the home, in a shop, or in a factory and going to school is not his main occupation. Also, the adult learner could be married, has children and has the responsibility of caring for his family. It is equally possible that the adult learner may be a community leader, government worker, etc. From the above analysis, the adult learner is an adult, aging twenty years and above who has adult responsibilities and seeks to benefit from a planned learning programme.

2. Importance of Language

Language exerts a tremendous influence on human activities and progress. It is the natural medium of most communication. We communicate our thoughts and feelings through language. Language makes the inner universe of one person available or at least partly available to others. It engenders interpersonal relations, conflict resolution, general problem solving, analytical thinking, motivation, aspiration, and other attributes that make for individual and collective actualization of potentialities. We often come across an interesting and friendly foreigner whose language we cannot obviously speak, and it is during such an occasion that we realize the overwhelming importance of vocal language as a medium of expression.

According to experts (Crystal 1995, Durkin 1995, Smith 1998), language generally involves semanticity, generativity and displacement. The first deals with meaning, the second deals with creative use of principles to generate spontaneous use of sentences rather than rote memory, the third deals with its ability to describe things not only present but also past and future. The spatially remote components of spoken languages include phonology, i.e. how sounds are produced to give words and sentences. Thus, a prefix, a suffix, an antonym, etc., may give us a lot of information about a given word context. Syntax determines how morphemes combined to make correct sentences grammatically speaking. Its technicalities can vary from language to language. Semantics deals with the expression of meaning. Meaning can be a complex subtle essence, sometimes and it is here that culture, technology and other multivariate factors are involved. From the foregoing, it is thus evident that verbal language is a formidable factor in human activities and the medium of almost all human's activities and fields of endeavour. In essence, we are confronted with serious questions as what is language learning? How do people learn language and condition of learning languages?

3. Language Learning

Language learning applies to a conscious process of accumulating knowledge of the vocabulary and grammar of a language as different from language acquisition which has to do with the gradual development of ability in a language by using it naturally in communicative situations. According to Durkin (1995), every child is born with a Language Acquisition Device (LAD) which enables him to acquire the linguistic knowledge of the environment. This process takes place between the age of 5 to 10 years. After this stage it becomes very difficult to acquire another linguistic knowledge except through learning. During the adult age, there may exist acquisition barrier of quite a different sort, owing to many factors such as:

- (i) Intelligence,
- (ii) Aptitude,
- (iii) Personality,
- (iv) Motivation,
- (v) Attitude,
- (vi) Learning Styles,
- (vii) Age, etc.

It is absolutely not certain whether language is learned or innate. Thus, there is a point of controversy about the acquisition learning of language by psychologists.

4. Some psychological theories and their implications in language learning

4.1 Behaviourist theory

This theory has its foundations in the work of Thorndike in Craig (1980) who in his book, 'Animal Intelligence' tried to tie learning to the establishment of links between "sense impressions and external stimuli". Learning is thus a matter of trial and error in which such factors as motivation and reward were indispensable determinants. Thorndike further argued that learning generally involves the 'stamping in' of correct responses and the 'stamping out' of incorrect responses as a result of rewarding or annoying consequences. Thus, a learner would tend to repeat, and therefore learn those responses which are followed by satisfying consequences and that adverse after-effect would lessen the tendency for the individual to repeat the behaviour. To the behaviourist, learning situations is symbolically represented as $S \rightarrow R$ bond in which the stimulus (S) external to the learner compels a responses R which could carry positive or negative changes. In the context of language learning, Harris (1996) justified the relevance of this theory to language teaching and learning.

Based on the above theory of learning, the behaviourist psychologist sees language as a function of Stimulus-Response connection, sometimes augmented by reinforcement, repetition, imitation etc., thus playing down on individual cognitive abilities, intentions, imaginations and other valuable internalized psychological processes. Building their foundations on this psychological learning theory, the behaviourists see language as habit formation. Wilkins in Otagburuagu (1997) contends that behaviourists believe that social factors condition learning and that the provision of identical variables in a learning situation results in uniformity in the learning outcome.

Furthermore, using the theory of behaviourism in language teaching, language learning is described as the acquisition of a set of habit. It is assumed that a person learning a second language starts off with habits associated with the first language. These habits interfere with those needed for second language. Evident in the behaviourist second language learning/teaching are contrastive and error analyses diagnostic fools.

Other significant insight into language teaching and learning by the behaviourist school of thought is the attention focused on language programme aimed at aligning teaching goals with the learner's perceptual fields. Thus, the behaviourist emphasized the fact that a correlation between language programmes and learner-needs was vital for second language learning. They popularize the use of repetition, drills, and practice as useful techniques in L2 teaching and learning. Behaviourist theorists also emphasize the importance of sequencing of language learning materials and the relevance of the period of instruction in language teaching. Also language programmes which allowed the learners to rest and time to reflect on previous instructions are facilitative.

4.2 The mentalist cognitive theory

Following a general feeling of dissatisfaction and digest which teachers and psychologists had that the behaviourist theory alone cannot sufficiently account for a wide diversity and spontaneity of language use. Some theorists (e.g. Chomsky 1980, 1986) were more cognitive-oriented, and see language learning as spontaneous, creative, abstract and innovate. The cognitive theorists maintain that human beings possess a kind of system called Language Acquisition Device (LAD). This device enables humans to understand sentences they hear or to generate new ones. Though Chomsky's explanation appears plausible, they, however, fail to acknowledge the importance of reinforcement, or imitation and observation. Thus, this explanation is partially correct. According to Bell cited in Otagburuagu, developing language skills in language learning can best be explained as a process of problem-solving in which the learner, exposed to the data of the language (L1 or L2) attempts to develop cognitive map for himself by means of which he makes sense of the data. Thus, the mentalist-oriented language teaching theory makes learners active participants in language teaching.

5. Teaching Languages to the Adult

From the foregoing, the application of psychological theories to language learning becomes inevitable. The application of psychological theories and principles is not new. According to Palmer in Durkin (1998), humans are endowed by nature with the capacity for assimilating language, and this capacity remained available to use in a latent state after the acquisition of a primary language. The adult therefore was seen as capable as the child of acquiring a foreign language. Furthermore, the strategies adopted by the learner of a second language are substantially the same as those by which a first language is acquired (Durkin 1998).

Based on the foregoing, the following recommendations are made:

- a) Motivation: It is inevitable that a human being will learn a second language if he is well-motivated. Study of language aptitude that supports such a view since motivation and intelligence appear to be the two principal factors which correlate significantly with achievement in a second language.
- b) Use of reinforcement according to behaviourist/S-R theory.
- c) Stress wholistic meaningfulness according to cognitive theory.
- d) Stress teaching goals and goal actualization (Otagburuagu 1997).
- e) Make learning interesting and enjoyable.
- f) Involve and intensify group dynamics and group interaction as social reinforcers.
- g) Transfer and apply concepts learnt in day to day situation.
- h) Use audiovisuals and illustrations to concretize concepts.
- i) Encourage oral and written activities.
- j) Use of repetition, practice and drills.

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37. Means/End Rationality in the Use of English: Towards an Innovative Methodology

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The use of English, in its written form imparted as an end, through imitation at the intellectual level of memory, bestows on the learner language-ability suited to the communication level of response. This is at the root of the problem that students experience in the process of writing (performance and productive levels of response). Performance and productive abilities demand a methodology which takes inculcation to the levels of understanding and reflection ensuring development in the use of language and thinking. Development presupposes structure, and where structure is non-existent, there is no real development. The Structure of the English Discipline Mode of Enquiry (SEDME) is a veritable methodology for transactionally analysing, and synthesizing the Use of English for both personal and impersonal use, as a system of symbolic structure divided into structure, symbolization, and content. The pragmatist epistemology derived from the concept of transaction, Piaget's system of auto-regulation, the Bruner's structure of the discipline govern and give support to the innovative methodology. The theories highlight what students become as they transact with structured learning environment. Through guided learning students are endowed and imbued with new performance and productive capabilities marked by originality, inventiveness, and creativity.

Introduction

Viewing the Use of English Language as a socio/political, cultural heritage, treating the subject matter of language as an end or a receptive activity, rather than a means to achieve an end, and equating the methodology of verbal language to that of literacy reading and writing, not only pose learning difficulties and problems to the student, but also lead to offering the student a language curriculum of incomplete response. Such a curriculum, as it presently exists, is limited and inadequate for individual and national intellectual growth and development in an era of science and technology. As an entry and certification requirement in the university and other institutions of learning, the English Language constitutes a chimera or a bugbear to most students in their educational progress. Some dons, who might have encountered problems with the English Language and now in sympathy with such students, advocate the de-emphasising or total abolition of the English Language as an easy way out, oblivious of the need for a good language base in the study of science, technology, and intellectual development.

Efforts by practitioners in the discipline: Ubahakwe, Oluikpe, Longe, Okunnuga, Balogun (1979) to name a few, to stem the tide of poor performance and dearth of productive works have been to no avail. Their inputs have ranged from the importation of adaptation of titles, texts, and research for the purpose of tinkering with various

methodologies. Authorities have installed in the curriculum and timetable, at different times, such titles as: English as a Second Language (ESL), English for Special Purpose (ESP), and most recently the 'Use of English', the understanding of which is yet to unfold. These have not acted as magic wands to improve performance. Debates have gone on to ascertain English for what purpose? All purpose English or English as a tool language? Approach has gravitated from movement away from the traditional along the line of natural, oral, situational, and more recently to the structural, which focuses on, word form relationship or grammar, and communication. In one breath Oluikpe (1979) inveighs the teaching of grammar: a knowledge of grammar no matter how functional the grammar may be is not all a student needs to write a good prose. In another breath, he asserts that to develop the needed competence and to ensure a high level of performance, one has to internalise the structure of the language to the point of automacity. Students are poor performers because they have not internalised the grammar of the language to the point of automacity.

Oluikpe points up to the three major aspects of the Use of English which the paper is addressing: learning, subject matter, and the methodology that acts as means towards the ends of communication, performance, and production. The imitation of what is seen as the structural approach lies in the continued emphasis on grammar as the essence of the structural approach and pandering to the traditional aspiration of the standard of correctness, acceptability, and social respectability. His encouragement to students to internalise the structure of language to the point of automacity tends to militate against higher levels of intellectual development. The subject matter which is meaningful to the adult may be learned by students and the learning may be certified as effective on the basis of good examination result. But this content, although represents knowledge to the teacher or curriculum planner, is merely information (other men's knowledge second hand knowledge) to the teacher. His learning is verbal learning for school purpose, for purposes of certification, and promotion, Dewey (1916). Is it any wonder, then, that much of what the students learn in school so little affects their conduct or character? Content selected without reference to its potential for knowledge in the experience frame of learners is what makes it possible for English grammar to be taught and re-taught throughout all students' life, for students to graduate from school knowing no grammar. When grammar is learnt for a meaningful purpose (teaching) it becomes fascinating. Automacity smacks off regurgitation, mechanical, rote, and memory verbal – learning characteristic of the computer (loading and unloading of information). This structural approach stance does not do justice to the problem of poor performance for it trains the individual's low-level intelligence (memory).

In the area of production of texts, Ubahakwe (1979) laments: texts were not written with the Nigerian audience in mind. They are too generalised to solve problems peculiar to the Nigerian language situation. Ubahakwe points out to the fact that foreign authors cannot produce texts that can solve problems peculiar to the Nigerian student. Such a task, if to be undertaken by the Nigerians, requires the learning of the English Language up to the understanding and reflection levels of intelligence. This is to achieve a complete response: communication, performance, and production. Such a response cannot be

achieved through a low-level learning structure based on simple arrangement and ordering, teaching sentence for memorisation, and sequencing based on the degree of difficulty, but rather, that based on structured relationship within the system of Use of English as a discipline.

The Problem

A transition from a language orientation based on a socio-political/cultural value to that based on a scientific/technical, culture, demands a new mode of enquiry. The increase in the use of technology with its attendant pressures on the Nigerian educational system has generated the necessity for change, the demand for new knowledge, and intellectual development in the Use of English. No new direction can therefore, be charted without a reappraisal of the English language as is currently used as a communicative, instructional tool, and as a device for garnering knowledge.

Utilising the means/end rationality context, the paper examines the traditional socio-political, cultural value-end that governs the Use of English in the interest of what learners become intellectually. This is with a view to suggesting a scientific/technical value orientation with its structure of the discipline mode of enquiry as a viable alternative and means of achieving a complete language response (communication, performance, and production). Under this rubric, language becomes a scientific invention that enables man to effectively manipulate reality, body-forth abstraction, while enhancing the intelligence.

The Use of English – Tool/Vehicle Use of Language as a Means

“Use presupposes knowledge of a structure viewed as both a tool and a vehicle requiring technique for manipulation. It could be seen as an instrument or a device. To talk of the Use of English implies seeing the structures of language as tools for thinking, encoding, and decoding reality. It could also be seen as a vehicle conveying knowledge, thoughts, experiences, feeling, concepts, the world, and its environs (reality or actuality). Structure is used to represent reality through the process of symbolization. This involves choice making, organizing, application of rules, behavioural – principles, thinking, and reasoning. It demands training or coaching in perception, cognition, affects, and psychomotor. It is, therefore, not a group directed activity, but rather that of an individual. Use is not synonymous with usage – familiarity through continued practice. Use demands painstaking application of knowledge and technique of a structure through reasoning. It calls for independent exercise of personal initiative, not directed automacity.

Use entails the consideration of the user’s intelligence, structure of the discipline as means to an end or purpose (response-ability). The use of intelligence is of three levels – [memory, understanding, and reflection (Bigge 1964)]. The development of these levels is measured in terms of communication, performance, and production response – ability predicated on the structured environment and the learner.

Philosophical and Psychological Principles Governing the Use of English

Methodology

Four Philosophical and psychological principles govern the methodology of the Use of English.

The Use of English Methodology is based on the *Pragmatist Epistemology* derived from the concept of transaction. Essentially, a transaction is a reciprocal exchange in which an individual does something to the environment and the environment responds. A transaction involves a phenomenon in which the individual acts and then undergoes the consequences of the action. Pragmatist epistemology is concerned with actions deliberately taken because certain wanted consequences can be reasonably anticipated to follow. The pragmatist curriculum aims at the learning of intelligent transaction. The curriculum does not focus on a body of subject matter to be learned, but on a series of activities through which the student “experiences” and is led to construct his own reality of the world. The student writes essays out of his personal experiences and knowledge of the world. The curriculum is learner-centred and process-oriented (Zais 1976).

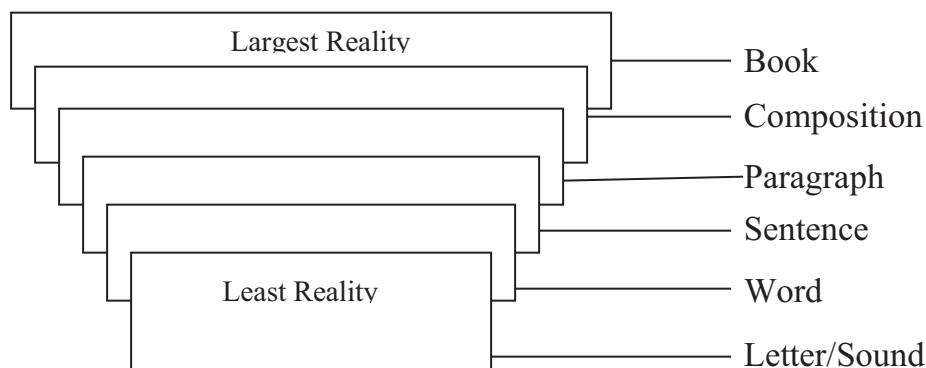
2. Scientific/Technical Valuing

The subject matter of the Use of English to suit the scientific and technical rationality in vogue, by adopting the structures of the discipline process as content, must resort to scientific and technical valuing. Scientific valuing, Huebner (1966) maintains, seeks to maximize the attainment of information or knowledge for the teacher or educator through constructing and manipulating teaching situations to test new hypothesis or to produce new facts as new technology, and techniques are introduced. Whereas technical valuing seeks to maximize the change in students through a means-end rationality, the end is the improvement of complete response to language: communication, performance, and production. The structure of the discipline organized as activities of understanding and reflection constitute the means to these ends. From a scientific and technical stance, definitions, assumptions, and narrowness of traditional Use of English are re-examined and replaced with more functional definitions and new facts about language aimed at efficient learning and mastery, need for functionality and use within the school and the society, logicity, and meaningfulness.

3. Piaget’s System of Auto-regulation

Structuring the discipline in the interest of what students become resorting to Piaget’s phenomena of auto-regulation, which are the constituents of all formative development. Auto-regulation focuses on what the individual becomes operating a structured discipline. In the structured

Paradigm Showing the Filiations of Structures



Word symbolizes or represents reality or actuality. The meanings they have in the dictionary are those assigned to them by each user community. These are collected by the lexicographer and entered in the lexicon. The word “dash”, for instance, means a blow in Britain, but a gift in Nigerian English. Meaning of words could be lexical, or contextual, denotational, or connotational.

Words are classified, recognized, identified, differentiated, and learnt on the basis of origin – Latinate or Anglo Saxon, form class (part of speech), structural function (role and relationship) Subject + Verb + Complement (S+V+C), reality (abstract and concrete), audience (formal and informal), effect (positive and negative), use (constative, descriptive, performative, process, emotive, informative) knowledge conveyed (literal, literary) behavior or doing words, registers, jargons, problematic words, “-ing” words, “-ed” words, and words for asking questions (define, explain, suggest, deduce, etc.).

Certain principles, rules, and laws govern the behavior of structures in the process of application of knowledge about language. These help to limit language errors in the structural functional arrangement of word forms to achieve a larger structure, the sentence.

The Sentence Structure

When words enter into a structural arrangement with other words, they form a sentence: Subject + Verb + Complement. Various types of the structural/functional parts are studied: types of subject, verbs, and complements. Words are arranged according to their functions. The most important item or subject under focus comes first. The picture of the reality in question determines the arrangement of words. Concepts and experiences are aspects of reality, and they help in determining the structural arrangement of words. In demonstrating that, one understands the meaning of a concept, through structuring a sentence, the experience comes first before the concept. A sentence can be correct in terms of the following: structurally, semantically, and symbolically. The following sentences made using the concept ‘complacent’ illustrate these aspects of well-formedness:

- a) He appears to be complacent in this austere time (structurally correct since it meets the S + V + C arrangement.

- b) Dressing gorgeously in this austere times, he appears complacent. The sentence is both structurally and semantically well-formed, but not symbolically.
- c) Dressing in a three-piece suit at a time people cannot afford three meals a day, John Akpan appears complacent.

The last sentence is the closest to reality. There are no noun substitute, no abstract word (gorgeously, austere). These were replaced with concrete words, John Akpan, three-piece suit, not afford three meals. Concrete experience ensures that words are not learnt for the sweetness of sound or to impress, but for the purpose of achieving meaning. The arrangement of words, phrases, and clauses into sentences demands mechanics (punctuation, capitalization) for the purpose of achieving meaning.

Symbolization or Process of Expression

Making sentences demands thinking. Thinking is at the centre of language. In the traditional learning of language, this is absent. Thinking is needed to link the structure of language to reality or content of language. This area is traditionally regarded as expression. Expression demands picturing or using the sense organs (gateways of knowledge) to keep the reality or subject matter in view. A road accident demands that the learner applies what is seen; what is heard; what is felt; what is smelt into writing of a descriptive essay "Road Accident". He images the situation to give the audience what he perceived. This is an aspect of thinking, making choice of suitable words from alternatives to present a picture, choice words to suit a formal or an informal audience, or to suit the theme, using ideas rather than words to recognize reality, determining what idea should be subject of the sentence, knowing the difference between the topic sentence that contains the concept and the experiential sentences are not matters to be left to chance, long apprenticeship or familiarity with the language, or intuitively taken for granted, if the Use of English curriculum aims at intellectual development or change in the performance capacity of the student. This is what is meant by symbolization in the Use of Language. Words do not come during the process of writing unless symbolization takes place. Do not think about the word; think about reality or content. Words as signs have been allowed to take the place of their referents. This has led to the meanings in the dictionary replacing the referents, giving rise to the recreating of ready-made words and sentences borrowed from other disciplines such as, Economics, Geography, Sociology, Government, etc. The thinking aspect of language (picturing) is, therefore, sidetracked to the detriment of originality and creativity.

The Organisation of Reality: The Content of Language

Organisation is the aspect of symbolization that is closest to real life. It searches for relationships among elements that function towards a definite end. Ability to organize often confirms that the value of what is learnt in school is measured by a learner's performance in real life (Stewart 1969). Reality is the content of language. Concepts, or ideas, experience, feelings, social and cultural environment, event and relationships constitute reality or actuality. Structure and reality coalesce at the point of symbolization;

consequently, the study of reality is overlooked; organization of reality takes place in the mind during the process of writing or structuring of sentences (short, long, simple, complex, compound, periodic, and loose).

Events in time (a celebration, place journey are organized chronologically). Expressions such as: each time, while, at this, few moments elapsed, soon, in an interval are often used for succeeding events. Spatial phenomenon: (freedom, democracy) may be the organization of the simple practice of democracy from the rural community to the complex practice of democracy at the United Nations. Social, cultural, political, and geographical settings are organized from the simple to the complex. Relationships of mutual advantage are organized on the basis of familiar to the unfamiliar. Notions of values are organized from the important to the least important or in terms of priority, e.g. (Women and National Development). Concepts of people and things of the world are discussed and organized from the particular to the general or from the general to the Use of English, the sound is the minimal unit as opposed to the traditional unit of sentence. This is followed by the word, then the sentence, the paragraph, the composition (letter, essays, etc.) and the book. Each is structured in its own right; and relationship extends from the smallest to the largest. In Piaget's (1977) terms, structures are not separated from their functions. The structures are related to the larger structures of system. The relationship between the lesser and larger structures are easily observed. Each of the structures bears the same characteristics viz.: structure (form), function, meaning, symbol, reality. The reality represented increase with the largeness of structure. Relationship determines what role each structure plays within the system of sy in total loss, that what remains will permit us to reconstruct the details when needed. A good theory is the vehicle not only for understanding a phenomenon now, but also for remembering it tomorrow. Understanding a more fundamental principle or structure means learning not only specific things but also a model for understanding other things like that one may encounter. Emphasis on structure and principles in teaching is that it facilitates the narrowing of gap between advanced and elementary knowledge. It encourages learners to develop a way of looking at or thinking about a subject and to search for relationship in the different areas through analysis and synthesis.

The Structure of the English Discipline Mode of Enquiry (SEDME)

This mode of enquiry requires students to experience and utilize knowledge for constructing their own reality through intelligent and reasoned transaction with structured subject matter. The structures of the subject matter are seen in relationship with other structures after the mastery of each area of structure: sound, word, sentence, paragraph, composition, and the book. It also emphasises the response-abilities (communication, performance, and production), and the students must have to apply themselves in school and society. To acquire these abilities involves the knowledge and understanding of all the facets of language: *Structure*, *Symbolization*, and *Content* (reality or actuality).

A *Structure* is shape or pattern; it could be ordinary or symbolic. Letters of the alphabet are symbolic.

Symbolization is the utilisation of a symbolic structure to represent reality. It could be through a choice of word in respect of the concreteness abstractness of reality, in respect of formal and informal audience or in respect of form (structural function). Organisation of reality and visualisation are also aspects of symbolization.

Content: The content of language are concept, experience, thought, feeling, social, and cultural experiences. These are regarded as reality.

To acquire the skills of reading and writing towards attaining complete response in language, the three facets are studied. The individual learner interacts and transacts with both symbolic structures and content of language (reality) through the elements of symbolization, viz.: choice making, picturing, organizing, arranging, decision making, identifying, recognizing, differentiating, and making observation through the different senses. Such processes of thinking can only be achieved through the application of rules, principles, clues, hints, expectation, modes of relationship, what to do, what to avoid, studying of parts, class or categories, structures of identification and recognition of forms, aspects of thinking that are not captured through the traditional process of learning grammar by memory or rote. They demand understanding and reflection since they are not subject matter or information but rather processes. When students are introduced to ways of recognizing word forms (parts of speech) for example:

- a) Relationship between word forms: Articles: a, an, the; prepositions for, at, etc.; possessive pronouns, my, your, etc., indicate nouns.

OR Noun forming suffixes: -ancy, -ance, -er, -ent, -or, -ism, -tude, -ment, -ist, add to adjectives to form nouns or using the proposition to discover a verb, or when -en, -fy, -ise, -ize are added to nouns or adjectives in order to form verbs, Obinna (1990), students will neither relearn nor forget. He knows each form separately; for each formula or rule, according to Bruner (1963), has a regenerative character. Every word that ends with -ment, -ism, is a noun form, e.g. government, pessimism, argument, and negativism. This follows on the belief that the first object of any act of learning over and beyond the pleasure it may give is that it should serve in the future. For learning to serve for the future there must be specific applicability to tasks that are highly similar to those we originally learned to perform. Earlier learning renders latter performance more efficient through transfer of principles and attitudes.

The Structure of the English Discipline Mode of Enquiry - Towards Intellectual Development

Every structure from the sound to the book needs to be studied in its totality from its function, meaning, or sense, symbolic quality, arrangement, utility, and learnability towards intellectual development rather than for socialization. Language is structured as knowledge as it is used by the learner in solving problems or engaging in reading or writing not as data and information to be transformed into knowledge through use.

The Sound Structure

The sound structures are recognised on the basis of their pattern and directional orientation. They can be identified through their functions and relationship with other sound structures within the system. The letter 'a' which sound as 'ah' can be identified through the role played in the synthesis of a word, be it initial, medial, or terminal. Nonfunctional knowledge of the names of the letters of the alphabet put into song, or for recitation and examination do not play any part in future learning. They do not perform any function within the system of structure: Consonant + Vowel + Consonant or C + V + C = bat.

Word Study or Vocabulary Skills

The word is studied in all its ramifications. Words are classified or categorised according to usefulness to the learner. The basic reason for classification or categorization (Bruner 1956) is to render our experience intelligible. Without categories there would be no thought and no understanding; for the purpose of reducing complexity, for identification, and reducing constant relearning. It provides direction for instrumental activities, ordering, and relating classes of events.

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Step by step analysis of reality enables the learner to understand the sequencing of ideas within the system of structure one idea leading to the other in close relationship, not as facts and isolated subject matter. Power of organisation depends on the individual's ability to observe and perceive relationships among things, time, space, and activities. Fitting various activities into a frame, answering examination questions in a specific time, writing a topic in a specified number of pages, making a precise choice or using a word for a phrase, a phrase for a clause for a sentence demand ability to organize.

Organising a paragraph requires visualizing what to write about, organizing the picture, writing the topic sentence containing the concept, body sentences of concrete experiences to illustrate the concept, then the transitional sentence concluding and linking the preceding paragraph. Proper organisation brings about wholesomeness in what is written during the process of encoding reality.

Reading, which is a process of decoding also requires the knowledge of concepts, experiences, and the writer's method of organizing reality. To understand and to reflect on the concept and experience of the writer, require picturing or visualizing the reality behind the words.

Examine the Following Paragraph

The 'play of destiny' remains impenetrable. The cowries that a female neighbour throws on a fan in front of me do not fill me with optimism, neither when they remain face upwards showing the black hollow that signifies laughter, nor when the grouping of their white back seems to say that the man in the double trousers is coming towards me, the promise of wealth. "The only thing that separates you from them, man and wealth, is the aims of two white and red kolanuts" adds Farmata, my neighbour (Miriam B.A., 1986).

The first sentence of the paragraph contains the concept or universal idea as signified by the words 'destiny' and 'impenetrable'. This is followed by the percept or

experience of the cowries, which is intended to illustrate the concept. The sentence is long, in the imitation of a play. The cowries used in the past as money for buying and selling, and also for divination or foretelling the future by the seer is the centre of the experience. It constitutes the subject of the sentence, not “the female neighbour” or the fan. The cowries constitute that which is discussed. The writer therefore follows or thinks about reality as she structures the sentences. The transitional sentence “adds Fermata my neighbour” terminates the paragraph and links with the second paragraph, which starts with ‘she insists’. Every paragraph is situated in an environment where the experience comes from – in Africa, Europe, etc. It carries with it the socio-cultural background. This is the aspect of language that makes Sapir (1921) insist that language and culture go together. The ‘cowries’ is an African element. This aspect of language is classed as Evocation. Concept, experience, and evocation, therefore, make up the paragraph.

Towards what Students Become

The structure of the discipline approach shatters the students’ mental furniture. Student’s mind boggles at the new approach to the Use of English and at the thought of abandoning the traditional grammar of the secondary school days which conventional wisdom and long usage has sanctioned as correct and proper. As his initial reactions get dispelled by contradictions of definitions, assumptions, and beliefs, the narrowness of traditional Use of English is examined and replaced with more functional and encompassing facts about language. The student is drawn into participation and involvement since his personal knowledge and experience about the Use of English is being challenged. Lively dialogue, interaction, and transactions eventuate within the classroom structured for change.

Functionality of facts, rationality of propositions, definitions, logicity, and meaningfulness of structural relationships, application of rules, cues, hints, formulas, and principles that attend the structuring and sequencing of subject matter generate in the student, curiosity, insights, and “Ahas” or sense of recognition. This is followed by verbal statements or questions that determine and give direction to the learner. The learner is thus permitted to arrive at the discovery of new principles that can be generalized. This practice directed towards change in behaviour is what Gagné (1966) calls ‘guided learning’. Such learning is seen as useful in both academic and life environment.

Guided Learning or Coaching

Students cannot write or read well unless they are guided. Writing and reading well entail thinking at the levels of understanding and essay. Guided learning discourages the dictation of notes since structures of the discipline approach sees knowledge as dynamic, not static. The skills of listening and note taking are paramount. Learning is facilitated through explaining, demonstrations of what to do, and to express them in vocabulary chosen, or tailored to various audiences (formal or informal) and situations, rather than the memorized phrases and sentences from textbooks.

In structuring the introduction of an essay, for instance, the concept of each topic sentence of every paragraph of the essay is hinted at in the introduction. This practice induces the student to think about the essay topic or picture what to write about before

actual writing begins. Organizing, beginning from the learner's environment to the national environment (from the known to the unknown, or familiar to the unfamiliar) enables the student to get away from writing of information or jargons gathered from texts of other disciplines. Observation from personal experience facilitates students' ability to jettison rote and memory learning of language while improving understanding and reflection. As understanding and reflection improve, performance and production are enhanced. This in turn improves communication.

The essence of guided learning in the structures of the discipline approach is to provide language activities that will bring about changes in the written language behaviour of students within the academic environment and real life environment of work. Writing is, therefore, the key to the improvement of performance in the Use of English

The Hidden Curriculum

Structure of the discipline mode of enquiry and discovery not only possesses an in-built mechanism for inducing thinking, enhancing mastery, and ensuring capability, it also bestows certain lasting behavioural outcomes that are often hidden. Attendant upon this methodology are behavioural outcomes such as: individualized and personalized use of language, seeing structure as part of the language system, giving value to every structure, appreciation of the wholeness of structures, the beauty and meaning inherent in their well formedness, inculcation of self-reliance, independence, self-evaluation, production of creative and original work, being insightful, appreciative of the joy of learning, enhancement of thinking, and intellectual growth, and instilling greater understanding of reality and relationship.

Examined closely, the Structure of the Discipline Mode of Enquiry focuses on the individual rather than the group. It is, therefore, interested in what the individual becomes in the light of transactional concept both within the academic environment and life's environment. The search for knowledge and relationship implies that the academic social environment is to be structured in terms of opportunity for cognition and affiliation, rather than for dominance and ascendancy. Both the learner and the teacher are engaged in a transaction of mutual concern and purpose, that of change in behaviour and intellectual development. These are achieved through the tool or vehicle knowledge of language. Language is thus treated as a means to an end.

Conclusion

Choice between two alternatives Use/Usage is made on the basis of the values inherent in each system. A system is judged by its effectiveness to meet the needs of the present, while eliminating the intellectual barriers characteristic of the existing system. It is also judged by its performance capability and its assessment potential in indicating changes in behaviour. For a methodology is as effective as the instrument which measures the performance behaviour or the intended outcome.

Structure of the discipline aims at intellectual growth, development, and achievement of complete response (communication, performance, and production). An intelligent individual is able to share, control self, co-operate, socialize, appreciate

relationships, and communicate. These are elements of enculturation and socialization that structure of the discipline can take care of.

The traditional socio/political structure has the sharing of a national heritage, acquiring sense of belonging, uniformity, competitiveness, and struggle for ascendancy as its aims. Group learning orientation limits the use of language to mere communication of facts and information. Treating the structure of language as content and sequencing them on the basis of difficulty rather than relatedness to the learner's memory level of intelligence. The assessment practice is also limited to this level, which consequently yields the incomplete response of communication of facts and information. These are produced through the mediation of memorization, guessing, and regurgitation.

Structure of the discipline-guided learning assesses skills, application of principles, rules, choice of appropriate words to represent reality, proper arrangement of a words, observation of reality, and ability to confirm knowledge. Questions emanating from these do not create room for examination malpractice, since they test the learner's understanding and reflection. The test administered give accurate measure of student's performance ability, since every question is designed to test a skill or behaviour of student. In the process, he learns self-assessment, peer critiquing, and acquire ability to confirm mastery. Awareness of change in behaviour and intellectual progress grows. Such a learning structure demands hard work from both the learner and the teacher.

Structure of the Discipline Mode of Enquiry encompasses every facet of the learner's intellectual needs. Opportunity to perceive people, things, and events as units and collectively as he searches for relationships during the process of reading and writing is offered. In-built activities induce the learner to improve his perception of realities and abstractions, while developing his intelligence. With developed intelligence, the language response of the Nigerian learner is bound to become complete. He is also bound to emerge armed with such aspects of the curriculum as: self-evaluation, and independence in the use of language. New productive capacity will therefore be marked by originality, inventiveness, and creativity.

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38. Lexicography & Igbo Standardization

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In the sociolinguistic discourse, the term ‘Standard Language’ is used to refer to a prestige variety of a language used within a speech community. In the case of Igbo, a language with many dialectical variants, standardisation is all about achieving uniformity, consistency, regularity, acceptability of the language by all people and regions using it as a means of communication.

This paper is organised as follows:

- (a) Introduction
- (b) An overview of some Igbo dictionaries
- (a) Impact of Lexicography
- (b) Conclusion

Introduction

The *Longman Concise English Dictionary* (LCED) defines Lexicography as “(the principles of the editing or making of dictionary”, while the *Collins English Dictionary* (CED) defines it as the “Process or profession of writing or compiling dictionaries”.

From the above definition, we can identify three ways in which the term Lexicography can be used. They are as follows:

- (a) Lexicography as principles that guide the making of dictionaries.
- (b) Lexicography as a profession
- (c) Lexicography as the process of compiling dictionaries.

Each of these uses has a role to play towards the standardisation process of the Igbo language. Lexicography as principles is based on laws, guidelines, principles that guide the compilation of dictionaries or reference books.

Lexicography as Principles

Hausman (1985:368) as quoted by Bo Svensen (1993:1) defines Lexicography as: “That branch of applied linguistics which consists in observing, collecting, selection and describing units from stock of words and word combinations in one or more languages ... Lexicography also includes the development and description of the theories and methods which are to be the basis of its activities”.

Lexicography as a Profession

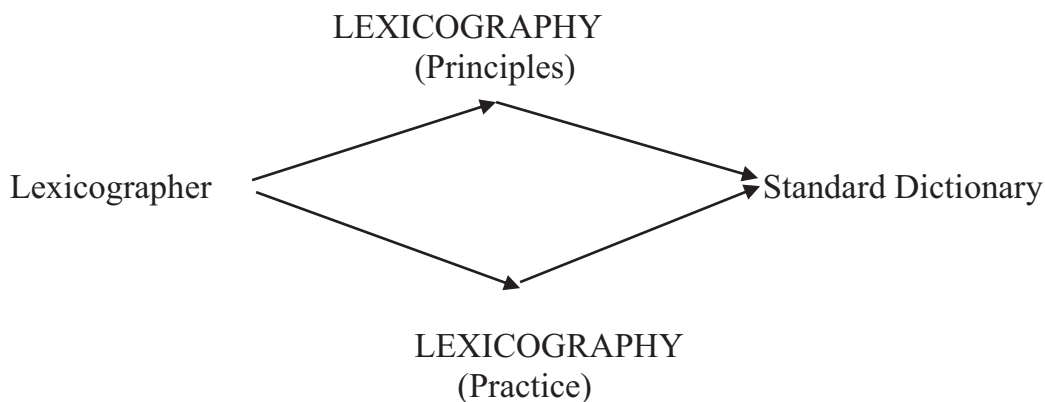
Lexicography as a profession lays emphasis on training, job specification, and career structure of a relatively small group of professionals called lexicographers. Patrick Hanks in the 2nd Edition of the *Collins English Dictionary* describes a Lexicographer thus:

The Lexicographer must be widely read. He must have a deep understanding of the term he is defining based on the extensive reading of the literature in which those terms occur. A vast citation file is no substitute for the judgement of a lexicographer.

According to Hanks, for one to be a successful lexicographer, in addition to one's professional qualification, which goes with specific years of training and studies, extra pains of reading must be achieved. For a good text to be produced, a trained lexicographer must be involved. Where this is not the case, lapses and flaws are bound to exist in such a text. As we will see later, the current dictionaries of the Igbo language, for instance, are not without their own problem because trained lexicographers were not co-opted in the compilation process.

Lexicography as Compiling Dictionaries

The actual process of editing and compiling dictionaries, which is the third use of the term 'lexicography', cannot be easily separated. It is difficult to separate the process from the principles that inform the process. They two work hand-in-hand to achieve a better result, i.e. a standard dictionary. The three uses of the term 'lexicography' can be schematized thus:



The lexicographer who is at the head makes use of the principles and practice of lexicography to produce a standard dictionary. The moment one picks up a dictionary for consultation, one is holding the product of a vast store of accumulated knowledge and expertise, which is revered by most people. After the Bible comes the dictionary as the book easily found in a home where English is used as first and second language. This is so because the dictionary is regarded as the representation of the English language, more still

as having authority in matters of language usage of all kinds. (Howard Jackson 1988:35). Dictionaries are consulted for the following reasons:

- a) To check the spelling of words
- b) To check meanings
- c) To check the pronunciation of words
- d) To ascertain the existence of some terms
- e) To verify the parts of speech
- f) To discover the etymology of words, etc.

A Brief Overview of Some Igbo Dictionaries

For a language to grow, there is need for a reference text either in the form of word list or dictionaries. Igbo as a language is not left out in this, even though the progress is apparently very slow. Attempts have been made by both foreign and native speakers of Igbo to compile dictionaries. We are going to look at three of them:

- (a) English-Igbo Dictionary by N.N. Nnaji
- (b) Igbo-English Dictionary by Michael J.C. Echeruo
- (c) A Learners Dictionary by Beatrice F. Welmers and William E. Welmers.

a) English-Igbo Dictionary by N.N. Nnaji

Target audience

This dictionary is compiled to solve the needs of pupils learning English in upper primary and lower secondary forms in Igbo speaking areas of Nigeria. Based on this, valuable information such as form classes, phonetic representation, etymology, inflexion to Igbo words cannot be extracted from this dictionary. The target of the book has little to offer to the growth and development of the Igbo Language.

Front Matter Content

Igbo is a growing language. As such any dictionary in Igbo should contain enough information about the language. Such information as tone, spelling convention, dialect used, meaning, phonetic system, etc., should be provided. This is to help the user to become more knowledgeable in the language. This is not so in this dictionary. The little one could learn from it is merely based on the English language because it is the language that the dictionary teaches not Igbo. The dictionary treats its information content as if the learner knows it all.

Tone

Igbo is a tonal language. Sentences given in this dictionary are not tone marked. This will pose a big problem to the learner.

Suffocation of Igbo

Igbo is more or less squeezed in-between English terms and sentences. E.g. head word in English, brief explanation in Igbo and another English explanation. Igbo has no chance for expansion and development.

Presentation

If two entry words are spelled identically, or if an entry contains more than one part of speech, numbering or letters of the alphabet should be used to differentiate them. This theory is not upheld in the compilation of this dictionary, e.g. page 122 Duck.

Head Words

Due to the poor printing quality, there is no remarkable difference between the printing of the headword and other information. E.g. Page 123. The printings are almost of the same size, thickness and colour.

Limited Information

Because it is a dictionary for children, the information content is limited to the level of its children audience. E.g. where words have various meanings, only one meaning is given. E.g. Page 138 'Eve'.

Pictorial Representation

Pictures are arranged in a disordered manner. Some pictures are placed ten pages away from the word it represents. E.g. in Page 258. Children may not be patient enough to scan through and relate the words to pictures. They may not even know that there is a pictorial representation of the word they are looking for.

Paper Quality

It is printed on a poor paper quality called newsprint, which easily gets destroyed.

Lack of Index Igbo-English

There should at least be an index of Igbo-English words to boost the representation of the language.

b) Igbo-English Dictionary – M.J.C. Echeruo
Orthography

The Printing of this dictionary is based on a different orthography. The author did not use the accepted Onwu Orthography (1961). This does not encourage consistency but creates more confusion for the user of the dictionary.

Tone Representation

Igbo is a two-tone language represented by two accents. The grave accent (̀) and the acute accent (́). The acute accent represents a high tone, while the grave accent represents a low tone. A correct tone marking of an Igbo word is enough. It does not require creating space

for phonetic representation. We are not compelled to follow another language convention where it does not apply in Igbo. The representation of the tone by (H and L) is a waste of time and space.

Too Many Dialectal Variants included as Head Word

This is where role of lexicography and metalanguage development come into play. There is room for the expansion of the Igbo language to accommodate terms, which did not exist before via the theory of language cross fertilisation, i.e. given dialectal phonetical variants special meanings (Emenanjo 1992). For instance, the terms Iru and Ihu have all been given special meaning, but they were not incorporated in the dictionary under review. Some examples are:

Word	Dialect	Etymology	Standard Meaning
Ihu	Onicha	face, front	affix as in Nganiru, prefix
Ihu	Central	face, front	face, front
Mmiri	Central	water	water
Miri	Ngwa	water	liquid
Oru	Central	work	female genitalia
Olu	Onicha	female genitalia,	work

This dictionary should have carried this piece of information but it went ahead to repeat or duplicate dialectal variant. This will make the work voluminous and make reading or learning cumbersome.

New Research and Accepted Work are not Included

F.C. Ogbalu in his trilogy of novel Ebubedike (1974) Obiefuna (1976) and Uwaezuoke (1976) dialectal variants were used as synonyms as exemplified below:

Word	Standard	Dialectal Variants
Groundnut	ahuekere	apapa, ashiboko, ukpanna
Bitter kola	aki ilu	ugoro, owonwo, adu
Cassava	akpu	jiapu, eboro, ovoka
Age group	ebiri	ogbo, uka, ogba, egu
Plantain	ogede, jioko	abirika, okirima, okpoko, ogbadu
Corn	oka	akpe, azamkpa, ikpa, ogbadu
Banana	unere	ntiti, inine
Dust	ntu	uzuzu, etum, ibe, obu

This kind of information is not included in this dictionary. Even the elevation of some slang to standard language was not included, e.g. *ntuoyi* for air conditioner, *obaramgbalielu* for high blood pressure, etc. This philosophy or practice suffocate and suppress the effort and standardisation of the Igbo language.

c) A Learners Dictionary – Beatrice F. Welmers and William E. Welmers
Orthography

The orthography is a little similar to that used by M.J.C. Echeruo (Prof) but differs in the use of /ŋ/ in place of /n/ before a vowel and /n/ before g, k. The use of /y/ rather than /i/ or /i/ in between consonants and a vowel e.g. in page 95 [ŋ/ kiti. O byara n'elekere n'aabo].

Content

In the selection of terms, English-Igbo terms like telephone, tickets, menu, poem, crash, dust are omitted. Loaded or overtone terms like thrill, lovely, hero, crush, crucial are omitted.

- Form class is not indicated for most entries. Since form classes for Igbo and English are not congruent. They should be indicated for clarity.
- Terms are only described in its symptoms. No equivalent is given even where they exist in the other language. E.g. malaria.

All these dictionaries are bilingual dictionary, giving a wrong impression that Igbo as a language has not grown enough for monolingual dictionaries.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The preceding discussion by no means exhausts all that is to be said about these dictionaries. We have, for example not discussed among other things the compilers themselves – who they are, their qualification, philosophy, etc. All these aspects influence the quality of their work. Let us take Prof Michael J.C. Echeruo. Based on his qualification and status, he should have produced a better dictionary. Could selfishness or some other external or extraneous factors influence the decision in his compilation?

There is entirely no new dictionary. Every dictionary should be a better modification of the previous one(s). Not entirely new one in orthography, style, etc. selfishness or any other factor that could lead to poor content and quality work should be eschewed in the compilation of Igbo dictionary if we are to make positive progress.

A dictionary compiled bearing in mind that mistakes of the previous ones and using the theories and practice of lexicography will help the standardisation of the Igbo language in the following ways:

- (1) To showcase newly created terms
- (2) Provide a storehouse for information for both old and new terms
- (3) Create easy access to retrieval of terms
- (4) Help to erase rancour created by marginalisation
- (5) Concretise newly created terms (spelling and pronunciation)
- (6) Maintain a consistent standard orthography and spelling.

To Showcase Newly Created Terms

The Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture embarked on the development and creation of Igbo metalanguage. One of the ways they succeeded in doing this is to give special meaning to dialectal variants (Emenanjo 1992:14). If this valuable information are harnessed by lexicographers and showcased for usage in the dictionary, it will help to prevent loss of information and keep these terms alive and capturable by both students and teachers of the language. It will help the language to meet the pressing need of a growing society.

To Warehouse Information

If information are scattered everywhere they can easily get lost in transit. Papers presented during seminars, workshops and conferences should be collated and their information content included. Lexicography will help to harness this information for safe keeping in the dictionary.

Accessibility

If information is gathered together in a book called dictionary, by its nature, it will provide easy access to this information.

Eradicate Rancour

The theory of dialectal cross fertilisation cuts across dialects. Almost every dialect is chosen in one way or the other to create the standard form. If it is not chosen as a headword, it is picked as a synonym or as a special term existing in your own geographical area. By so doing, the rancour created by marginalisation is eschewed.

Concretixation of New Terms

In the area of spelling and pronunciation, the dictionary will play a major role in stabilising spellings. If a spelling is written repeatedly, the people will end up accepting the spelling. This will help in stabilising that term.

Stability of Orthography

We noticed that in the three different dictionaries we looked at, we observed three different orthography conventions. This does not help in the standardisation of the language. If an orthography has been accepted, every dictionary in that language should use the accepted variety. If you have any option, write it on paper and defend it. If it is accepted, it will be made known to the public. It is an abuse of academic privilege to just create anything and put it in the dictionary. Dictionary is a reference book, and it should contain accepted and quality information.

Conclusion

It is important to note that what we need is a good Igbo dictionary. This does not mean that the current dictionary should be rejected outrightly. But they should serve as a veritable

basis for a more acceptable and standard dictionary. The dictionaries, as already discussed, are good starting points for any author to now proceed to compile 'the' dictionary.

Recommendations

- 1) Dictionary compilation is not a one-man affair. It is a group effort and should be headed by a lexicographer. The group should include people from all walks of life, even youths, mostly in the assembling of terms and slangs.
- 2) Dictionary compilation is a profession, and the laws of professionalism should be adhered to.
- 3) Personnel involved for the compilation of a dictionary should be instructed or educated on the subject matter at hand and given the guide to direct their focus for the work ahead.
- 4) Some incentives should be given to the compilers to encourage them to work harder.
- 5) The government at all levels should help in the financing of the programme.
- 6) There is a challenge for the production of a monolingual dictionary in Nigerian languages, let us face it.

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39. A Study of R.N. Agheyisi's *An Edo-English Dictionary*

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Introduction

Going through our academic notes recently, we came across some remarks of ours concerning R.N. Agheyisi's (1986) *An Edo-English Dictionary*, which we had to study in detail for our University of Benin-funded research project – *The Bini Language Base for some Dialects of Igbo Language*, completed in 1992. Although the observations were made several years ago, we are convinced that the issues raised then should even today still be of profound interest for scholars of African languages in general and lexicographers of African languages in particular. Hence this paper; to share our insights with peers, and elicit appropriate scholarly reactions.

The dictionary in question has the following structure. There are two major parts: (i) a peripheral matters, and (ii) a lexicon proper, sections. The peripheral matters are covered essentially in pages i to xxiv of the dictionary, and comprise the sections of (a) Acknowledgements, (b) Introduction, (c) A note on Grammar, (d) Abbreviations, and (e) References.

The longest part of the peripheral matters section is the introduction (pp. iii-xx). It contains background information on the name 'Edo' and on the Edo language proper, the extent of the language's speaking population, the language's affinity with other Nigerian languages, the author's present work (i.e. this Edo-English dictionary), and the specific orthography system used – which, according to the author, is, with the exception of the re-introduction of *mw* for the labio-dental nasal approximant [ɱ] based on the Ad Hoc Midwest Languages Committee's orthographic system for Edo recommended in 1974 and approved by the then Bendel State Ministry of Education, now Edo State Ministry of Education.

The references (p. xxiv) are quite few in number. They are Bosah (1976), Egharevba (1954 & 1956), Elugbe (1973 & 1979), Greenberg (1966), Hoffman (1974), Melzian (1937), Moore (1975), Oboke (1975), Northcote (1910), and Westermann and Ryan (1952), cited on page xxiv of the dictionary.

The three-paragraph back-cover-flap advertiser's synopsis of the dictionary is culled from pp. ix and x peripheral-section introductory statements on 'The present work' – except for the first sentence which states that "This is the first and only modern dictionary of Edo Language", and the last paragraph where the dictionary is said to have benefitted from the unique combination of the author's training as a Linguist and her native-speaker competence of the Edo language.

The lexicon proper is contained in 169 pages of the book. It consists of 3,891 basic entries, by our count, listed in the following alphabetical order noted. p. xxi of the dictionary:

a, b, d, e, ẹ, f, g, gb, gh, h, i, k, kh, kp, l, m, mw, n, o, ọ, p, r, rh, rr, s, t, u, v, vb, w, y, z.

According to the author's claim on pp. ix and x of the book, which is re-stated on the back cover flap. *An Edo-English Dictionary* "anticipates the special reference needs of the student of Edo as well as those of the average Edo speaker for whom the necessity to acquire bilingual competence in both Edo and English has become a pressing reality"; the dictionary also provides "both phonological and grammatical information" for each of the entries "in anticipation of the specialized needs of the language researcher and others interested in linguistic information on Edo". It is therefore self-evident that this work must generally be assessed by the yardstick of how well its content does anticipate those specified needs of the prospective users targeted by the dictionary.

In addition, however, since R.N. Agheyisi wrote *An Edo-English Dictionary* in her capacity as a well-trained practising Linguist of many years experience (she is a Professor of Linguistics), it is not surprising that she presents her work as an expert's dictionary, with respect to "the selection of entries for the dictionary, as well as the quality and range of information provided for each entry" (p. ix and back cover flap). In this context, Agheyisi's *An Edo-English Dictionary* must primarily be judged by certain standard principles of excellence for any scientific exposition, which we propose as (i) *objectivity* – i.e., the truth/correctness of the points advanced as facts; (ii) *comprehensiveness* – i.e., to what extent the academic has addressed all the issues essential to the nature of the subject matter; and (iii) *originality* – i.e., how well the purported facts constitute an advancement of knowledge.

1. Objectivity

The dictionary contains valuable expert information on Edo words, qualitative information which reflects clearly both the author's scientific training in Linguistics, and her first-language competence of Edo. This information is of two types: (i) general, concerning the name Edo' and the Edo language as a whole; (ii) specific, concerning the Edo words entries themselves.

Under general information on the name itself Edo', we learn for example (p. iii) that according to Egharevba (1954:8) 'Edo' was originally the name of a slave. The slave saved one Oba Ewuare from certain, sudden death; and in gratitude, Oba Ewuare immortalised the name of the slave by changing the name of the city to Edo', which eventually also stood for the people and their language. Other names which tradition associates with the territory at different times of her history according to the dictionary (pp. ii and iv), citing Egharevba (1954 and 1956), are Idu, Igodomigodo, Ile-Ibinu, Ubini, Bini, and Benin. Of these, the three names Edo, Bini, and Benin have survived: 'Benin' has systematically come "to be used strictly, as a territorial label, as in the expressions Benin City, Benin Kingdom, Benin Empire, Benin Division, etc, while the other two names have become predominantly linguistic and ethnic labels referring in scope to the language and people of

the entire Benin Division" (p. iv), 'Edo' has, in addition, "continued to serve as the indigenous name for the city" (p. iv).

Under general information concerning the Edo language proper, Agheyisi follows Elugbe's (1979) proposal in the matter by adopting the broad term 'Edoid', NOT 'Edo', in this dictionary for the group of historically related languages such as Esan, Yekhee, Isoko, Urhobo, etc. found in the present Edo and Delta States; and she, like Elugbe (1979), then uses 'Edo' restrictively to refer to the single language otherwise known as 'Bini', which is spoken mainly in the core area of the pre-colonial Benin Kingdom and Empire. We are also told in the dictionary (p. xii), among other things, that the Edo language has thirty-seven phonemes – seven oral vowels, five nasal vowels, and twenty-five consonants.

As regards the words themselves, three categories of information are provided for each entry in the dictionary. They are: (i) a phonetic transcription of the word, including tone marks, enclosed in the customary square brackets; (ii) the so-called 'part of speech' or lexical class of the word; and (iii) the English equivalent word or group of words denoting or describing the meaning.

Objectivity seems to us the best point in favour of R.N. Agheyisi's *An Edo-English Dictionary*. The five-year-period (1977-1982 approximately) intensive research preceding the production of this work seems to have been quite fruitful in this respect. We have two criticisms, however.

First, with such expressions as "phonological and grammatical information" (p. ix and the dictionary's back cover flap), "grammatical and semantic analysis" (p. x), or "the grammatical category to which the word belongs" as opposed to its "phonetic transcription" and "the meaning of the word" (p. xi), Agheyisi obviously equates grammar to syntax by retaining a usage of the term 'grammar' which is no longer acceptable in Linguistics especially since 1965, with Chomsky's *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, but actually since 1916 if Saussure's definition of 'grammar' in his *Cours de Linguistique Générale* (*A Course in General Linguistics*) as 'the description of a language state' is given due recognition. Agheyisi's error here is an amazing lapse for such an experienced Linguist: in modern Linguistics, 'grammar' is understood to cover the characterisation of every structural aspect of Language (phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic), not just that part which concerns syntactic and/or morphological descriptions. Secondly, for an undisclosed reason Agheyisi systematically fails to mark the mid tone even in her phonetic transcription of words in this dictionary, although she does recognise the existence of this tone in Edo (p. xiv). Incidentally also, for example, the omission in phonetic transcription of the tone mark for the final vowel sound in the entries *bɔnmwɛn* 'to drop in small pieces: etc.' (p.15) and *hɛɛ* 'the second part of the interrogation formula for how' (p. 59), as well as the lack of tone marks altogether in the phonetic transcription of *daehɔ* 'to anticipate; to expect' (p. 17), typify a degree of carelessness which detracts considerably from the overall quality of the information presented in this dictionary.

2. Comprehensiveness

In our estimation, Agheyisi's *An Edo-English Dictionary* scores lowest in the aspect of range of information provided. The weakness, according to us, is due primarily to the fact that the dictionary is a single-author enterprise; and we further suggest, incidentally, that the shortcomings of the dictionary derive in general from the same fact. The compilation of any serious dictionary of the whole of a given language should normally be undertaken by a team of experts, not by an individual. This is nowadays the standard practice in fact for the compilation of revised renditions or editions of dictionaries of such well-known foreign languages as English or French; and we recommend it strongly also for the writing of dictionaries of our indigenous African languages. Unfortunately, the writing of the dictionaries of African languages has to date usually been the handiwork of single individuals – as if the African languages concerned were somehow inherently much less complex than such foreign languages as English, French, Spanish and Portuguese whose dictionaries are usually provided by teams of experts.

Probably the most worrisome feature of this dictionary is the number of basic entries listed – only 3,891 by our count. It is hard indeed for Agheyisi to convince other informed scholars that present-day Edo language, with its centuries of cultural heritage and in all its wealth of cultural diversity, has less than four thousand basic words entries and less than eight thousand total individual words entries, as she would have us believe in *An Edo-English Dictionary* (p. x), “the first and only modern dictionary of Edo language” (back cover flap). Although Agheyisi depended a lot on Melzian's (1937) *A Concise Dictionary of the Bini Language of Southern Nigeria* for this her own Edo dictionary, there are, quite surprisingly, several non-technical words of modern Edo which, by our own investigation, are found in Melzian's dictionary, but not in Agheyisi's – such as *ogwa* (a type of Bini room containing a mud couch traditionally and usually opening into another room) *ogwe* (a felled tree); etc.

There are also inexplicable gaps in the selection of listed entries: why, for example, is there the entry ‘Adolo’ for the historically significant person of the Oba of Benin from 1848 to 1888, but none for the also historically significant Bini heroine Adesuwa? Why are the borrowed English but phonologically modified words *awa* (hour) and *atimakasa* (antimacassar), etc., listed but the entries for motor vehicle (*imoto*,) and tomato (*etomato*), etc., omitted?

Another damaging observation about this dictionary is the sketchiness, tourist-dictionary-style, of information for most of the entries. For example, the student of Edo and the researcher seeking expert information on Edo are bound to be frustrated with the terse, hardly illuminating note on the entry ‘Esigie’ (p. 44), as follows: ‘name of a past Oba of Benin.’

Even within the context of general, background information on the Edo language, vital gaps also exist. For instance, Agheyisi, while discussing the various, names which have been associated with her people, significantly fails to also note the name ‘Ado’. According to Talbot (1926) and our own research project to examine the possible ‘Bini Language Base for some Dialects of Igbo Language’, ‘Ado’ is one of the names by which

the Bini people were known in the past; it may have existed before 'Edo'; and Edo' may in fact have been derived from 'Ado' in the distant past, according to our hypothesis.

3. Originality

An Edo-English Dictionary follows the tradition of lexicography since antiquity whereby a form having several related meanings is listed as one entry, with the different related meanings numbered serially and individually indexed with designating equivalent words or near-equivalent words vis-à-vis the entity, while a form which bears several unrelated meanings is listed as several different words, numbered serially, with each entry's meanings also subsequently numbered serially and individually indexed with words equivalent or near-equivalent to the entry designating those meanings. Unfortunately, the above practice raises once more, in *An Edo-English Dictionary*, the very old lexical problem first noted in ancient Indian linguistic studies more than two and half thousand years ago – whether it is correct to say that a word has several meanings (i.e., that words may be polysemous), or whether the correct thing is to take it that several different words may coincidentally have the same form (i.e., that words which are quite different may be homophonous when pronounced alike, *homographic* when written alike, and *homonyms* when pronounced and written alike).

The age-old ostensibly awkward practice of lexicographers in the matter actually endorses the two theories above simultaneously, which tends to lead to intractable inconsistencies in dictionaries. Consider, for illustration, the form *gbe* in *An Edo-English Dictionary*, which is listed under 8 different entries (pp. 53-54) – i.e., treated as a form which *eight different* words happen to have in common. Under each entry, Agheyisi attempts to group a number of different but related meanings associated with that entry, according to standard lexicographical procedure: for example, the second entry of *gbe* (pp. 53-54) has the related meanings expressible with English as 1. 'to dance', and 2. 'to move', where the central unspecified meaning presumably involves some displacement of some sort of some object – of which 'to dance' and 'to move' are two possible manifestations. But this reasoning does not seem to work for the third entry of *gbe* (p. 54) in the dictionary, where the three different meanings are expressed with English as 1. 'to eat; flog'; 2. 'to catch in a trap'; and 3. 'to kill' – for there is *no* apparent relationship between the three different meanings. In the same manner, there is *no* general meaning which seems to embrace the several expressed meanings of the sixth entry of *gbe*, viz: 1. '(usually with liquids) to pour'; 2. 'to expose to; to come into contact with'; and 3. 'to soil; to make dirty'.

It is even seriously arguable anyway whether just any degree of relationship between different meanings automatically permits that those related meanings be associated with only one word/entry. Should a dictionary of English, for instance, accordingly list as one entry the form *blind*, irrespective of part of speech, for the different meanings involving 1. a type of physiological handicap; 2. to cause that handicap; 3. curtain; 4. type of date: etc. simply because all the meanings presumably have something to do with not seeing? In short, then, *An Edo-English Dictionary* does not attempt to throw

any light at all on the mode of proper listing of entries in a dictionary, and thus in fact advances no new theory in lexicology.

Some conscious effort is made, however, in *An Edo-English Dictionary* to avoid unnecessary duplication of entries. This objective is responsible, incidentally, for the scaling down of the original 7,500 entries accumulated by 1979 to the less than 4,000 basic entries compiled eventually for the dictionary. According to the author (p. x). “This reduction in number of entries came about mainly by the application of the principle whereby forms which are grammatically predictable (i.e. forms derivable from others by highly productive grammatical rules) did not qualify as independent entries.” For example, according again to Agheyisi in the dictionary (p. x), “the set of adjectives derivable from ideophonic adverbs by the addition of *né* as prefix, such as *nemosemose*, ‘lovely’; *neworọ* ‘long’; *netuein*, ‘tiny’..., were eliminated from independent listing.” Also as a simplification procedure in the dictionary, a near-exhaustive list of the words for which tone must be indicated as part of their regular spelling (tone is otherwise unmarked in Edo orthography ordinarily) is presented on pages xiv to xx of the dictionary – 140 such words in all, by our count. These words come mostly in pairs (e.g. “*àgbada*, ‘two-edged sword’ versus *ágbada* ‘flowing robe’), with a few exceptions of triplets (e.g. ‘*àka*, ‘a hearth shelf, *áka* ‘a grass snake’, and *aká* ‘trumpet’) as well as singlets (e.g. *dè* ‘interrogation pronoun what? which?’, and *èsago* ‘a large bottle, usually encased in wicker-work’). It is also useful to learn from the dictionary that in Edo every noun begins with a vowel, while every verb, adjective and adverb must begin with a consonant (pp. xx-xxi).

Very unfortunately, however, the application of the simplicity principle falls considerably short of what is expected in an academic work like *An Edo-English Dictionary*, especially as a modern dictionary that targets Language scholars seeking expert information on Edo language. Instead of a selective, haphazard treatment of predictability principle, what the dictionary needs badly is a concise presentation of the finite set of morphological processes applicable to the listed basic entries, whereby all types of words are generated in Edo – following the model laid down by Panini long ago in ancient Indian linguistic studies. This dictionary under review is silent, for example, about the plural formation or tense and aspect marking processes in the language – information which should be central to the lexicography of Edo language.

Conclusion

It is now time to summarise our findings about *An Edo-English Dictionary* in the light of our discussion above about the merits and demerits of the dictionary as a scientific work. We shall do this generally by judging the dictionary according to how well it meets its stated objective (pp. ix & x. and back cover flap) of anticipating the needs of its targeted prospective users – that is, (i) the student of Edo seeking useful reference materials, (ii) the average Edo speaker for whom bilingual competence in Edo and English is a pressing necessity, and (iii) any other persons or Language specialists seeking expert information on the Edo language.

From our own study, the only kind of dictionary user who may justifiably be satisfied with Agheyisi's *An Edo-English Dictionary* as it is is the tourist and others like him/her who are merely looking for general, sketchy, and superficial information about the Edo language. The serious student of Edo would not need an Edo-English dictionary (as if he/she could not study Edo without passing through English): he/she would need an Edo monolingual dictionary, in which general information about Edo language as well as specific information about Edo words are presented with Edo language itself, instead of with English, as Agheyisi does by treating the student obligatorily like a foreigner to the Edo language. The average Edo speaker for whom bilingual competence of Edo and English is a pressing necessity does not need *An Edo-English Dictionary* (as if bilingual competence of Edo and English were necessarily a one-way affair of discovering just the English equivalents of Edo words): he/she needs a truly bilingual Edo-English and English-Edo dictionary, which genuinely anticipates his/her communicative goal of being able to switch with equal facility from Edo to English and from English to Edo. Incidentally, non-native speakers of Edo learning do – unlike the advanced or 'serious' student of Edo mentioned earlier in this paragraph, whether native or non-native – also need a truly bilingual Edo-English and English-Edo dictionary for reference purposes. Finally, any other person or language specialist seeking expert information on Edo language in a lexicon should need not just a truly bilingual Edo-English and English-Edo dictionary but also significantly more qualitative, exhaustive, and systematically presented original information on Edo language generally as well as on Edo morphology specifically than that found in Agheyisi's *An Edo-English Dictionary* as it is now.

To conclude, then, the basic weakness of AGHEYISI's *An Edo-English Dictionary* as it is in what it actually offers its targeted prospective users: and the dictionary's greatest asset lies probably in the author's courageous effort in undertaking *alone* the authorship of the lexicon compilation of the whole of modern Edo language. Our conclusion above should, we believe, stimulate and encourage other lexicographers as well as Agheyisi herself to produce serious modern lexicographical works on African languages which are desperately needed nowadays, instead of the foreign-language-sensitive and glorified *word-lists* that have to date been passed off as "dictionaries" by foreigners and Africans alike.

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40. The Development of Non-major Languages & Its Implications for Education in Nigeria: Focus on Margi

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1. Introduction

Margi is a member of the Chadic language family. Newman (1990) classified Chadic as a family of languages which belong to Hamito-Semitic (Afro-Asiatic) phylum (Jungraithmayr and Ibrisizmw 1994). It is estimated that the phylum includes some 140 languages, with its most prominent member being Hausa. The Chadic family consists of four co-ordinate branches: West, Biu-Mandara (Central), East and Masa. Margi belongs to the Central Chadic sub-group A, thus making it a close relative of Bura and Kilba and a more distant relative of Hausa.

The Margi live in the extreme northern part of Adamawa and the south eastern part of Borno State of Nigeria. In Borno, they are mainly found in Askira/Uba, Damboa, Gwoza and Konduga Local Government areas; while in Adamawa State, they inhabit Madagali, Mubi north, Michika and parts of Hong Local Government areas (Dlibugunaya 1989, 2000). Margi is spoken by approximately 200,000 people (Ethnologue 1996, Dlibugunaya 2000).

The Margi are not a uniform group. Even the Margi people recognize this themselves, and accept that their peoples are sub-divided into four principal dialect areas namely: (i.) Margi Babal (The Margi of the plains), (ii.) Margi Dzərŋu (The Margi near the mountains), (iii.) Margi Putai. The Margi of the West and (iv.), The Margi *ti ətəm*. The Margi who *ti* 'to cry' with *ətəm* 'pot'. This name is derived from their custom of 'crying' (i.e. mourning) with a drum made from the upper part of a pot. This term was proposed by the Babal people but was not accepted by the Margi *ti ətəm* who refer to themselves as Margi Dzakwa (Dlibugunaya 1989, 2000).

1.1 State of the Development

The state of development of a language is determined by the number of published texts, approved standard orthography and the effective use of the language in various domains such as the print and electronic media. Margi is a developing language with very few published texts. As Brann (1998:1) says: In an age of globalization, of the mass media and electronic communication, the continuity and survival of languages rest with their constant use and development, and none of these is more habit-forming and propitious than language use at home and in the school. Whereas in the home, the basic structures, expressions and idioms of the language are acquired (through repetition and affectionate admonition), their use is limited to the oral code. It is in the school that language is confirmed through reading and writing and the conscious learning of its structures and modalities. That is to say, educationists (educational psychologists) and linguists (language

teachers) are in agreement that the oral acquisition of the mother-tongue must be confirmed and deepened by its conscious learning and application through written use.”

The history of education in Nigeria, as Ogunranti (2000) has pointed out, reveals that missionaries worked on mother-tongue (henceforth MT), reducing them to writing and stimulating the evolution of early written literature in them. The purpose was to convert and to christianize the people. The argument is that it was through the use of MT that the missionaries were able to reach the people. The missionaries contributed greatly to the development of Nigerian languages.

Two mission groups worked among the Margi. The Church of the Brethren Mission (CBM) and the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM). They carried out their religious and educational evangelization mostly through the local language (i.e. Margi). The Margi language was used in the Church of the Brethren Schools in the Margi areas up to Standard IV in the 50's and a number of Primers and parts of the Bible and a Hymnbook were published. Some of publications include:

1. Margi pre-Primer. CBM Garkida (no date).
2. Margi Kakadur Kiratsini I. A Margi Primer prepared by CBM.
3. Margi Kakadur Kiratsini II. Prepared by the CBM Lassa, Nigeria, W. Africa 1941.
4. Margi Kakadur Kiratsini III. A Margi Reading Book. Multigraphed by CBM. Lassa, Nigeria 1939.
5. Matta. The Gospel according to St. Mathew in Margi. Prepared by CBM, Lassa, Nigeria London, 1947.
6. Markus. The Gospel according to St. Mark. Prepared by the CBM Lassa, Nigeria, London, 1948.
7. Luka. The Gospel according to St. Luke in Margi. Prepared by the CBM Lassa, Nigeria London, 1948.
8. Thir Aposilyer. The Acts of the Apostles in Margi. Prepared by the CBM, Lassa, Nigeria 1946.
9. Labar nagum nagum wu alkawal madia. A book of Old Testament Stories in Margi. Prepared by the CBM Lassa, Nigeria (no date).
10. Kakadur na aga sur gunggur sili anu Iji wu myar Margi. CBM Lassa, Nigeria 1956.
11. Mdukur Tsapu. Goodmanhood in Margi CBM. Lassa, Nigeria 1948. Revised 1952.
12. Lagwur mbu. Scripture Gift Mission London (n.d).
13. Lagwur Rubutsini Wasika Anu Mwal. Yaki da Jahilci NORLA Zaria (1955). (Hoffmann 1963:14).

As Dalby (1978:2) rightly states:

Education which leads to the alienation of the child from the ancestral environment cannot be right nor can it achieve the most important aim of education which consists in developing the power and the character of the people.

Afe (1991) states that:

The mother-tongue is that language that is naturally learnt by the members of a speech community and employed by them as their first medium of vocalized communication and is a patent factor in the intellectual and cultural effulgence.

In the words of Sharma (1975:20):

No foreign language can take the place of the Mother-tongue and no system of education can afford to disregard it without serious detriment to the mental Development of the child.

The debate about the use of MT as a medium of instruction in schools is not a recent one. It has been with us for a very long time, dating back to the 1880's when the Missionaries monopolized the educational scene in the country. Aspects of some language policy had been in the country's statute books since 1925 when the report of the Phelps Stokes Commission in 1922, recommended that both English and the MT must be given recognition in the educational system. In that report it was recognized that:

Native tongue is immensely more vital in that, it is one of the chief means of preserving whatever is good in native customs, ideas and, thereby, preserving what is more important than these, namely, the native self itself.

Commenting on Phelps Stokes report on Education in Africa, the Nigerian educationist and one time minister of education Babs Fafunwa writes: "On language of instruction, the commission felt that the local language was essential as a medium of instruction if the child was to develop a sound mind, good character and interest in agriculture or industry" (Fafunwa 1974:122-3). The British Government published in 1925 a Memorandum on Education in British Colonial Territories, stipulating (item 6) that "The study of the educational use of the vernaculars and the provision of textbooks in the vernaculars are of primary importance, and qualified workers should be set aside for this purpose" (Fafunwa 1974:124).

Another major international support for the teaching of MT education came up at the UNESCO meeting of Specialists in 1951. In their report of 1953, it was stated that education is best carried out in the MT and, therefore, recommended that people should begin their schooling through the medium of the MT. Also in a meeting of experts on the use of African languages in relation to English held in Jos in November 1952, it was stated that:

Ideally, the medium of instruction for a child living in its own language environment should be the mother-tongue".

2. The Language Provisions in the NPE with respect to the teaching of the Mother-tongue

The National Policy on Education, (henceforth NPE), first published in 1977 has undergone two drastic revisions in 1981 and 1995 on the language provisions therein. In the words of Emenanjo (1997:5):

The vague, evasive and non-communal phraseology of the language provisions in the 1977 and 1981 versions has now given way to a holder and more pragmatic one in the 1995 version.

This version, according to him, has no doubt, gained immensely from the observations and recommendations from various conferences, seminars and reports presented to the JCCE for the National Council on Education.

The 1995 *NPE*, therefore, states thus:

- a. Section 1.7 stipulates that: “each Nigerian child will be required to learn one of the three major Nigerian languages other than his mother-tongue”.
- b. Section 2: 11c says that: “Government shall ensure that the medium of instruction in pre-Primary Education will be principally the MT or the language of the Immediate Community (henceforth LIC);
- c. Section 3.14 (b) and (e) says that: “the medium of instruction in the first three years of the primary school shall be the mother-tongue or the LIC”.
- d. Sections 4.17 (d); 19(a) (iii), 20.17 (iii) provide for:
 1. Two Nigerian languages (NLS) as core subjects to be offered at the JSS where the MT or LIC is to be taught as L₁ if it has an orthography and literature;
 2. One major Nigerian language (other than the MT or LIC) is to be taught for communicative competence as L₂;
 3. A major Nigerian language as one of the subjects in the core curriculum at the SSS.

All things considered, the 1995 NPE has, according to Emenanjo (1997:7):

- i. properly entrenched Nigerian languages in all tiers of formal education.
- ii. recognized *all* Nigerian languages, both major and non-major, as media of instruction and as subject of study in formal education.

The remarkable thing about the 1995 NPE and the Cultural Policy for Nigeria (CPN) include the de-politicization of the study of the major Nigerian languages and their cultures by giving recognition to all Nigerian languages as either MT or LICs. In this country, the Ife Six-year Primary Education Project provides the most definitive findings in support of the use of MT in education. To Fafunwa (1990), the MT policy would give solid cultural base to the Nigerian child and other beneficiaries, firm grasp of the basic concepts and

even make it easy for them through their perception of the cultural environment. The doyen of Nigerian linguistics Bamgbose (1983:18) has stated that:

Unless we can make it possible for our children to learn the basics of modern technology, science and mathematics in their mother-tongue, the seed of transferred technology will fall on barren ground and fail to germinate.

3. The role of Government

Since the government is the prime mover of all national affairs, all policy provisions in relation to Nigerian languages should be fully implemented. As it is well-known and as actually been pointed out by Bamgbose (1982), Essien (1990) and others, there is quite often a dichotomy between what is provided for in theory in a policy statement and what is, in fact, done. For example, if the government had vigorously carried out its own policy on the elemental development of hitherto un-written languages, a great many Nigerian languages today would have had, at least, an acceptable orthography. But as was observed by Essien (1990) following Hansford et al. (1976), of the 394 or so distinct languages in Nigeria, 75% of these have no basic development at all in terms of a standard orthography, primers for the primary school, a dictionary, descriptive grammars and general literacy materials. If 75% of Nigerian languages have no basic development at all, how can they have a status, he asked?

Secondly, the government should create a machinery or conditions in which Nigerian languages can be actively involved in those vital areas from which they are now excluded. These include areas such as higher education, research, commerce and industry, public administration and law. A language is as important as the society in which it is spoken wants to make it. One of the most costly mistakes Nigerians have made in more than three decades of their independence has been exclusion, wittingly or unwittingly, of Nigerian languages from the vital areas of development (Essien 1990).

A language policy can only work if it is attuned to the way in which a society is evolving. Only rarely can a language or reform be imposed on people against their wish. Is it possible to defend (or save) a language whose speakers do not want it anymore? The issue is not the language itself but the importance attached to it by its speakers. A language policy cannot ignore them (Calvet 2000:35).

It is up to the intellectual elites of minority communities to promote their mother-tongues. Often bi – or trilingual, they must initiate projects to keep out the neo-colonial intruder, give a new impetus to dying languages and adapt them to the modern world (Choudhry 2000:34).

4. Recommendations

With the linguistic liberation implied by the liberalization of the language provisions in the 1995 NPE, the cultural pluralism recognized in the CPN, and the available structures put in place for formal and non-formal education in Nigerian languages, it is recommended that:

- (i) There is the urgent need for the teaching of the Margi language in the primary schools in all the Margi speaking areas as was done by the missionaries in the late 50s.
- (ii) One standard literary dialect be recognized to serve the main Margi speaking areas, including the Western Putai group.
- (iii) A unified grammar be standardized on the basis of the South and North Margi dialects. A comparison to the existing grammatical descriptions in the publication of Hoffmann (1963) reveals little difference between the North and the South dialects.
- (iv) Many more non-major Nigerian language be introduced into Colleges of Education, and Junior Secondary Schools nation-wide.
- (v) Curricula and textual materials be produced in Nigerian languages, especially the non-major ones.
- (vi) Empowerment be given to an Institution like the National Institute for Nigerian Languages at Aba to train more non-major Nigerian language teachers to meet the shortage of teachers in these areas.
- (vii) The strategies of the Rivers Readers project be replicated in multilingual areas nation-wide.

Finally, I will end this essay by quoting Emenanjo (1997):

Nigerian Language Studies, as a discipline, is now a very serious academic concern. It should not be unduly mixed with politics or stifled by bureaucracy. The will to fully realize this point is, perhaps, the only way we can ever hope to go beyond the provisions for language and culture in the NPE and the CPN and all the implementation blue prints which they have fathered.

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41. Research in the Igbo Language and the Issue of Publishing

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This paper makes a crucial claim that it is Igbo indomitable democratic spirit, more than any other factor that has caused the dearth of linguistic studies and publishing in Igbo at different times in the history of the study of the language. The paper further identifies other factors that generally affect linguistic studies in developing countries, which have consequently affected scholarship, and publishing in Igbo.

Introduction

The desire of the researcher on indigenous languages to communicate his research findings is usually not matched by a corresponding zeal on the part of the publisher to get the resulting linguistic materials published. Crucially, this constitutes a dilemma for the language practitioner. An insight into the problems which face a researcher on Igbo or any other indigenous language as well as the publisher is explained briefly in the following extract from “publishing in the Third world”:

Without question, language is one of the most difficult issues for the Third World Nation. The ramifications are felt in politics, economics, education and intellectual life and the publishing situation is but one of the elements of this issue (Aitbach et al. 1980).

Publishing in any Nigerian language will thus be influenced by the political and economic considerations which crucially affect the educational system. It is clear therefore that what we shall discuss with respect to publishing in Igbo will hold true of the major Nigerian languages. But we shall, in addition, argue and demonstrate that the Igbo case is rather peculiar. Consequently, the problems of publishing in the language will necessitate a rather different solution from that which has worked for the other two major Nigerian languages: Hausa and Yoruba.

Factors that are peculiar to Igbo Language Studies and Publishing

Orthography

It has often been pointed out that disagreements over the particular orthography to be adopted for Igbo hindered research and consequently publishing. Altogether three different orthographies have been proposed for the language at various times. These include the Lepsius orthography (1854), the New or Africa orthography (1929), and the present Igbo official orthography which was proposed in (1961) (cf. Onyekaonwu, 1986).

Armstrong (1967:4) gives a classic assessment of the Igbo orthography as follows,

The present official and much ‘simplified’ orthography amounts in practice to writing language such as Olu, Owerri, and Ohuhu in the Onitsha system. Whatever virtues such an enterprise may have, it is quite obvious that there is not the remotest chance of writing the really interesting poetry and literature of these languages in this way. It would be too ambitious to be intelligible and most of the poetic subtleties would be lost.

What Armstrong refers to here as different languages have been shown to be different dialects of Igbo. The important point is that an authentic orthography of Igbo has to recognize the different phonemic contrasts that exist in the different dialects of the language. Notice that Armstrong finds the Igbo official orthography grossly inadequate not only for the work of the linguist, but also that of the literary artist. Crucially, for the Igbo linguist or the serious Igbo literary scholar, there is still a dire need to harmonise this orthography with the scholarly research in the language.

An outstanding lack of the official orthography is that it does not recognize the fact that such phenomena as nasalisation and aspiration are phonologically distinctive in a number of dialects of Igbo. It is interesting to note that one of the best grammars of Igbo namely that of Green and Igwe: *A Descriptive Grammar of Igbo*, published in 1963, that is, two years after the emergence of the said orthography does not conform strictly to this orthography. Rather the orthography is modified to accommodate the data from Ohuhu dialect of the language on which the grammar is based. In this same vein, Meir (1979), making a case for the minor Igbo dialects like Izi, points to the need to modify the official orthography where phonemic contrasts necessitate this.

The Question of a Standard Dialect

Another factor, which is said to have notoriously affected the Igbo language studies, is disagreement over which dialect was to serve as the standard dialect. Just as three orthographies had been proposed for Igbo, dialects have also been proposed as standard. The dialects are the Isuama introduced by Crowther in 1875, and the Union Igbo with which the Igbo Bible was translated in 1913 at the injunction of Archdeacon T. Dennis. Finally, Ida Ward in 1931 recommended the Central dialect as the Igbo standard dialect. It is crucial to note here that while the first two proposed dialects were artificial dialects, and therefore had no native speakers among the Igbo, the third, i.e. the Central dialect as Nwachukwu (1983) points out represents the dialects spoken in the old Owerri province.

The Impenetrable Democratic Spirit of the Igbo

While linguists have often commented on the above two factors. It seems that a very fundamental factor that militated against linguistic research and publishing in Igbo has often been neglected. It would appear that the Igbo “man’s” excessive leaning to democratic approach to issues affecting writing in the language must be taken into consideration. Commenting on the problems that frustrated lexicographic work in the language, Williamson (1972) states that it was due to a lack of a single authoritative figure to impose a standard written language as Crowther did for Yoruba. Crucially, it was not the

lack of an important figure to do for Igbo what Crowther did for Yoruba, but it was the impenetrable democratic spirit of the Igbo which makes them resist any form of imposition that holds the key to the dearth of literary and linguistic scholarship, and invariably to the dearth of published works on the language at specific times. Just as he did for Yoruba, Crowther tried to impose the Isuama dialect as the standard Igbo dialect but without success. The Igbo would argue and fight it out, if necessary, when any authority – government or individual – attempts such a strategy. It is this that underlay the long drawn out orthography war. Similarly, it is this characteristic resistance that led to the rejection of the proposed dialects by Igbo language practitioners. It is interesting to note that even after the Onwu Orthography was introduced in 1961, a grammar text like Green and Igwe (1963), draws its data from the Central Dialects and incorporates such significant aspects of the language as aspiration and nasalization which are not recognized in the Igbo Official Orthography. Note, however, that such an eminent Igbo scholar like Achebe (1979) strongly criticizes both Union Igbo as well as Central Igbo.

Disagreement over Tone-marking Convention

Another small piece of evidence in support of the claim that the Igbo excessive democratic spirit creates problems for the Igbo language scholar and publisher alike is the disagreement over tone-marking convention in the language. Although the Igbo official orthography is silent on the very important question of “tone” in Igbo, serious works on the language, especially on grammar, features the indication of the tones of the language. Yet there is no consensus as to which tone-marking convention is to be adopted.

Presently, two tone-marking conventions exist in Igbo grammar texts, namely the Green and Igwe convention on the one hand, and the Nwachukwu convention on the other (cf. Nwachukwu 1983). The former provides for the marking of downstepped high and low tones while leaving high tones unmarked. It is significant to note here, that this convention parallels that of standard Yoruba where only high and low tones are marked, while the mid tone is left unmarked. On the other hand, in the tone marking convention propagated by Nwachukwu, only pitch differences are indicated while tones on the same pitch level are not tone-marked (Nwachukwu 1983:48ff). For the linguist who is anxious to communicate his research findings, competing tone-marking conventions is problematic. But more importantly, the publisher who undertakes to publish Igbo grammar texts has to cope with the two divergent conventions, and this certainly is uneconomical.

Crucially, the Igbo language studies and book publishing in Igbo involve a profound idiosyncratic problem which necessitates an idiosyncratic solution to it. I shall argue that the best strategy for the solution of problems affecting work on Igbo must ensure a gradual process of evolution rather than an arbitrary imposition. Note, for instance, that the Central Dialect is not the Igbo Standard dialect per se, but it is certainly the basis of an evolving Standard Igbo. In this evolution, Standard Igbo has been enriched by borrowings from the other dialects. Similarly, questions relating to standard Igbo orthography will find solutions in the different authentic modification of the present official orthography. This appears to be the case in grammar texts that are now available. In addition, the question of tone-marking convention can best be settled if the two competing conventions, the Green and

Igwe and the Nwachukwu conventions are allowed to co-exist. There is no doubt that with time, one of these two conventions will emerge victorious.

The crucial question is whether the solution proffered here augurs well for publishing in Igbo. Without question, such a solution will complicate publishing infrastructure. The publisher has to devise the means of coping with the divergent conventions and the problems of different dialects. In a country where the book industry is struggling to be economically viable, these problems continue to plague publishing in the language.

The Nigerian-Biafran War Factor

The Nigerian-Biafran war is another factor that has affected Igbo linguistic research and subsequently, publications in the language. As Onyekaonwu (1986) correctly points out, the war had both negative and positive influence on the Igbo language studies and publication. In one sense, the war signalled a dearth of Igbo linguistic materials for publication. The Igbo were struggling to survive a most agonizing war so much that Igbo studies, linguistic and literary were brought to a minimum. On the other hand, the war generated a profound Igbo cultural revival. The Igbo came to appreciate a rather deep sense of his Igboness which involved an appreciation of his language. Hence, it became prestigious to write in Igbo. It can be claimed that the Igbo language and literary studies made a definite leap forward at the end of the civil war and the years immediately following it saw a remarkable number of publications in the language (cf. Onyekaonwu 1986).

The Influence of the Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC)

SPILC has played a major role in promoting the work of writers and publishers in the language. Through seminars, workshops, etc., the society has provided the much-needed incentive to research and publishing in Igbo. Furthermore, through its standardization committee, SPILC has given a stamp of authority to some of the research findings and developments in the language. This is quite evident in such areas as the numerical systems of standard Igbo and other modernization processes. In addition, SPILC has from time to time published recommendations of the Standardization Committee thus, making these available to writers and publishers in the language. Above all, it has effected the production of Igbo Metalanguage under the auspices of the Nigerian Research and Development Council.

Factors Affecting Book Publishing which Igbo Shares with Other Indigenous Nigerian Languages

The Impact of the National Policy on Education

Apparently, the most important factor that has affected publishing in Igbo in a positive sense is the Nigerian National Policy on Education of 1977 revised in 1981 and 1995. According to this policy, the medium of instruction in the pre-primary and primary school is the Mother-tongue or the language of the immediate community. At the Secondary

School level, two Nigerian languages are to be studied at JSS, with the mother-tongue/language of the immediate Community being studied as LI, while the second Nigerian language is studied as at the SSS level, a major Nigerian Language is to be taught as a core subject. Furthermore, the policy states that orthographies of the different indigenous languages of Nigeria would be developed. In addition, the country's mass literacy and continuing education programmes involve the study of Igbo as well as other Nigerian Languages. The logical implication of this is that relevant text books in grammar and literature in the Nigerian languages ought to be written. If pursued rigorously, the Nigerian National Policy on Education would appear to be the greatest boost to research and publishing in each of the three major Nigerian languages. For instance, Igbo, a mother-tongue of a large part of the Nigerian populace, predominantly in the South-East and with speakers scattered among some states in the South-South has great potentials for research, and therefore for the publishing industry. It is interesting to note that Igbo is studied in most Colleges of Education outside Igbo land. What is more, Igbo is studied both at the University of Lagos and the University of Ibadan. It is obvious that in the universities in the Igbo South-Eastern states, Igbo is a subject of serious study. In addition, in the Federal Secondary Schools and Army Command Schools, Igbo is studied. There is thus a growing market for books written in the language. One can safely say that in this, lies a rich potential yet to be fully exploited by both the linguist and the literary artist.

Opposition from English

Whereas the language provisions of the National Policy on Education appear to offer the greatest encouragement to the development of Igbo and other Nigerian Languages, implicit in the same policy are factors which militate against the envisaged development and consequently publishing in the said language. Foremost among the factors is the pre-eminent position accorded to English in the National Policy on Education. The use of Igbo as a medium of instruction is limited to the primary school level. Even at this level, at some unidentified stage, Igbo is to give way to English. Igbo does not serve as a medium of instruction in the secondary and tertiary levels. It remains a subject to be studied at the higher levels. Crucially then, the development of Igbo and publishing in the language is severely restricted by the very policy that is meant to favour this. Furthermore, experts have at various times pointed to the obstacles that restrict even the limited role which Nigerian languages are allowed to play in education, politics, etc., namely, the lack of effective implementation policy to achieve the desired aims and objectives of the language provisions of the National policy on Education, (see especially Bamgbose et al. (1992). The stiff opposition from English is a natural result of the fact that the colonial legacy cannot be easily destroyed. For Igbo to compete effectively with English, there has to be a revolutionary attitude to Nigerian languages in the National Policy on Education, in which case, indigenous languages with special reference to the major Nigerian languages policy.

Poor Readership and Attendant Poor Financing

A constraint on linguistic research and publishing in indigenous Nigerian languages stems from poor readership culture. Nigerian do not engage much in reading for pleasure and this

could be explained by the fact that a poor economy does not encourage this. Since the general public is rather involved in a culture of economic survival, “reading for reading sake” does not flourish here. Consequently, readership of Igbo texts is rather limited to the school system.

The limited market for Igbo text has a corollary adverse effect. It leads to poor financial support. Writers and publishers find it difficult to borrow the needed money to produce Igbo texts. Crucially, banks are reluctant to give loan for such risky enterprises. It is only a radical cultural revival that would be a logical follow up to that, initiated by the civil war that could bring the general Igbo public to love and patronise texts written in the richness of the Igbo language and culture. But this in turn would be possible if the economic situation of Nigeria as a whole improves such that people can go beyond the subsistent level, and be attuned to high cultural aspirations. It is only then, that an adequate market for Igbo texts would be available. An enlarged market would be a boost to the publishing industry. At present, one can only suggest that the Government (that is, both Federal and Igbo states’ Governments) should give financial support to the production of Igbo texts if the aims and objectives of the National Policy on Education are to be achieved.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have drawn attention to a number of factors which have affected linguistic scholarship and publishing in Igbo. While some of these relate particularly to Igbo, others are common to the rest of the indigenous languages of the country. The paper has shown that the advance of linguistic study and publishing in Igbo are relative to the political and economic situation in Nigeria, to the role to which the Nigerian Policy on Education assigns indigenous languages, and finally to the extent to which issues relating to Igbo studies are allowed to be resolved without an arbitrary imposition.

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42. The Teaching in Kiswahili in Nigeria: The Journey so Far

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Kiswahili or the Swahili language originated from the eastern coast of Africa before the 10th century A.D. (Ohly 1973). The language has grown to become one of Africa's very important languages. As a potential lingua franca for all Africa, many people developed interest in Kiswahili. The authorities of the University of Port Harcourt introduced Kiswahili into its curriculum. The department of linguistics and African languages as it was then called mounted Kiswahili as a full-fledged course. Not long after the programme had started, several problems began to dampen the enthusiasm that led to the introduction of Kiswahili in the University of Port Harcourt. This paper is an attempt to examine the factors that led to the 'rise' and 'fall' of Kiswahili in Nigeria, with particular focus on the University of Port Harcourt.

1.1 Background

Kiswahili, a Bantu language, is spoken by about 50 million people in east and parts of central Africa as a first language (L1) and also as a second language (L2) (Mtesigwa 1991:2). It is generally accepted that the name Swahili is a modified form of the Arabic word *Swahili* plural of *Sahil* meaning coast (Polome 1967). The prefix *ki-* denoting language is attached to the stem to indicate that reference is being made to language, and not the people *wa* –Swahili, or the land and culture *U*-swahili (Maganga: 1984).

There is no doubt that the early Bantus who lived on the coast of the eastern part of Africa may have interacted with Arab settlers, traders and explorers. This contact may have given rise to a 'contact language' or a pidgin which is today the Swahili language. Polome (1967:12) asserts that the expansion of trade empires was a decisive step in the spread of Kiswahili over wide territories. Trade routes actually thrived as a result of 'core' Swahili settlements which are still in existence to the present day. Such places include Tabora and Ujiji near Lake Tanganyika and Bukavu in the Democratic Republic of Congo in the heart of Africa. Colonial powers that replaced the Arab traders and settlers also contributed to Kiswahili penetrating further into the hinterland. Today, Burundi and the Katanga province of the Democratic Republic of Congo have Kiswahili speaking communities and the language is also in wide use.

Presently, Kiswahili is not only a language of wider communication (LWC) in East Africa, it is also the national language of Tanzania, Kenya and to a large extent Uganda and Congo Democratic Republic. Apart from being a national language, Kiswahili is also the language of instruction in schools (especially in Tanzania). It is equally the language of administration, judiciary, entertainment, mass media and to some extent, information technology in East Africa.

The contact that Kiswahili had with Arabic, Persia, Portuguese, Hindi, German and English gave rise to the presence of lots of loan words in Kiswahili. The vocabulary of the language has been greatly enriched by these contacts, especially Arabic. This is why in some quarters Kiswahili is regarded as a mixture of African and Arabic

languages. However, in spite of the heavy loans, Kiswahili remains a Bantu language, as can be seen in its structure, verb endings and noun class system.

1.2 On the Perceived Relevance of Kiswahili

One may wonder why a country like Nigeria with over 400 languages would want to teach Kiswahili. The reason why Kiswahili was introduced into the curriculum of some Nigerian Universities including the University of Port Harcourt may have been due to the perceived relevance of the language. Such perceived relevance include the following:

Kiswahili, it was hoped would become a working language of the Pan-African Organization – the OAU (Organization of African Unity) now renamed African Union (AU). Hopes were equally high that Kiswahili with its territorial spread from the Comoro Islands to the Congo may one day become the African language to be used in the United Nations (UN) as well.

In 1977, it was claimed that Wole Soyinka had suggested at FESTAC that Kiswahili be adopted as the national language of Nigeria, because of its neutrality. It was hoped that if Kiswahili is made the national language of Nigeria and indeed Africa, it would remove distrust, opposition and tribal sentiments associated with the national language question in Nigeria. Several suggestions have been made regarding the setting up of an African Military High Command for peace-keeping operations. Of course, Kiswahili would have been the language of such a high command.

Voice of Nigeria (VON) – the external arm of Radio Nigeria, Lagos, had in the late 70s introduced Swahili service broadcast. This act, which I believe, was to sell Nigeria's image to fellow Africans in the east also points to the fact that Kiswahili was seen as being very relevant.

Among other perceived relevance of Kiswahili was the thinking that Nigerian Universities would produce Kiswahili graduates, who would work in the mass media, and other relevant agencies. Such agencies include Foreign Affairs Ministry, State Security Services, Translation Outfits, Diplomatic and International Relations departments.

I believe that it is due to the perceived relevance of Kiswahili enumerated above that the University of Port Harcourt, Ibadan and Jos began to teach Kiswahili in their departments of Linguistics and languages. The latest entrant is the University of Uyo in Akwa Ibom State. A young man I met at a symposium organized in 2002 in honour of Kay Williamson claimed that he was assigned to teach Kiswahili at the University of Uyo, even though he has neither the training nor the language of the Waswahili!

Before looking at the problems facing the teaching of Kiswahili in Nigeria, let us discuss Kiswahili in the University of Port Harcourt.

1.3 Kiswahili in the University of Port Harcourt

Of the four universities known to have taught courses in Kiswahili, it is only the University of Port Harcourt that seemed very ambitious. At inception as a full-fledged university in 1977, the University of Port Harcourt introduced Kiswahili as a course leading to the award of degrees. This is not the case with other universities with similar programmes. Professor Kay Williamson (personal communication) said that it was the late Professor Claude Ake who suggested having Kiswahili as a course in the University of Port Harcourt. It is known that from the 1979/80 academic session, Kiswahili was taught to first year students of the Faculty of Humanities (then School of Humanities). It

was believed that an acquaintance with the language in the first year would encourage some students to opt for Kiswahili as their course of study.

To this day, it is only the University of Port Harcourt that has awarded degrees in Kiswahili, in Nigeria. Not only did the University encourage students to study Kiswahili, it also sponsored staff development and recruited staff to teach Kiswahili. Between 1980 and 1988 when the last set of students who studied Kiswahili to degree level graduated, a total of seven persons made up of three males and four females have graduated with a BA (Hons) in Kiswahili. Between 1989 and 1998 when Kiswahili 'died' in the University of Port Harcourt, it was only taught as a semester course for students of Linguistics.

1.4 Problems

Kiswahili that was seen as very relevant, as shown in 1.2 above and hence was introduced in Nigerian universities was faced with myriad of problems. Attempts shall be made to enumerate these problems.

a) Relevance in doubt

The perceived relevance that made Kiswahili the beautiful bride of some Nigerian Universities is now doubtful. The language has not become the working language of African Union, not to talk of the United Nations. The African military high command has not been formed.

b) Lack of support from speakers

The lack of support from the 'owners' of the language is yet another factor that has hampered the teaching of Kiswahili in Nigeria. To a large extent a language is important when its users become important. Unfortunately for Kiswahili, the weak economic resources of the countries where it has its roots, cannot allow them to give support aimed at promoting the language outside their regions. Nigerian students wishing to study Kiswahili have no access to grants, aids and other incentives, so are their teachers. The economic relevance of East Africa is not enough to encourage others to develop interest in Kiswahili.

c) Staffing and man-power

Another problem of teaching Kiswahili in Nigeria is that of staffing. Over the years, it has been increasingly difficult to get qualified staff to teach Kiswahili in Nigeria. Between 1980 and 1995, the University of Port Harcourt never had more than two Kiswahili lecturers on ground at the same time. Between 1991 and 1998, only this writer was available to teach Kiswahili in the University of Port Harcourt. Part of the problem of poor staffing has to do with the falling value of the Nigerian naira and poor remunerations to University teaching staff. The fact that Nigeria is no longer an attractive place to live and work made it difficult for scholars to be recruited. It is true that until recently, the salaries of teachers were not internationally competitive.

d) Lack of funds for year abroad

The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and its attendant austerity measures of the 80s made it impossible for willing students to pursue a course in Kiswahili. The Kiswahili programme requires that a student should spend an academic session at the

University of Dares Salaam in Tanzania, on a year abroad programme. Due to lack of funds and support interested students were forced to dump Kiswahili since they are not likely to meet the year abroad requirement.

e) Job prospects

Many Nigerian students are no longer interested to study Kiswahili up to the degree level because they fear that it may not give them jobs after graduation. This fear seems legitimate as all those who read Kiswahili in the University of Port Harcourt are not making use of it; they scarcely use the language where they now work. The fact that the places to apply for employment are very few, students shy away from the study of Kiswahili.

f) Dearth of teaching materials

The dearth of teaching aids such as books, journals, charts, language laboratory, audio visual aids and other teaching materials pose a great problem to the teaching of Kiswahili in Nigeria.

g) A speaking community

Lack of a Kiswahili is also a problem to the teaching and learning of the language in Nigeria. Studies have shown that when learners of a language interact with native speakers, they tend to know the language more. In Nigeria, there is neither an academy nor a speech community where students could go for acculturation.

h) The world as a global village

The fact that information technology has reduced the world to a global village seems, to me, a factor against Kiswahili in Nigeria. Earlier, I mentioned the weak economy of the East African countries which has made interest in Kiswahili to diminish. People have the tendency to align with those who have economic and political power, and English seems to meet the need of a great majority of the world's population.

The place of Kiswahili in international affairs is not very strategic; Languages grow or die with the fortunes of their speakers.

1.5 The Way Forward

So far, we have outlined some of the major problems that militate against the teaching and learning of Kiswahili in Nigeria. In what follows, we shall suggest the remedies to some of the problems.

- a) Africans in general and East Africans in particular should pursue with vigor the teaching and learning of Kiswahili. The African Union should immediately declare Kiswahili as one of her working languages. African leaders should ensure, without delay, that Kiswahili is made a working language of the United Nations.
- b) More African states should adopt Kiswahili as their national language in the hope that starting from the Bantu speaking areas, all of Africa will one day speak Kiswahili.

- c) The African Union, without delay, should establish an African military high command with headquarters in Anestia, Tanzania, Kiswahili should be the language of the high command.
- d) More national radio stations should start Kiswahili broadcast without delay.
- e) Special funds should be made available through the African Union, to boost the teaching and learning of Kiswahili across the length and breadth of Africa.
- f) A massive enlightenment programme should be carried out to sensitize every African on the need to speak Kiswahili.
- g) Universities whose Kiswahili programme has become moribund should be assisted with funds by the governments of East African states to re-establish or revive their programmes.
- h) Teaching aids and other educational materials should be made available to institutions that are interested in the teaching of Kiswahili, so that proper teaching will be done.
- i) An exchange programme should be started between the universities of Dares salaam, Nairobi and Nigerian universities, whereby students can go on year abroad programme, while their own students could come to Nigeria for other courses.
- j) The government of Nigeria should make salaries and emoluments of university teachers internationally competitive, so that experts in Kiswahili can be attracted to come to Nigeria.
- k) The University of Port Harcourt should resuscitate her Kiswahili programme and source funds to build a language laboratory and a well-stocked library for Kiswahili.

The various suggestions given above are realizable if everyone concerned show commitment to the cause of this “fine and easy-to-learn” Bantu language. The interest that some North Americans have shown in Kiswahili is enough for requests for assistance to be made to them.

1.6 Summary

So far, this paper has examined the teaching of Kiswahili in Nigeria. We have given the background for the introduction of Swahili in Nigeria with over 400 languages. The paper also examines the problems militating against the teaching and learning of Kiswahili in Nigeria, and lastly offers solutions on how to overcome the problems.

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43. Low Tone Roots in Igbo¹

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0. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to suggest an origin for certain tonal phenomena in Igbo. It is claimed that they can be explained as the result of an older situation which can be traced by looking outside the central dialects which, form the basis of Standard Igbo to other lects which have preserved more direct clues to the older situation.

Igboid is a language group consisting of a single language Èkpèyè, with slight dialectal variations, and a large language cluster which contains the multidialectal language Igbo with a developing standard form, plus other groups of lects which are generally regarded by their speakers as distinct from, though closely related to, Igbo. One such group comprises Ùkwàni-Àbò (Aboh)-Ndoni, and another includes Runderle, Ogbakiri and many other lects which are collectively referred to as Ikwere. There is no sharp break in intelligibility between these various groups and Igbo, and Igbo speakers therefore usually regard them as dialects of Igbo. I shall generally, following Capo 1982, use the neutral term 'lect' to refer to the speech-forms involved without judging whether we are dealing with 'languages' or 'dialects', though when I use 'Igbo' I am referring to the central lects. I shall assume the classification of Igboid as a New Benue-Congo language group, as discussed in Williamson 1989a,b.²

1. Verb tone classes in Igbo

Green and Igwe (1963) describe the Òhùhù dialect of Igbo as having a contrast in verbs between high tone and low tone roots; e.g. the infinitive forms í-zá 'to answer' and í-zà 'to sweep'. Swift, Ahaghotu and Ugorji (1962) were the first to describe a dialect (Ezinehite) which has a third tone class which they call the high-low tone class; verbs in this class behave sometimes like high tone verbs and sometimes like low tone ones. Nwachukwu (1983:43-44) recognizes all three classes in Standard Igbo. Emenanjo identifies the three classes in Owere (1985:103-5) and traces of them in Nneewi (1985:142).

1.1 Reconstructions of the verb tone classes

1.1.1 High tone verb class

The high tone verb class is clearly to be reconstructed as H (high); it is affected only by rules that neutralize all verb tone classes or by general tone processes. An example of such a general process is seen in the infinitive, where H tone roots are downstepped in Igbo. The downstep is explained as the result of an old L (low) infinitive prefix, which survives as ù-/ù- in Èkpèyè, as ò-/ò- /è-/à- in Ogbakiri. The infinitive has been reprefixed with a H prefix í-/í- in Owere, Onicha and Ùkwàni, and the original L prefix survives only as a floating L which causes a downstep on the following H. In Ùkwàni the old L has been reassociated with the verb root and has displaced its original H, while the H of the new H prefix í-/í- has been spread on to the root, resulting in a falling tone, see (1).

(1) Infinitive of H tone verb: 'to eat'

a) With original L prefix:

L	H	=	L-H	
u-	d i	=	ù-d í	Ekpeye
o	ri	=	ò-rí	Runde
e-	ri	=	è-rí	Ogbakiri

b) With new prefix added and original L prefix reduced to a floating tone:

H	L	H	=	H-↓-H	
i-		ri	=	í-↓-rí	Owere
i-		li	=	í-↓-lí	Oñcha

c) Floating L tone re-associates with root, displacing original H; H of new prefix spreads into root:

H		L H	=	H-F	
\					
i-		li	=	í-lí	Ukwani

1.1.2 High-low tone verb class

The high-low tone verb class retains its old form in Ogbakiri, so that in the infinitive the verb root has HL (falling) tone, whereas in most lects it has simplified to H. In Ukwani the fall is derived as in (1), and is not a retention of the old HL, so that the contrast between H and HL tone verbs is neutralized in the infinitive in Ukwani.

(2) Infinitive of HL tone verb: 'to grind'

a) With original L prefix

L	H L	=	L-F	
	∨			
e-	gwe	=	è-gwê	Ogbakiri

b) With HL root reduced to H:

L	H L	=	L-H	
u-	gwe	=	ù-gwé	Ekpeye
o-	gwe	=	ò-gwé	Runde

- c) With new prefix added and original one reduced to a floating tone:

$$\begin{array}{rclcl}
 \text{H} & \text{L} & \text{H L} & = & \text{H-}\downarrow\text{-H} \\
 | & & | & & \\
 \text{i-} & & \text{gwe} & = & \text{í-}\downarrow\text{-gwé} \quad \text{Owere} \\
 \text{i-} & & \text{gwe} & = & \text{í-}\downarrow\text{-gwé} \quad \text{Onicha}
 \end{array}$$

- d) Floating L tone re-associates with root, displacing original H; H of new prefix spreads into root:

$$\begin{array}{rclcl}
 \text{H} & & \text{L H L} & = & \text{H-F} \\
 | & \backslash & | & & \\
 \text{i-} & & \text{gwe} & = & \text{í-gwê} \quad \text{Ukwuani}
 \end{array}$$

Because a contrast between (1) and (2) has been maintained in the infinitive in Ogbakiri which has been lost in the other lects, verbs of this type are reconstructed with HL tones.

1.1.3 Low-high tone verb class

The verbs which have L tone in Igbo show HL in Ekpeye and Ogbakiri in the infinitive. In Rundelee they show H tone in the infinitive and therefore merge with the other two classes. This suggests that Rundelee too once had LH tone in the infinitive which has been simplified to H, whereas in Igbo it has been simplified to L.

- (3) Infinitive of low-high tone verb ‘to fall’

- a) With original L prefix:

$$\begin{array}{rclcl}
 \text{L} & & \text{L H} & = & \text{L-R} \\
 | & \swarrow \searrow & & & \\
 \text{u-} & & \text{da} & = & \text{ù-dǎ} \quad \text{Ekpeye} \\
 \text{a-} & & \text{dǎ} & = & \text{à-dǎ} \quad \text{Ogbakiri}
 \end{array}$$

- b) With simplification of LH root to H:

$$\begin{array}{rclcl}
 \text{L} & & \text{LH} & = & \text{L-H} \\
 | & & | & & \\
 \text{o-} & & \text{dǎ} & = & \text{ò-dǎ} \quad \text{Rundelee}
 \end{array}$$

- c) With new prefix added and original L prefix reduced to a floating tone, and with simplification of LH root to L:

$$\begin{array}{rclcl}
 \text{H} & \text{L} & \text{LH} & = & \text{H-L} \\
 \text{i-} & & \text{d}^{\text{h}}\text{ǎ} & = & \text{í-d}^{\text{h}}\text{ǎ} \quad \text{Owere} \\
 \text{i-} & & \text{da} & = & \text{í-dà} \quad \text{Onicha}
 \end{array}$$

- d) Flowing L tone re-associates with root, displacing original H; H of new prefix spreads into root:

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{H} & \text{L} & \text{LH} \\
 | & \diagdown & | \\
 \text{i-} & & \text{da}
 \end{array}
 =
 \begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{H-F} & & \\
 \text{i-dâ} & & \text{Ukwûani}
 \end{array}$$

In Ukwûani the infinitive tone has been neutralized for all three classes, but the verb roots can be pronounced in isolation; when this is done, H and HL tone verbs have high tone (**lí**, **gwé**) and LH tone verbs have LH tone (**dă**).

This strongly suggests that the so-called ‘low’ tone roots should actually be reconstructed historically as Low-High, for in three lects (Ekpeye, Ogbakiri and Ukwûani) a LH pattern survives, while the H of Rundele is hard to explain as a correspondence to L in order lects but easy to explain as an alternative simplification of an underlying LH.

1.2 The emphasizer in LH tone verbs

Further evidence to support this hypothesis is readily available from the emphasizer, a nominalized form of the verb which adds emphasis to the verb. In Igbozọ, Emenanjọ (1985:76) reports that the emphasizer of a L tone verb has LH tone.

- (4) Wă zà ù⁺nó à àzàá.
 Q+they sweep house this EMPHASIZER
 ‘Did they really sweep this house?’

Emenanjọ analyses the final H tone syllable of the emphasizer as a V-suffix, but after finding that what were previously thought of as Low roots are actually LH, it is very likely that the emphasizer should be interpreted as a prefixed form of the LH tone root.

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{L} & \text{L H} & \\
 | & \diagdown & \\
 \text{a-} & & \text{za}
 \end{array}
 =
 \begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{L-R} & & \\
 \text{à-ză} & &
 \end{array}$$

The emphasizer of a LH root in Owere (Emenanjọ 1985:116) further supports this view. It takes a H tone, which can be explained as a simplification of LH, just like that on the infinitive in Rundele.

- (6) Há zàrà ù⁺yó à àzá.
 they sweep house this EMPHASIZER
 ‘They actually swept this house’.

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{L} & \text{LH} & \\
 | & | & \\
 \text{a-} & \text{za} & \\
 & = & \text{à-zá}
 \end{array}$$

Simplification of LH to H in the Owere emphasizer leads to the expectation that other lects may simplify instead to L. This is indeed the case in the third lect analysed by Emenanjo (1985:151), Nneewi, as seen in (8)-(9).

- (8) Fà zàlù ù⁺nó à àzà.
 Q+they sweep house this EMPHASIZER
 ‘Did they really sweep this house?’

- (9) L LH = L-L
 | |
 a- za = à-zà

1.3 Compound verb stems

Postulating an original LH pattern for the ‘low’ tone verbs also helps to explain the tone patterns of compound verbs. Green and Igwe (1963:188) show that in Ọhụhụ (which has only two verb tone classes as a result of H merging with HL verbs) there are four possible combinations of disyllabic compound verbs, but only three contrasting tone patterns in the infinitive.

- (10) H + H = H+H í⁺méché ‘to shut’
 H + L = H+L í⁺túbhà ‘to throw in’
 L + L = H+L í⁺wéfù ‘to take out’
 L + H = L+L í⁺wèlà ‘to take home’

The first two combinations yield exactly the expected tones. The last one is understood to be low tone spreading. But the third combination, L + L, yields the same HL pattern as H + L. This can be understood if we assume original LH for ‘low’ tone verbs; the first LH has simplified to H, just as in the Rundele infinitive and the Owere emphasizer, while the second one has simplified to L, as elsewhere Ụkwụ̀nị confirms this, because at least some speakers retain the original LH pattern for both verbs.

- (11) L H + L H = R+R
 $\begin{array}{c} \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \text{lo} \quad + \quad \text{wu} \end{array}$ = lǒ-wǔ
 ‘think’ ‘lose’ = ‘forget’

This provides a simple explanation for the apparently puzzling pattern in Standard Igbo.

2. Nominal stems and the high tone associative marker

As shown by Green and Igwe (1963) and many others, Igbo is extremely rich in nominal derivations from verbs. Many verbs take an inherent complement which is formed from the verb by adding a nominalizing prefix. We might expect that the nouns formed from LH verb roots in Ekpẹ̀yẹ, Ọgbakị̀rị and Ụkwụ̀nị would show LH in their stems, but in fact they are uniformly L in isolation.

- (12) $\begin{array}{lll} \text{Èkpèyè} & \text{hwũ + ùhwù} & \text{'call + a call'} \\ \text{Ọgbakiri} & \text{vũ + ívù} & \text{'be big/fat + bigness/fatness'} \\ \text{Ụkwụani} & \text{lě + òlè} & \text{'be effective + effectiveness'} \end{array}$

Nouns formed from original LH verb stems do not differ tonally in any way from nouns which cannot be traced to a verbal origin.

There is, however, a H which surfaces at the end of any Igbo noun ending in a L when it precedes a second noun beginning with a L in an associative (genitive) construction:

- (13) $\begin{array}{llll} \grave{a}bh\grave{a} & + & \grave{e}nw\grave{o} & = & \grave{a}bh\acute{a} \grave{e}nw\grave{o} \\ \text{jaw} & & \text{monkey} & & \text{'jaw of monkey'} \end{array}$
(Green and Igwe 1963:21).

Welmers (1963), followed by many other scholars, proposed that the H in this construction is the result of an associative particle that consists only of a H tone associating to the last syllable of the first noun. Thus constructions of this type have been analyzed as in (14).

- (14) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{L} & + & \text{H} & + & \text{L} & = & \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \\ \swarrow & & & & \swarrow & & \swarrow \quad \swarrow \quad \swarrow \\ \text{abha} & & & & \text{enwo} & & \grave{a}bh\acute{a} \quad \grave{e}nw\grave{o} \end{array}$

This analysis gives the right results, but no fuller form of the associative particle has ever been found in any recorded lect. The only known morpheme which has a similar meaning is **ńkè**, usually translated 'that of'. This word is itself a noun, however, because it also acquires the final high tone when preceding another low-initial noun:

- (15) $\begin{array}{lll} \grave{n}k\acute{e} & \grave{a}l\grave{a} & \text{'that of the land'}. \end{array}$

As it is L itself and acquires the H before another L like any ordinary noun, it cannot be regarded as the source of the H. Thus the origin of the H cannot be explained within Igbooid by the theory of the associative H particle.

It is presumably possible for a purely tonal morpheme to survive for a long time; this has to be assumed if Welmers' analysis of the H as a remnant of the associative morpheme ***á**, which he traces back to Proto-Niger-Congo, is to be accepted. On the other hand, an analysis which is able to dispense with a distinct associative morpheme is to that extent simpler than one which requires it. The discovery that currently L tone roots in deverbal nouns correspond to originally LH verb roots suggests such an alternative analysis; that all L noun roots were originally LH and have been simplified to L everywhere except before another L tone in a close-knit phrase, where the old H surfaces. In that case (11) would be re-analyzed as (16).

- (16) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{L-} & \text{LH} & + & \text{L-} & \text{LH} & = & \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ | & \swarrow \quad \searrow & & | & \swarrow \quad \searrow & & \swarrow \quad \swarrow \quad \swarrow \quad \swarrow \\ \text{a-bha} & & & \text{e-nwo} & & & \grave{a}bh\acute{a} \quad \grave{e}nw\grave{o} \end{array}$

The construction is very similar to that of a compound verb; of the two LH roots in contact, the first simplifies to H and the second to L. The only difference is the presence of the L prefixes, which do not appear to affect the outcome.

The result of this is that all apparently L roots of nouns will be reconstructed LH, just like all apparently L verb roots, and no high tone associative particle need to be assumed in Igboid.

One objection to this is that there are already LH roots reconstructed for Proto-Igboid. To accommodate this fact, it will be necessary to assume that those already reconstructed with LH had the L as a floating tone, while these newly-proposed ones had the H as floating. The implications of this possibility will not be explored in this paper.

3. Conclusion

From observations of the tones found in outlying lects, particularly *Ẹkpẹyẹ*, *Rundele*, *Ọgbakiri*, and *Ụkwuani*, it has been demonstrated that there is a very good case for reconstructing verb roots which in Standard Igbo show L tone as having originally had LH tone. Furthermore, it is also suggested that nouns which now show L tone in their roots originally had LH tone, probably with the H floating.

This analysis suggests that Igboid roots of both verbs and nouns were originally disyllabic rather than monosyllabic, as will be demonstrated more fully in Williamson and Ohiri-Aniche (forthcoming). The patterns H and HL, shown here to be contrastive for verb roots, are also distinct for noun roots (Williamson 1986). If it is correct that originally LH roots have simplified to L in some cases and H in others, the question which arises is whether Proto-Igboid had no root pattern L in contrast with LH, as would be expected in a system of disyllabic roots in a two-tone system. To this question I have at present no answer.

Notes

¹This paper was prepared for a book which never appeared. I am pleased to present it, in a slightly revised form, for this book in honour of Professor Emenanjo. His contributions to the study of Igbo have included data on dialects which have been carefully recorded even when they did not seem to fit into current models, as with the examples quoted here from his work. It is one of the joys of Linguistics that data that once seemed perplexing eventually fits into a larger picture.

²I am extremely grateful to the following people for much patient checking of data: Mr. Hanson Uyi for *Ẹkpẹyẹ*, Mr. Glory Worukwo for *Ọgbakiri*, and Miss Abigail Ogwezzy for *Ụkwuani*.

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44. Intonation in Tone Languages: Insights from Esan

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The prosodic feature of pitch, which is the main exponent of intonation, is also used for establishing contrasts in tone languages. Pitch used distinctively in words is called ‘tone’, while in longer stretches it is called ‘intonation’. This does not in any way suggest that tone and intonation are mutually exclusive. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the interaction in Esan between tone and intonation in conveying meaning; in particular, to see how intonation can be superimposed on tones to form intonational patterns that convey different kinds of linguistic information. To do this, we examine the intonational patterns in statements, contrasting them with the intonational changes observed in emphatic statements and questions.

1. Introduction

It is widely but incorrectly believed that intonation is not normally associated with tone languages. To discuss this, our data are taken from the Ekpoma dialect of the Esan language, spoken mainly in Esan West Local Government Area (LGA), Edo State, Nigeria. Different dialects are spoken in four other LGAs, Esan Central, Esan North-East, Esan South-East and **Igueben**. Esan is a North-Central Edoid language of the New Benue-Congo family (Bendor-Samuel 1989), previously classified under the Benue-Kwa grouping (Elugbe 1986) and Kwa of the Niger-Congo grouping (Greenberg 1963).

Intonation is a feature usually of phrases and sentences, while tone is a feature of the lexicon involving the pitch patterns of words. Intonation has been variously defined in the literature. Cruttenden (1986:9) describes it as ‘the occurrence of recurring pitch patterns, each of which is used with a set of relatively consistent meanings, either on single words or on groups of words of varying length’. Hyman (1975:227-228) compares intonation with tone in terms of the two related notions of downdrift and downstep. He describes downdrift as an automatic lowering process, which in tone languages is common among those with two contrastive tones, high and low. It is a property of intonation, involving a sequential process whereby high tones after low tones become progressively, less high throughout an intonational unit. (Crystal 1997:126). This contrasts with downstep, a non-automatic lowering process ‘which applies to the second of two high tone syllables’ such that ‘a downstepped high tone would be slightly lower than the preceding high tones but not so low as to be equivalent to a low tone’ (Crystal 1997:126). Downstep is phonemic, since it is phonologically contrastive.

Intonation is here understood as a prosodic/suprasegmental feature which can be super-imposed on the tones in a word, phrase, clause or sentence in tone languages, just as it can be super-imposed on stressed/unstressed syllables in stress-timed languages and presumably, in pitch-accent languages.

Intonation serves various purposes, including marking grammatical boundaries such as phrases and clauses, signaling sentence types such as statements and questions, and conveying all kinds of speaker’s attitudes such as the expression of joy, surprise,

exasperation, irony, etc. Esan has two contrastive tones, high and low, and these form rising and falling tones. See Ejele (1982, 2002a, 2003a).

2. Examination of intonation patterns

In this section, we examine the intonational patterns associated with statements, then compare them with those in emphatic statements and questions.

2.1 Intonation in statements

Esan can be said to have neutral intonation in statements, since there is no consistent pattern associated with them. Thus, they can end on a low, high, falling or rising pitch.

2.1.1 Statement with final word ending on a low tone

		Intonational pattern
1a)	ọńĩ òmò mè bhúnù the soup good Loc.mouth 'The soup tastes delicious'	- - - - - ọ no mo mẹ bhu nu
b)	ọní ókhùò dẹ úkpòn the woman bought cloth 'The woman bought a cloth'	- - - - - ọ no khu o du kpòn
c)	Èfẹ vén óghèdè cooked plantain 'Efe cooked the plantain'	- E fe von dhe de
d)	Èfẹ lamẹ ọghèdè L L fried plantain 'Efe friend the plantain'	- - - - - È fe la mọ ghẹ dẹ
e)	Èfẹ lámẹ ẹlamẹn H H fried meat 'Efe fried the meat'	- - - - - - È fe la mẹ la mẹn

We observe that specifically, it is the tone on the last syllable that determines the pitch on which the sentence ends. All the sentences 1a-e end on a low pitch, and observed downdrift where a following high tone is lower than a preceding high.

2.1.2 Statements with final words ending on a high tone

	Statements	Intonational pattern
2a)	ọní ókhùò dẹ émì èsó the woman bought things some 'The woman bought some things'	- - - - - - - ọ no khu o de mi e so

- b) Èfè kpé úkĩ ògò
wash top bottle
'Efe washed the top of the bottle'
- c) Èfè kpé ẹké ùkòkó
wash inside cup
'Efe washed the inside of the cup'
- d) ọní ókhùò ẹ́ẹ́ ọ́ẹ́ ẹ̀mèná
the woman bought leg cow
'The woman bought a leg of cow'
- e) ọ́ khan ọ́nĩ ị́sé
He hammered the nail
'He hammered the nail'

In all the examples 2a-e, the final high tone is realized as a lowered high. Realising final highs as lowered highs is a lowering process associated with intonation. This automatic lowering, alias downdrift, is a property of intonation, and as seen in the examples above, it involves a sequential process whereby high tones after low tones become progressively less high throughout an intonation unit. This is not surprising as the process is common among tone languages that have two contrastive tones, high and low.

2.1.3 Statements with final words ending on a falling or rising tone

Words ending on a falling or rising pitch are not common in the Esan language, so we shall give very few examples.

- 3a) ọ́nĩ ọ̀dùẹ̀kĩ sàá ẹ̀bọ́ ùwá
the trader atlast build house
'The trader is at last building a house'
- b) Àgbọ̀n rèbhé hò ẹ̀mọ́ ịghò
people all love/like matter money
'Everybody loves money'

In these examples, the sentences end on HL and LH pitch respectively, as dictated by the sentence-final words which end with HL and LH tones.

What is significant in this section on statements is the fact that downdrift is a common feature of intonation. This is similar to the case in Edo (Bini), its closest relative (Amayo 1976, Elugbe 1977:61).

2.2 Intonation in emphatic statements

When statements are used with emphasis, differences show up, depending on the sentence-final tone. Thus when statements with final low tone are used for emphasis, the

low tone is raised, making it sound auditorily like a phonetic mid tone, as in 4a-e, compared to 1a-e respectively.

	Intonational pattern
4a) ọ̀nǐ òmò mè bhú [↑] nù - the soup good Loc.mouth 'The soup does taste delicious'	- - - - ọ no mo mẹ bhu nu
b) ọ̀ní ókhùò dẹ ú [↑] kpòn the woman bought cloth 'The woman did buy clothes'	- - - - - ọ no khu o du kpòn
c) Èfẹ yẹn ọ [↑] ghẹdẹ cooked plantain 'Efe did cook plantain'	- - - - È fe yon ghẹ dẹ
d) Èfẹ lá [↑] mẹ ọghẹdẹ fried plantain 'Efe did fry plantain'	- - - - - È fe la mọn ghẹ dẹ
e) Èfẹ lámẹ ẹ [↑] lámẹn fried meat 'Efe did fry meat'	- - - - È fe la mẹn la mẹn

(NB ↑ represents tone raising, and ↓ tone-lowering).

Furthermore, if the statement ends on a series of lows, all the lows are raised in the emphatic form, as in 1c, d, e. While Esan uses low tone raising for emphasis, its distant relatives Isoko and Urhobo use it for statements (Elugbe 1977). Hence to Esan speakers, Urhobo statements always sound emphatic.

When statements with final high tone are used for emphasis, a number of things take place at the tonal and segmental levels. At the segmental level, the last vowel is lengthened and at the tonal level, the last high tone spreads to the lengthened vowel resulting in a sequence of two highs. Finally the last high (of this sequence) is lowered, as observed in the non-emphatic statements, in 2a-e compared with 5a-e, respectively.

Statements	Intonational pattern
5a) ọ̀ní ókhùò dẹ émǐ èsó [↓] ó the woman bought things some 'The woman did buy some things'	- - - - - ọ no khu o de mi e so o
b) Èfẹ kpé úkǐ ọgó [↓] ọ wash tap bottle 'Efe did wash the top of the bottle'	- - - - - È fe kpu ko gọ ọ
c) Èfẹ kpé ẹké ùkòkó [↓] ó wash inside cup 'Efe did wash inside of the cup'	- - - - - È fe kpẹ kẹ u ko ko o

- d) ọní ókhùò dé óẹ ẹmèná'á
the woman bought leg cow
'The woman did buy a leg of a cow'
- e) ọ khan ónǐ ǐsé'é
He hammered the nail
'He did hammer the nail'

Interestingly, the lowered high tones are higher than the raised low tone. It does appear that this tone (lowered high or raised low) is associated with the realization of emphatic statements. In the case of statements ending on a falling or rising pitch, these can be used emphatically by lengthening the last segment and its tone. However the tone on the lengthened segment is raised in the case of the falling tone (resulting in HL[↑]L sequence) while that on the rising tone results in LH[↓]H tonal sequence – as in 6a and 6b compared with 3a and 3b respectively.

- 6a) ọnǐ ọdùẹkǐ sàá bọ ùwá'áà
the trader atlast build house
'The trader is at last building a house'
- b) Àgbọ̀n rẹ̀bhé hò ẹ̀mọ́ íghǒ'ó
people all love/like matter money
'Everybody loves money'

(NB úwàà is written as úwáàà to show clearly the intonational change).

On the whole, the examples show that statement-final low tones, statement-final high tones, statement-final falling and statement-final rising tones when used for emphasis, are realized as raised low tone, as in the final low and falling tones or as lowered high as in the case final high and rising tones. In both cases involving the raised low or the lowered high, the resulting sound associated with the lowered high is higher than that of the raised low. A related phenomenon to emphatic statements is statements that convey intensity, exasperation surprise (pleasant or disappointing) or admiration. It is possible to use all the sentences so far giving above but we will restrict our examples to just a few, as in 1a, 2a, 3a used in 7a, b and c respectively.

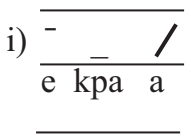
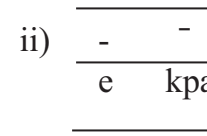
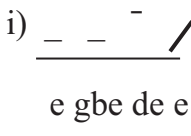
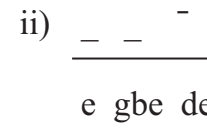
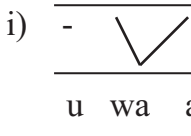
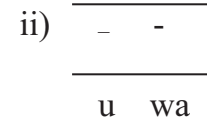
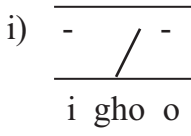
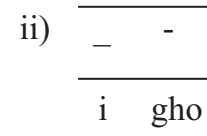
- 7a) ọnǐ òmò mẹ bhúnǔ ǔ'
'The soup is very very tasty!'
- b) ọní ókhùò dé émǐ èsó'ó'
'The woman bought some weird/unusual things'
- c) ọnǐ ọdùẹkǐ sàá bọ ùwá ǎ'
'The trader is at last building a house'

7a can be used to describe an extremely delicious soup; 7b for a woman who bought unusual weird things and 7c can be said of a trader whom people did not expect would be able to build a house and by building a house, has put his enemies to shame, as he now has a house of his own. The intonation pattern for this type of statements end not just on a raised pitch but on a contour, typically LH. In fact the H after the LH is actually an extra high tone, which we have represented as ´ with the LH ~ in the form ~´ on the last vowel segment.

2.3 Intonation in questions

Although Esan has a morpheme **baa** for marking questions (Ejele 1995), our focus here is on the use of the suprasegmental feature of tone alone. Words, phrases and sentences can be questioned by introducing the LH tones as Q marker which combine with the last tone of the string to form contour tones, necessitating vowel lengthening (Ejele 2003b, 2002d). Thus sentences can be questioned simply by raising the sentence-final tone through the introduction of the LH Q marker.

Examples:

	Words	Questions	Intonational Patterns	
8a)	ékpà 'vomit'	i. ékpàǎ ii. ékpǎǎ 'vomit?'	i) 	ii) 
b)	ègbèdé 'needle'	i. ègbèdéě ii. ègbèděě 'needle?'	i) 	ii) 
c)	úwâ 'house'	i. úwâǎ ii. úwǎǎ 'house'	i) 	ii) 
d)	íghǒ 'money'	i. íghǒó ii. íghǒǒ 'money?'	i) 	ii) 

Examples 8a-d show that two forms of tonal marking of questions result when the LH tones interact with the last tone of the word, as expressed in (i) and (ii) under questions, (i) involves contours while (ii) involves the extra high tone, which is represented orthographically by double acute on the particular vowel. What is clear from these examples is that whether the word ends on a low, high, falling or rising tone (as in 8a-d respectively), the question ends on a high or extra high pitch.

Similar observations can be made with respect to phrases and sentences, as in 11a-d and 12a-d respectively. It is pertinent to explain how questioning mainly by tonal features takes place. We shall illustrate with the words ékpà 'vomit', ègbèdé 'needle',

íghǒ ‘money’ and úwâ ‘house’. Question 1 involves contours and Question 2 involves the extra high tone. We treat Question 1 first.

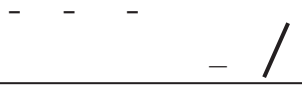
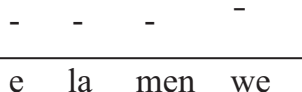
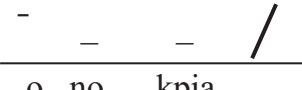
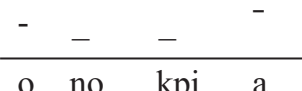
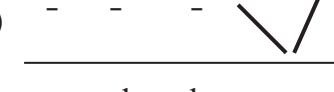
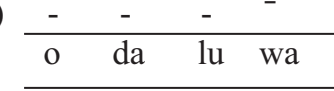
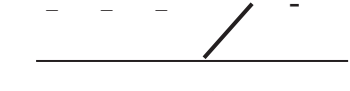
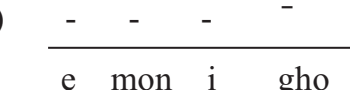
	Word	Word + O	Vowel lengthening	Tonal merging	Question 1 Gloss
9a)	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \\ \quad \\ \text{é} \text{ k } \text{p} \text{ à} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{é} \text{ k} \text{p} \text{à} \quad \text{v} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{é} \text{ k} \text{p} \text{à} \quad \text{ǎ} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{é} \text{ k} \text{p} \text{ǎ} \quad \text{a} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{e} \text{ k} \text{p} \text{a} \text{ a} \end{array}$ ‘vomit?’
b)	$\begin{array}{c} \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \\ \text{eg} \text{bede} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{eg} \text{bede} \quad \text{v} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{eg} \text{bede} \quad \text{e} \end{array}$	—	$\begin{array}{c} \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \quad \\ \text{eg} \text{bede} \end{array}$ ‘needle?’
c)	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \\ \quad \\ \text{u} \text{ w } \text{a} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{u} \text{ w } \text{a} \quad \text{v} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{u} \text{ w } \text{a} \quad \text{a} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{u} \text{ w } \text{a} \quad \text{a} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{u} \text{ w } \text{a} \quad \text{a} \end{array}$ ‘house?’
d)	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{i} \text{ g } \text{h} \text{ o} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{i} \text{ g } \text{h} \text{ o} \quad \text{v} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{i} \text{ g } \text{h} \text{ o} \quad \text{o} \end{array}$	—	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{i} \text{ g } \text{h} \text{ o} \quad \text{o} \end{array} \leq$ ‘money?’

In Question 1 type involving contours, the final tone of the word to be questioned combines with the LH of the Q-marker. Segmentally, the word-final vowel lengthens to house the Q-marker, as in 9a-d. At this point, if the presence of the LH Q-marker results in a sequence of L tones, then tonal merging takes place, satisfying OCP conditions, as in 9a and c. However, if the resulting sequence is LH LH (typical of word-final rising tone) then the first L of the LH Q-marker becomes floating. This explains why the remaining H of the Q-marker cannot merge with the word-final LH, as in 9d. The alternative form in Question 2 can be similarly explained, as in 10a-d.

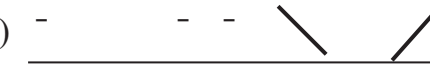
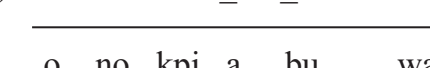
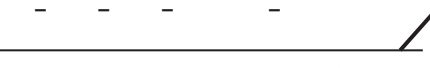
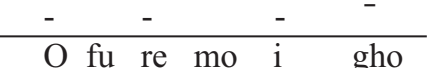
	Word	Word + O	Tone merging	Loss of low tone(s)	Question 2	Gloss
10a)	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \\ \quad \\ \text{e} \text{ k } \text{p} \text{ a} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{e} \text{ k} \text{p} \text{a} \quad \text{v} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{e} \text{ k} \text{p} \text{a} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \leq \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{e} \text{ k} \text{p} \text{a} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{é} \text{ k } \text{p} \text{ǎ} \end{array}$	‘vomit?’
b)	$\begin{array}{c} \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \\ \text{eg} \text{bede} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{eg} \text{bede} \quad \text{v} \end{array}$	—	$\begin{array}{c} \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \leq \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{eg} \text{bede} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{è} \text{g} \text{b} \text{è} \text{d} \text{é} \end{array}$	‘needle?’
c)	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \\ \quad \\ \text{u} \text{ w } \text{a} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{u} \text{ w } \text{a} \quad \text{v} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{u} \text{ w } \text{a} \quad \text{a} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \leq \text{H} \\ \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{u} \text{ w } \text{a} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{ú} \text{ w } \text{ǎ} \end{array}$	‘house?’
d)	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{i} \text{ g } \text{h} \text{ o} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \quad \text{L} \quad \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{i} \text{ g } \text{h} \text{ o} \quad \text{v} \end{array}$	—	$\begin{array}{c} \text{H} \quad \text{L} \leq \text{H} \quad \text{L} \leq \text{H} \\ \quad \diagdown \quad \quad \diagdown \quad \\ \text{i} \text{ g } \text{h} \text{ o} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \text{i} \text{ g } \text{h} \text{ ǒ} \end{array}$	‘money?’

In Question 2 type involving the extra high tone, vowel lengthening does not take place but tone merging takes place in 10a and c, just as in 9a and c. However the L tone of the LH Q-marker becomes floating. Its presence is manifested by the failure of the H tone to merge with the final H of the word, thus violating OCP. The questioning is adjudged grammatical and acceptable by native speakers, in spite of this violation. This is because the two H tones are associated with a single vowel and form the extra high tone, showing that the extra high tone is distinct from the simple high tone. In fact in 10d, the two L tones float, one L from the LH of the word final tone and the other from the LH of the Q-marker. For details on the source of the extra high tone, see Ejele 2002d.

Similar observations can be made with respect to phrases and sentences as in 11a-d and 12a-d respectively.

Phrases	Questions	Intonational Patterns
11a) ẹ́lámẹ̀n ẹ̀wẹ̀ 'bush meat'	i. ẹ́lámẹ̀n ẹ̀wẹ̀ẹ̀ ii. ẹ́lámẹ̀n ẹ̀wẹ́ 'bush meat?'	i)  ẹ ła mẹn wẹ ẹ ii)  ẹ ła mẹn wẹ
b) ọ́nǎ ọ̀kpǎá 'the man'	i. ọ́nǎ ọ̀kpǎáá ii. ọ́nǎ ọ̀kpǎá 'the man?'	i)  ọ no kpia ii)  ọ no kpi a
c) ọ́dáló úwâ 'front(of the) house'	i. ọ́dáló úwâá ii. ọ́dáló úwǎ 'front(of the house)?'	i)  o da lu wa a ii)  o da lu wa
d) ẹ́mọ ịghǎ 'money matter'	i. ẹ́mọ, ịghǎó ii. ẹ́mọn ịghǎ 'money matter?'	i)  e mọn i gho o ii)  e mọn i gho

As with phrases, sentences can be questioned simply by raising the sentence-final tone (through the introduction of LH Q marker) while maintaining the statement form segmentally, in such a way that only the suprasegmental features reflect this, as in

Sentences	Questions	Intonational Patterns
12a) óńĩ òmò mè bhúnù 'The soup tastes delicious'	i. óńĩ òmò mè bhúnùũ ii. óńĩ òmò mè bhúnũ 'The soup tastes delicious?'	i)  o no mo me bhu nu u ii)  o no mo me bhu nu
b) óńí ókhùò dé éńĩ èsò 'The woman bought some things'	i. óńí ókhùò dé éńĩ èsòũ ii. óńí ókhùò dé éńĩ èsõ 'The woman bought some things?'	i)  o no khu o de mi e so o ii)  o no khu o de mi e so
c) óńĩ òkpĩá bó úwâ 'The man (has) built a house'	i. óńĩ òkpĩá bó úwâũ ii. óńĩ òkpĩá bó úwã 'The man (has) built a house?'	i)  o no kpi a bu wa a ii)  o no kpi a bu wa
d) Ófùré mò íghõ 'Ofure has money'	i. Ófùré mò íghõũ ii. Ófùré mò íghõ 'Ofure has money?'	i)  O fu re mo i gho o ii)  O fu re mo i gho

What stands out in the examples of words, phrases and sentences is the fact that questioning imposes a particular intonational pattern on the utterance. Thus, it must end on a high or extra-high pitch.

3. Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion, the following conclusions can be drawn.

1. Downdrift as a lowering process is attested in Esan.
2. Downdrift is common in Esan. It involves an automatic sequential lowering of high tones after low tones in an intonational unit.
3. In having downdrift, Esan behaves like Edo (Bini), its closest relative.
4. In having low-tone raising in final position, Esan is like its further relatives Isoko and Urhobo. However it is used differently, being used to mark statements in Isoko and Urhobo, but marks emphasis in Esan.
5. In having high tone lowering in final position, Esan is distinct from Edo (Bini) and Isoko and Urhobo, which do not exhibit this phenomenon (Amayo 1976, Elugbe 1977, Donwa-Ifode 1984).

6. The lowered high tone and the raised low tone are used for emphasis. Auditorily, the lowered high tone is higher than the raised low tone.
7. Questions impose a particular intonational pattern. Hence they must end on a high or extra high pitch.

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45. Towards an Element-based Phonological Analysis of the Igbo Vocalic & Consonantal System

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Introduction

Linguistic analysis is an attempt to discover and describe language structure, to elucidate the pattern and regularity that inhere in the sound meaning correlation of language ... and only by winning some struggles by discovering for yourself some of the regularities of language structure can you begin to realize why linguists find enough satisfaction in the study of grammar, to choose it over more lucrative professions such as jewel robbery or television repair (Langacker 1972:1).

There is a near universal agreement that in the description of language, reference needs to be made to units of structures of language. It is not just that it is fundamental or more convenient to do so, rather language itself depends on discrete and finite options, and reference to these units points to the systematic nature of language. This accounts for why no two languages share exactly the same structural patterning.

It is our contention that the set of phonological processes that occur in a language depends to a large extent on the nature or componential make-up of the sound segments constituting such a language. We shall argue *inter alia* that language is made up of segments that are decomposable into smaller components or elements.

Elementary or Feature Analysis

The set of possible phonological processes a sound segment may undergo depends to a large extent on the nature or componential make-up of the sound. The issue of the nature of the sound segment has been a recurrent subject in phonological literature (c.f. Trubetzkoy (1939), Jakobson (1939), Anderson (1985). Sounds are thought of as being composed of “features”, “components”, “elements”, “gestures”, or “particles”. That is to say, sound segments are seen as dissoluble entities, decomposable into smaller components, which according to Harris (1994:90), are the “primes” of segmental representation. These primes are believed to “provide a way of establishing what “natural classes” in phonological statements will be” (Goldsmith 1990:274). In other words, features or primes, provide evidence that sounds pattern systematically into sets of natural classes in terms of their roles in phonological processes.

Implicit in these assumptions is the fact that these natural sets are fixed, universal and small in number. Again, that these features or primes are to be taken, no less than other aspects of linguistic organisation rooted in a genetic endowment that is common to all humans (Harris 1994:191). The extent to which this endowment can be upheld will remain disputable for some time. It is yet to be established the extent to which features are attributable or relatable to the dynamics of the constraints on vocal and auditory anatomy. What is a consensus, however, is the relative predictability of these features in terms of articulatory, auditory and acoustic parameters.

Whether phonetic specification of elements or features should be seen as a function of the speakers’ articulatory mechanism or acoustic signal or the speaker’s

auditory perception has remained an open question. We, however, feel that elements should, in all events, be seen as a conglomeration of the three domains, given that in a grammar, linguistic competence is a property of the linguistic activities of both the speakers and hearers.

Different feature theory analysts, however, are known to have adopted either the primacy of the acoustic domain (Jakobson, Fant and Halle 1956) or the articulatory domain (Ladefoged 1972) or a combination of acoustic and articulatory parameters (Chomsky and Halle 1968). It is now usual among some analysts to assume that articulatory specifications of features can be mapped onto acoustic and auditory specifications (Clements and Hertz 1991). One basic point of agreement is that elements or features are in themselves not articulatory or acoustic events, but in the words of Harris (1994: 107), “like all aspects of phonological representation, they are cognitive categories which serve the grammatical functions of helping to code lexical contrasts”. Accordingly “elements constitute pattern templates by reference to which speakers orchestrate and monitor articulatory output and listeners decode auditory inputs”.

One important consequence of this view of elementary or feature approach is the assumption that segments are phonetically interpretable at all levels of derivation. Hence phonological representation within this approach uniformly adheres to ‘the principles of full phonetic interpretability’. In which case, derivation is seen not as an operation by means of which abstract phonological objects are transformed into increasingly concrete physical objects. Rather derivation is merely seen as a strictly generative function which defines the grammaticality of phonological strings (Harris 1994:96).

Vocalic Elements

In the post-Bloomfieldian phonology of the 1940s and 1950s, elements or features were viewed following Goldsmith (1990:275), as “a way of specifying the several and simultaneous characteristics that comprise what is, from the point of view of the flow of time, a single articulatory or acoustic event”. In non-linear phonology, this view has been similarly modified as is evident in the works of Anderson and Jones (1974), Kaye, Lowenstamm, and Vergnaud (1985). Van der Hulst and Smith (1985), Van der Hulst (1989), Goldsmith (1985) and Rennison (1984, 1990).

In the representation of vowels, three elements whose phonetic exponents are the corner vowels ‘a’, ‘i’ and ‘u’ are usually made reference to. The independent exponents of vowels are symbolized as; A, I, U in elementary structure analysis. It is assumed that any given vowel sound is composed of either one of the elements (a simplex vowel). The compound vowels are better seen as products of a mixture of say primary colours which yield various secondary colours. Processes in this approach are reduced to two basic operations: ‘compositions’ or ‘fusion’ and ‘decomposition’ or ‘fission’. Here, fusion involves a marriage of two phonetic elements, while fission essentially involves the undoing of fused elements (cf. Schane (1984), Avery and Rice (1989), Archangeli and Pullyblank (1992).

To yield the various vocalic segments found across languages, the three basic elements A, I and U, enter into various relations with each other in addition to the neutral element equated with a schwa-like quality or auditory effect and seen as a neutralization of the other vowel elements. The neutral element could informally be seen as a blank plate in terms of the colour metaphor.

It has been variously represented as [ə] and [a] but we shall represent it as [ə] for typographical reasons. Using the elementary feature analysis, the following vowels found across languages can be derived:

(1) Simplex			Compound		
(a)	Element	Vowel	(b)	Element	Vowel
	[A]	a		[A <u>I</u>]	e
	[I]	i		[A <u>U</u>]	o
	[U]	u		[U <u>I</u>]	ɔ
	[ə]			[I <u>A</u>]	æ
				[<u>A</u> U]	ɒ
				[I <u>ə</u>]	ɪ
				[U <u>ə</u>]	ʊ
				[AU <u>ə</u>]	ɔ
				[AI <u>ə</u>]	ɛ
				[<u>ə</u>]	ʌ

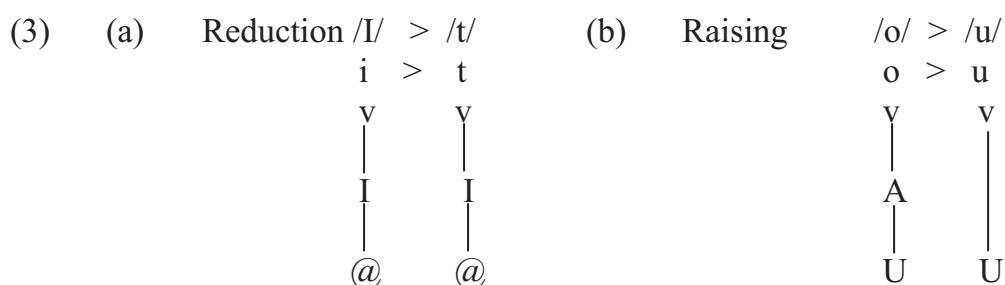
Some of the underlying principles guiding the formalization of the elementary structure analysis include the realization that the neutral elements is latently present as a dependent in vocalic expressions and has the potential of becoming audible, but, this is only when other elements in a compound are suppressed for phonetic reasons. This means that the expression of vocalic segment in the compounds is incumbent upon the preponderance of one element over other elements. To this end, one element is often designed as the ‘head’ of that expression, while others are demoted to be ‘dependents’. For the simplex expression like A, I and U, the lone element is also the head. The principle expounded above has been aptly captured by Harris (1994:105) when he explains that in a A-I compound, either A or I could be the head. But, we should think of I-headed compound informally as an open version of a ‘palatal vowel’ while the A-headed expression can be seen as a palatalized version of an open vowel. The schema below shows it more clearly, headedness is depicted by underlining the head as in (2).

(2)	(a)	‘e’	(b)	‘æ’
		v		v
		I		I
		<u>A</u>		<u>A</u>

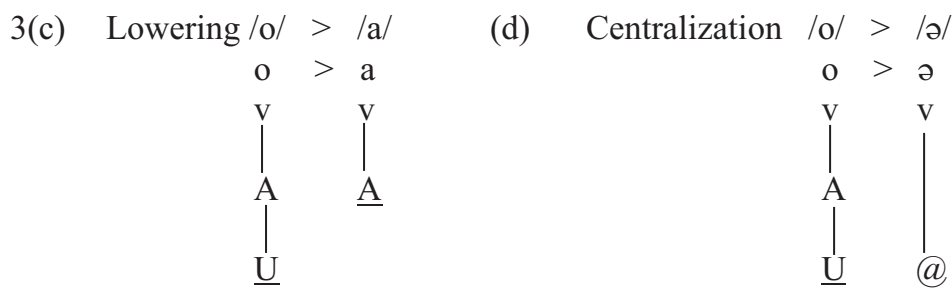
From the above, it will be seen that both 'e' and 'æ' have identical elementary make-up or they are said to be 'isomers'. They differ in the headedness criterion (c.f. Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud 1985).

Another assumption within the elementary structure analysis is that elements are capable of being arrayed on separate tiers. The significance of this is that during various phonological processes, elements can delete without affecting other elements on other tiers. In the same vein, elements can also propagate from one segment to another without pulling other elements along with them (Harris 1994:102).

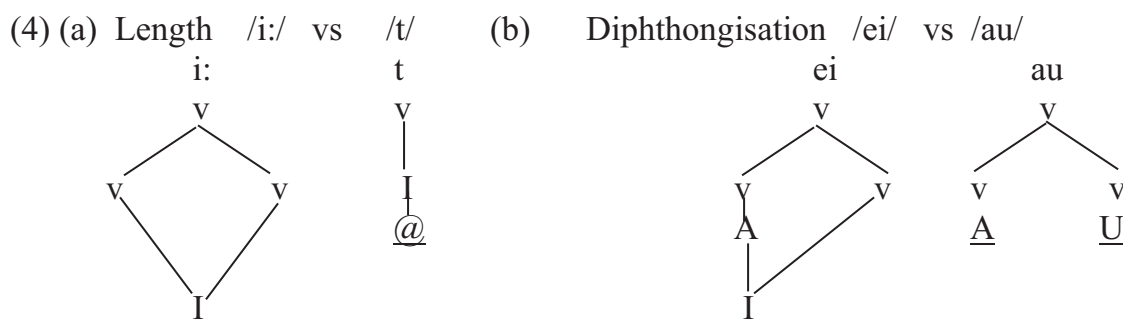
Following from the above, it is common to see vowel processes such as raising, lowering, and reduction as not involving the random substitution of one set of element by another, rather it consists in the promotion of a latently present '@' to the status of head of an expression. When an element is promoted to a head, other elements could be totally suppressed through delinking or deletion or demotion to an 'ordinary' dependent element. Thus, reduction from [i] to [ɪ] and the raising form [o] to [u] could simply be schematized as in (3).



In the same vein, lowering and centralization follow the same basic principles of suppression or promotion of an element in a vocalic make-up. See (3c and d), also taken from Harris (1994:113).



Length distinctions among vowels, diphthongization, in a language such as English are easily captured in the elementary approach, as in (4).



Notice that long vowels and diphthongs occupy two skeletal positions, but while the monophthongs have lone elements the diphthongs have at least one element in the two skeletal positions. The up-gliding diphthongs have the element I or U occurring outside the nuclei as in (4b).

In the Igbo language, vocalic segments are analyzable in terms of the elementary alignments under discussion. It will be evident from the following discussion that vowel processes in Igbo also, such as reduction, assimilation and harmony are better appreciated using the elementary analysis.

Length is not a fundamental distinctive feature of vowels in Igbo. It is widely believed that advancement and retraction of tongue root positions are the major factors. In the elementary analysis, it has been noted that the A, I, U, parameters can be phonetically defined by referring to the two major resonating cavities, the oral and the pharyngeal, involved in the production of a, i, u exponents across languages. The A-element, for instance, propagates lowering and retraction of the tongue body, leading to the expansion of the oral tube and the constriction of the pharyngeal tube. The I-element manifests the construction of the oral cavity and the expansion of the pharyngeal tube. The U-element, according to Harris (1994:107), involves a trade-off between expansion of both the oral and pharyngeal tubes. The neutral element, the fourth, is deemed to have no resonance component of its own and its inherent phonetic quality manifests only when it occurs as the head of an expression. The neutral element enters into a relationship with other elements to produce the various non-peripheral vowels in the language.

(5) (a) Peripheral Igbo Vowels		(b) Non-peripheral Igbo Vowels	
Element:	Vowel	Element:	Vowel
[A]	a	[AI]	e
[I]	i	[AU]	o
[U]	u	[I@]	t
		[U@]	ʊ
		[AU@]	ɔ
		[@]	ə

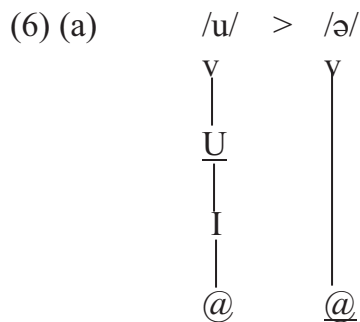
The last vowel in (5b) is found in Northern Igbo dialects, especially at the post-lexical level of representation of formatives. The question of how to derive the two qualities of the schwa as is evident in the following words:

(5) (c) ‘nkə’ fire wood	(d) ‘nkə’ wing
‘ɔkə’ fire	‘okə’ call

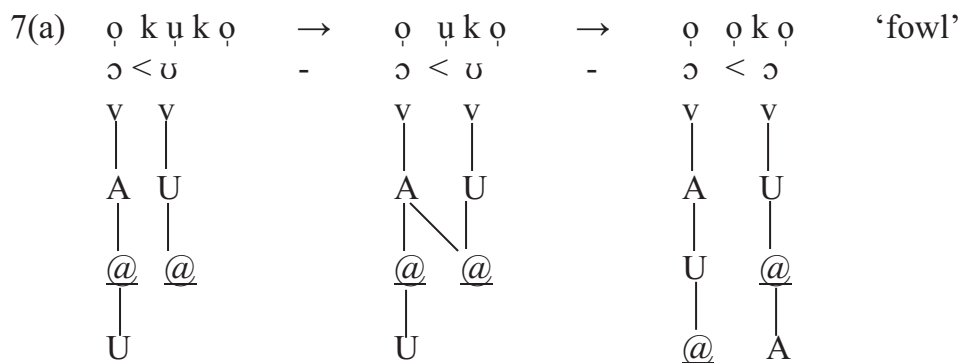
may be resolved by assuming that two neutral elements [@] compound in the derivation of the forms in (5c), while a lone element is involved in the production of the form in (5d).

Let us consider some phonological processes involving vowels in Igbo using the element based approach. We have noted earlier that processes involving assimilation and reduction are simply expressed, within this model of analysis as spreading and suppression of one element or another during the derivation.

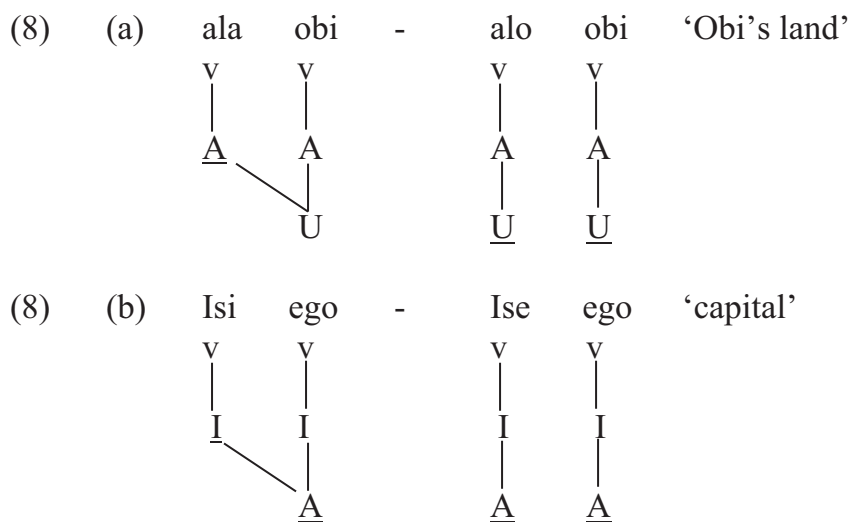
The reduction of high back vowels prevalent in some dialects in Igbo, especially northern Igbo dialects, is expressed as the suppression of the U-element and the concomitant switch of headship status to the neutral element.



Assimilatory processes such as those occurring word-medially after the deletion of the second syllable onset element /k/ in forms such as ókúkò and ákwúkò are given as in 7(a-b).



Here the A-element spreads to fuse with [U] and [@] yielding the vowel /ɔ/. Assimilation across word boundaries are also easily captured formally using the elementary approach. Forms such as ‘ala Obi’ and ‘isi ego’ assimilate in following ways in (8a) and 8b).



In (8a), the U-element spreads to the left to fuse with vocalic element in the syllable final position thus yielding the vowel /o/ which is identical in elements with the following

vocalic elements. Also in (8b), the A-element spreads left – wards to fuse with the I-element to yield /e/ thus deriving ‘ise’ from ‘isi’.

Vowel harmony processes within the element structure approach involves a situation where within a domain the elemental structure of one nucleus determines or ‘licences’ the occurrence of other nuclear elements by selecting their elementary make-up under specific conditions.

Consonantal Elements

Consonantal composition is quite often talked about in terms of the traditional place, manner and voice articulatory parameters. In the current phonological literature, it is usual to invoke some of the elements used in the representation of vowels for the consonantal segments. This is what is known as the ‘one mouth principle’ (cf. Anderson (1985:121), Anderson and Ewen (1987), Smith (1988), Clements (1991).

Drawing from the ‘one-mouth principle’ therefore, some elements used in the description of vowels have been incorporated into description of consonants. For instance, the U-element is seen to be inherent in labial consonants; [A] in uvular and pharyngeal. Notice that the element [A] being an exponent of /a/ produced with a lowered and retracted tongue is therefore said to be connected with uvular and pharyngeal sounds. The neutral element [@] is assumed to be the element involved in the production of velar consonants since it has been found to be active in the production of vowels involving the body of the tongue. Other elements that have been posited as relevant in the description of consonant segments include, [ʔ] whose independent exponent is the glottal stop which is involved in the representation of stop consonants. This element can fuse with other elements to produce stops with varying places of articulation, thus, [ʔ] with [I] yields a palatal stop, [ʔ] with [@] (velar stop), [ʔ] with [A] (uvular stop), [ʔ] with [R] (the coronal element) yields a coronal stop.

The elemental exponent for noise which is used in the description of fricatives and affricates is the [h] element. Its independent incarnation is the glottal fricative /h/. When in combination with other consonant elements, the noise element [h] yields a variety of fricatives thus, [h R] - s, [h U] - f, [h @] -χ. Notice that in the release of all obstruent-fricatives and plosives, the h-element is inherent.

The element for representing nasality is the [N]. This element combines with the stop element [ʔ] and one of the place elements like [R,U,@] to produce a variety of nasals found in language.

The distinction between what traditionally is called ‘voice’ is captured using [L] and [H]. The element [L] symbolizing slack vocal cords inheres in ‘truly voiced obstruents, e.g. /b/, /g/, /z/, /gb/, etc. While the class of fortis obstruents, including voiceless aspirated plosives which are produced with stiff vocal cords, contain the stiff element [H.]

Breathy voiced consonants will have a combination of [L] and [H]. Non-aspirated fortis obstruents lack both elements. We shall show below how the above-mentioned consonant elements pattern in the description of some consonant sounds found in the Igbo language,

(9) Plosives

(a) Labial /p/



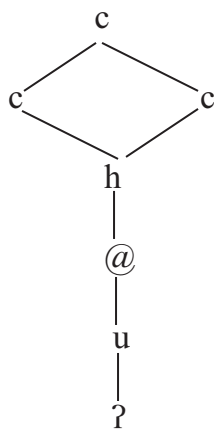
(b) Coronal /t/



(c) Velar /k/



(d) Labial-Velar /kp/



(e) Labial Plosive /b/



Notice that the distinction between 9a, b, and c lie with the first element [U] for the labial /p/, [R] for the coronal /t/ and [@] for the velar /k/. All other elements are identical. Also, the distinction between the labial velar /kp/ and the labial plosive /b/ is easily formalized using the element approach. /kp/ involves two places co-registered with all the elements i.e. closure and release once.

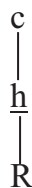
Again the head of the elementary make-up is the labial element which can be truly felt when producing the sound in Igbo. In the case of the bilabial plosive, it has one place node and the head element is the stop element ?.

(10) Fricatives

(a) Labio-dental /f/



(b) Alveolar /s/



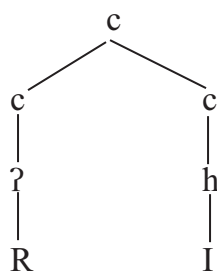
(c) Palato-alveolar /ʃ/



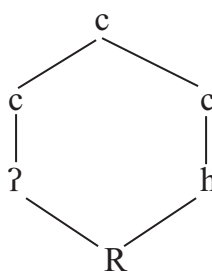
Notice that like the stop consonants described above, the fricatives are easily represented using this approach. We notice particularly that the voiceless alveolar fricative differs from the palato-alveolar fricative only in the addition of the palatal element [ɪ].

(11) Affricates

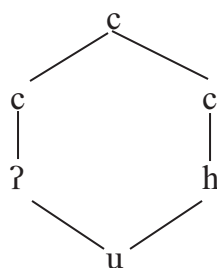
(a) Palato-alveolar /tʃ/



(b) Laminal-alveolar /ts/



(c) Labio-dental /pf/



The representation of the affricates is another important evidence in support of the element based approach of phonological representation. Implicit within this model of representation in the analysis of affricates is that contour structure depicts elements co-existing in a position without fusing together. For the affricate in 11 (a-c), we are dealing with a segment associated to two skeletal positions, one for the stop element [ʔ] and other [h] for the fricative or noise element with the homorganicity of the closure and release shown as place element(s). In 11(a), homorganicity of the two segments is shown as coronality and palatalization represented by [R] and [ɪ] elements. In 11(b) the predominance of the coronal element is shown with the occurrence of [R] element occurring as the only place element. In the same vein the [U] element showing the dominance of the labial segment is the lone element shown for the place of articulation.

(12) Nasals

(a) Bilabial /m/



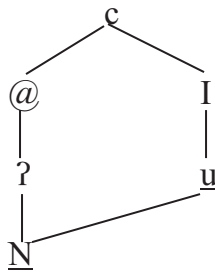
(b) Alveolar /n/



(c) Velar /ŋ/



(d) Labio-velar /ŋw/



(e) Palatal /ɲ/



Two recurrent element for all nasals are the stop element [ʔ], the nasal element [N]. Place elements then determine nasal type. In 12(d) the labial element [U] spreads to position defining velar nasal to give its labial quality.

(13) Liquids/Glides

(a) Lateral /l/



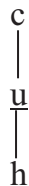
(b) Roll /r/



(c) Palatal glide /j/



(d) Labial glide /w/



The cumulative evidence garnered from the discussion above point to the fact that sub-segmental elements exist. These elements are “cognitive categories which serve the grammatical function of coding lexical contrasts”, (Harris and Lindsley 1992). The representational model thus far expounded is one in which the set of phonological processes a sound may participate in is dependent upon the elementary make-up of such a sound. Again, all phonological processes are no more than primitive operations involving composition and decomposition. The approach essentially is competence-based. Hence, elements are seen to “constitute internalized templates by reference to which listeners decode auditory input and speakers orchestrate and monitor their articulations” (Lindsley and Harris 1990).

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46. Semantic Opacity in Igbo Verbs

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This article proffers a theory-laden study in Igbo grammar, which builds upon Nwachukwu's (1985) postulates in his "Inherent Complement Verbs in Igbo" and upon pertinent insights of ours in Translatology within the last decade – notably in Uwajeh (1993a, 1994b, 1994d, 1996c, 1996d, 1999, 2001c, 2001d and 2002b). According to Nwachukwu (1985), *some* Igbo verbs are obligatorily complemented prior to their effective function in predicate constructs of Igbo sentences; according to our own discovery in the present study, Nwachukwu's 'inherent complementation' is actually a pointer to what we call "*semantic opacity*", which is characteristic of *all* Igbo verbs.

We also examine in this paper the implication for Grammar of semantic opacity in Igbo verbs. Our hypothesis in the matter is that semantic opacity is itself a category of what we call "*grammatical indeterminacy*", which applies to *all* languages – at different levels of Grammar, and in different degrees.

1. Communication and Grammar

When Language is treated as an inherently *communicative* phenomenon that it really is¹, all Grammars fall into two broad classificatory divisions – namely, (i) *communicator-centred* Grammars, and (ii) *communicatee-centred* Grammars. In the former type, Language structure is studied with respect to the order of its *construction* by the Language-using *communicator*; and Language *meaning* accordingly *precedes* Languages form in the Grammarian's characterisation of Language structure. In the latter type of Grammar, Language structure is studied with respect to the order of its *comprehension* by the Language-using *communicatee*, and Language *form* accordingly *precedes* Language meaning in grammatical description. Examples of communicator-centred, and therefore meaning-based, Grammars are those of the *Generative Semantics* version of Generative Grammar, Chafe's (1970) so-called 'Meaning-Structure Grammar', and *Performative Grammar*². With very few exceptions (formulated mostly in the twentieth century). Grammars have generally been *communicatee-centred*, therefore Language *form*-based, since linguistic studies started in ancient India more than two and a half millennia ago.

For the sake of a properly focused discussion of our central preoccupation in this paper (semantic opacity in Igbo verbs, that is), we wish to leave unanswered here for the time being the question as to which type of Grammars (communicator centred?) is scientifically better; suffice it to say for now that, properly conducted, communicator-centred Grammars and communicatee-centred Grammars produce different kinds of results which are of profound interest, in different ways, for the psychology of Language construction and Language comprehension respectively. This paper explores a feature of Igbo verbs (semantic opacity, that is) from the *communicatee-centred* (therefore, Language-*form*-based) approach to Grammar – in line with Nwachukwu's (1985) study of so-called "Inherent Complement Verbs (ICVs)", on which this our study is based.

2. Uwajeh's Four-Level Model of Translation

As translation is a crucial factor for appreciating our insights about Igbo verbs in this paper, we hasten to present in this section our suggested blueprint for translation practice. It is the so-called 'Uwajeh's Four-Level Model of Translation' in *Performative Translatology*,³ which has already been presented and successfully defended in several academic fora – among others, at the Second Language International' Conference held in Elsinore, Denmark (from June 4 to 6, 1993), and in Uwajeh (1993a, 1994a, 1994b, 1994d, 1996b, 1996c, 1996d, 1999, 2001c, 2001d and 2002b).

The central problem of translation being that of *equivalence* (that is, in theory what 'equivalence' really is, and in practice how to determine target language texts equivalents for given source language texts⁴ in actual translation exercises), the translation model being discussed here is based on *types* of equivalence, or simply on *different equivalences*. 'Equivalence' as understood in the model refers precisely to 'sameness' of value between a target text (i.e., a text of the target language) and the corresponding source text (i.e., text of the source language translated) with respect to one or the other of *four* factors, as follows:

- (i) conceptual equivalence
(sameness of conceptual units);
- (ii) propositional equivalence
(sameness of thought patterns);
- (iii) thematic equivalence
(sameness of subjects matter); and
- (iv) contextual equivalence
(sameness of contextual variables).

It follows that there are also *four* main types or broad categories of translation; and, since each type or category constitutes 'a level' of translation⁵ within a progressive order of TTs (i.e. target texts) equivalents possible for given STs (i.e., source texts), the model is appropriately called a 'four-level' model translation.

The *four* levels of this translation model are unlike traditionally recognised *three* tiers of translation (as in Catford, 1965: 24-26) in several respects; they are presented with their respective orthographic conventions, explained, then illustrated as follows:

- (i) '*Lexical Translation*', Lex. T. [TT], refers to a lexical item-by-lexical item translation. Conceptual equivalence of the ST is achieved here with the TT through the use of appropriate TL symbols (that is, basic meaningful form units) for each and every ST minimal expressive unit. Concepts of the SL principal lexical units (such as *NOW*, *RACE*, *GOOD*, *FAST* etc.) are TL-indexed in the translating TT by means of capital letters, while other concepts, of SL auxiliary lexical units (such as *of*, *not*, *the*, *with*, *or*, etc.) are TL-indexed with small letters in the translating TT. The indexing between ST and TT is made, for ease of reference, by placing each conceptually equivalent TT

communicative unit directly under the corresponding ST minimal communicative unit it is equivalent to, and, if possible, by connecting both ST and TT equivalent elements here with a more or less vertical line. The abbreviation 'Lex. T.' may sometimes be omitted; for provided single opening and closing square brackets contain a TT, that TT should by convention be regarded as the lexical translation of an ST.

- (ii) '*Literal Translation*' 'Lit. T. [[TT]]', refers to a rough-rendition synthetic translation, emphasising *ST* global meaning structure. At this level, the overall propositional equivalence of the ST, as suggested by the conceptual stock of the corresponding lexical-level translation, is conveyed with some judicious concatenation of TL symbols. In order to stress the global or synthetic nature of the thought complex here (as opposed to the piecemeal presentation of the fundamental thought units of that complex, called 'concepts', at the lexical translation level), the translating TT units at this, literal, level of translation are no one longer linked to corresponding ST units at a one-to-one basis in terms of principals and auxiliaries, but are written in normal script, like ST units. The abbreviation 'Lit. T.' may sometimes be omitted; for provided double opening and closing square brackets contain a TT, that TT should by convention be regarded as the literal translation of an ST.
- (iii) '*Free Translation*', Fr. T. (IT), is a smooth-flow translation emphasising this time *TL* meaning structure for the ST. Both the semantic and symbolic aspects of the TT construct seek at this level the thematic equivalence of the ST for the given experienced realities (that is, information) communicated *directly* with it. The abbreviation 'Fr. T.' may sometimes be omitted; for provided single opening and closing parentheses contain a TT, that TT should by convention be regarded as the free translation of an ST.
- (iv) '*Figurative Translation*'. Fig. T. ((TT)), where applicable, and if feasible, refers to a special effects translation. Here, the translator chooses that TT which, over and above expressing directly as much as possible at the Fr. T. level the information *per se* expressed directly with the ST. now captures the contextual equivalence of that ST by *indicating* somehow the peculiar, culture-specific, contextual factors communicated *indirectly* with the ST. The abbreviation 'Fig. T.' may sometimes be omitted; for provided double opening and closing parentheses contain a TT, that TT should by convention be regarded as the figurative translation of an ST.

Below are two sentence examples of Igbo.⁶ and one of French, translated at the four⁷ levels of translation.

1.	Òkóchá	èté	mé	áká	nâbì.	
	Òkóchá	è-----té	mé	áká	nâbì.	
Lex. T.	[OKOCHA	is	use-to	DO	HAND	double.]
Lit. T.	[[Okocha	is	used	to	do	double-handed.]]
Fr. T.	(Okocha	used	to	be	ambidexterous.)	
Fig.T.	((Okocha	used	to	be	light-fingered.))	
2.	Áwò	àsí	íbēwē ⁸		“wókòm”.	
	Áwò	à-----sí	íbē-----wē		“wókòm”.	
Lex. T.	[FROGS	ARE	TELL	PEERS	THEY	“WÓKÒM”.]
Lit. T.	[[Frogs	are	telling	their	peers	“wókòm”.]]
Fr. T.	(Frogs	mock	their	peers	for saying	“wókòm”). ⁹
Fig. T.	((The	pot	is	calling	the kettle	black.))
3.	Une	fois	n'est	pas	coutume.	
	Une	fois	n'-----est	pas	coutume.	
Lex. T.	[One	TIME	not	is	not	CUSTOM.]
Lit. T.	[[One	time	is	not	a	custom.]]
Fr. T.	(Once	does	not	constitute	a	custom.)
Fig. T.	((One	swallow	does	not	make	a summer.))

3. Inherent Complementation and Igbo Verbs

It is now time to address the main issues of this paper. We begin by presenting the thesis of inherent complementation in Igbo verbs.

According to Nwachukwu (1985) who produced the thesis, *some* Igbo verbs are “inherent complement verbs (ICVs)” – verbs, that is, whose semantic content is supposedly *incomplete* without corresponding so-called ‘meaning-specifier’ complements to support them. Such verbs do have meanings of course, says the theory, but the meanings in question are only made specific or definite with some complementary lexical items. Thus, following the theory, when an Igbo language *communicatee* hears an Igbo verb-word in this category, he/she needs the prop of some other non-verb (nominal) collocating word to help him/her specify in his/her mind the meaning of the verb-word concerned. In short, the necessity for meaning specification is, for Nwachukwu (1985), taken to be inherent in *some* Igbo verbs; and that meaning specification function is performed by certain co-textual complementary lexical items.¹⁰

Consider the following three Igbo sentences for illustration, translated first of all according to our Performative Translatology conventions.

4.	Íkéchūkūwū	mù	Pòlínà Níbó. ¹¹	
	Íkéchūkūwū	mù	Pòlínà	Níbó
Lex. T.	[IKECHUKWU	PINCHED	PAULINA	NAIL.]]
Lit. T.	[[Ikechukwu	pinched	Paulina	nails.]]
Fr. T.	(Ikechukwu	pinched	Paulina	)
5.	Àdáóliè	shù	éwúmí	òkwú.
	Àdáóliè	shù	éwú-----mí	òkwú.
Lex. T.	[ADAOLIE	BURNT	GOAT	ME FIRE.]
Lit. T.	[[Adaolie	burnt my	goat	fire.]]
Fr. T.	(Adaolie	burnt my	goat.)	
6.	Àkpáná	gbà	nwénéé	Ntútú.
	Àkpáná	gbà	nwé-----né-----é	Ntútú.
Lex. T.	[AKPANA	STUNG	CHILD MOTHER SHE	NEEDLE.]
Lit. T.	[[Akpana	stung	her sibling	a needle.]]
Fr. T.	(Akpana	injected	her sibling.)	

In the traditional translation procedure for the grammatical study of African languages,¹² (i) a *partial* lexical translation, called a ‘word-for-word’ translation in the context, is provided, with certain lexical items *described/explained* (grammatically) with such terms and expressions as ‘imperative’, ‘name of person’, ‘progressive’, ‘deictic particle’, ‘emphasis’, ‘emphatic’, ‘tense/aspect marker’, ‘verb root’, etc. – rather than *translated* as such; and (ii) a *literal* translation, poorly understood as a level of translation, is generally *omitted* because this translation level is often erroneously considered to be superfluous and hence unnecessary.¹³ For example, our three Igbo sentence examples 4 to 6 above and would be translated as follows.

4.	Íkéchūkūwū	mù	Pòlínà	Níbó.
	NAME OF PERSON	pinch	NAME OF PERSON	nail
	Ikechukwu	pinched	Paulina.	
5.	Àdáóliè	shù	éwúmí	òkwú.
	NAME OF PERSON	burn	my-goat	fire
	Adaolie	burnt	my goat.	
6.	Àkpáná	gbà	nwénéé	Ntútú.
	NAME OF PERSON	sting	her-sibling	needle
	Akpana	injected	her sibling.	

Using this traditional translation procedure, then, such units as *Nb́* (nails), *ókú* (fire), and *Ntútú* (needle) respectively of sentences 4 to 6 above are for Nwachukwu (1985) “inherent complements”, and their corresponding verbs (i) *ímù* (to pinch), from which *mù* (pinched) of sentence 4 is derived. (ii) *íshū* (to burn), from which *shù* (burnt), of sentence 5 is derived, and *ígbū* (to sting), from which *gbà* (stung) of sentence 6 is derived, as “inherent complement verbs (ICVs)” because co-textual lexical items as seen in the sentence examples 4 to 6 are *obligatory* for the specification of their meanings. Thus, following Nwachukwu (1985), in such a predicate construct as *mù Pòlìnà Nb́* of sentence 4, there is only *one object*, *Pòlìnà* (Paulina) – supposedly, since we ‘obviously’ do *not* pinch nails but pinch *with* nails, and the role of *Nb́* (nails) in the co-text of *mù* (pinched) is then *not* that of object but simply to clarify the fact that *mù* does mean ‘pinched’ and not something else. Similarly, in the predicate construct *shù éwúmí ókú* of sentence 5, there is for Nwachukwu (1985) only one object, *éwúmí* (my goat) – supposedly, since we ‘obviously’ do *not* burn fires but *burn other* things *with* fires, and the role of *ókú* (fire) in the co-text of *shù* (burnt) in the predicate is then *not* that of object but simply to clarify the fact that *shù* does mean ‘burnt’ and not something else. Also, according again to Nwachukwu (1985), in a predicate construct like *gbà nwénéé Ntútú* of our sentence example 6, there is only one object, *nwénéé* (her sibling) – supposedly, since we ‘obviously’ do *not* ‘sting’ needles but sting’ other things *with* needles, and the role of *Ntútú* (needle) in the co-text of *gbà* (stung) is then *not* that of object but simply to clarify the fact that *gbà* really does mean ‘injected’ and not something else. *Nb́* (nails), *ókú* (fire) and *Ntútú* (needle) respectively of sentences 4, 5 and 6 above are therefore for Nwachukwu (1985) *inherent complements*, NOT *inherent objects*, in their obligatory meaning-specifier function with their respective verbs of the respective predicate constructs concerned.

Furthermore, Nwachukwu (1985) proposes a tentative, non-exhaustive list of ‘ICV clusters’ – that is, several verb groups, each of which groups contains a number of ostensibly *similar* verbs. Drawing our example from one of our sentences above for illustration of this point, the verb *ígbā* of our sentence example 6, specifiable as ‘to inject’ with the inherent complement *Ntútú* (needle) as in the said sentence 6 above, would be one exemplar within the ‘-gbá’ cluster of so-called similar verbs containing such other ‘-gbá’ verbs as the *ígbā* verb specifiable as ‘to run’ with *ósó* (race) and the *ígbā* verb specifiable as ‘to kick’ with *úkwí* (foot), etc.

4. The Trouble with the Inherent Complementation Thesis

The first problem with Nwachukwu’s (1985) thesis of inherent complementation presented in the third section of this paper above derives from too much respect by the grammarian for how tradition expects languages to behave, and from a concomitant unwillingness on the part of the grammarian to accept the facts of Igbo language as they are. Specifically, our own position with respect to such sentences as our sentence examples 4 to 6 is that there are actually *two* direct objects in each of the sentences, which objects can only be discovered when the Igbo (NOT English) thought pattern is duly recognised with appropriate literal translations provided. So, consider the Igbo sentence examples 4 to 6 again for illustration, with only English literal translations thereof provided this time.

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 4. | Íkéchūkūwū
[[Ikechukwu | mù
pinched | Pòlínà
Paulina | Ñbó.
nails.]] |
| 5. | Àdáóliè
[[Adaolie | shù
burnt | éwúmí
my goat | ókúwí.
fire.]] |
| 6. | Àkpáná
[[Akpana | gbà
stung | nwénéé
her sibling | Ñtútú.
a needle.]] |

As we shall demonstrate shortly in the next paragraph, the two objects of sentence example 4 are *Pòlínà* (Paulina) and *Ñbó* (nails) – i.e., both Paulina and Ikechukwu’s nails were pinched; the two objects of sentence example 5 are *éwúmí* (my goat) and *ókúwí* (fire) – i.e., both ‘my goat’ and the fire were burnt; lastly, the two objects of sentence example 6 are *nwénéé* (her sibling) and *Ñtútú* (a needle) – i.e., both Akpana’s sibling and Akpana’s needle were stung. Our point here may be restated more forcefully thus: *the function of a literal translation is precisely to expose with a target text any oddity, from the target language community’s perspective, of the source language community’s thought pattern noticed in the source text*, NOT to eliminate or hide or camouflage any such oddity in the name of ‘making sense’ (from the target language community’s understanding of making sense). Once this position is sincerely adopted, it becomes possible to begin to appreciate the apparently strange logic of a particular source language community’s thought.

Surprisingly, the apparent strangeness of Igbo thought in the above sentence examples 4 to 6, as revealed in our literal translations, is explicable with reference to what obtains, albeit to a much lesser degree, in the *English* semantic structure itself. Take the following three English sentences for the demonstration.

7. Robin Hood shot the arrow with characteristic superlative skill.
8. “Shoot the pig!”, cried the terrorist.
9. James Bond shot the pistol at the same time as his assailant reached for the bomb.

The meaning of the word ‘shoot’ in sentences 7 and 9 on the one hand *differs* from that of the word ‘shoot’ in sentence 8 on the other hand. In sentence 8 it is a *person*, ‘the pig’, that is condemned to suffer the effect of the shootings in sentences 7 and 9, on the other hand, neither the *arrow* nor the *pistol* which are indeed shot (and hence are the objects of the shooting act) suffers the effect of the shooting as such – rather, they are *caused to shoot*, respectively by Robin Hood and James Bond, such that some persons then presumably suffer the effect of the arrow and the gun being caused to shoot. Thus, *what* was shot¹ (i.e., caused to shoot) for sentences 7 and 9 was the arrow or the pistol, and *who* was shot² (i.e., suffered the effect of the arrow’s or gun’s shooting – in other words of their being caused to shoot), in exactly the same sense as that of ‘shoot’ for sentence 8 above, was (presumably) for sentences 7 and 9 some person.

Similarly, when, according to sentence example 4, the Igbo say that ‘Ikechukwu pinched Paulina nails’, they should be understood to be stating that Ikechukwu caused his

nails to pinch, and that the person pinched was Paulina; in sentence example 5, by ‘Adaolie burnt my goat fire’, we should understand that Adaolie caused the fire to burn and that my goat was burnt; and in sentence 6, by ‘Akpana stung her sibling a needle’, we should understand that Akpana caused a needle to sting and that her sibling was then stung. So, to obtain with sentence 8 the same type of thought as found in the Igbo sentences 4 to 6 and innumerable other such texts,¹⁴ we could modify it to produce the strange English sentence 10 below.

8. “Shoot the pig!”, cried the terrorist.

10. “Shoot the pig the gun!”, cried the terrorist.

Following, then, the same kind of reasoning as we have used for sentences 4 to 6 of Igbo language while guided by appropriate English literal translations thereof, we should understand by the strange English sentence 10 above that the gun is to be caused to shoot, and that “the pig” is the individual to suffer the effect of the gun’s being caused to shoot. Thus, as in each of the Igbo sentences 4 to 6 above, we now have in this strange English sentence 10 *two* (NOT one) direct objects – namely,

- (i) *what* is to be shot (i.e., caused to shoot) – which is *the gun*; and
- (ii) *who* is to be shot (i.e., suffer the effect of the shooting) – which is “*the pig*”.

Secondly, Nwachukwu’s (1985) criterion for determining that a number of verbs constitute a ‘cluster’ of ICVs is purely formal, as far as one can see, and therefore grammatically suspect as regards any claims about the set constituting a homogeneous grammatical class – given especially that the inherent complementation postulate is in fact essentially a *semantic* (NOT formal) thesis. Take this ‘-gba cluster’, for example, which involves such possible locutions as the following.

- i) *ígbā ósó*
- | | | |
|---------|-------------|--------|
| | í-----gbā | ósó |
| | | |
| Lex. T. | [ING] RUN | RACE] |
| Lit. T. | [[running a | race]] |
| Fr. T. | (to run) | |
- ii) *ígbā égbè*
- | | | |
|---------|--------------|-------|
| | í-----gbā | égbè |
| | | |
| Lex T. | [ING SHOOT | GUN] |
| Lit. T. | [[shooting a | gun]] |
| Fr. T. | (to shoot |) |

	iii)	<i>ígbā</i>	<i>òtọ́</i>	
		í-----gbā	òtọ́	
Lex. T.		[ING	'NAKED'	NAKEDNESS]
Lit. T.		[['nakeding'	nakedness]]	
Fr.		(to	be	naked)
	iv)	<i>ígbā</i>	<i>àkwùrà</i>	
		í-----gbā	àkwùrà	
Lex. T.		[ING	PROSTITUTE	PROSTITUTION]
Lit. T.		[[prostituting	prostitution]]	
Fr. T.		(to prostitute	oneself)	

There is a *priori* nothing significant one can say is common to shooting, running, being naked, and prostituting oneself which would justify their membership in a class. Putting them and other constructs with the same common verb form together in a grammatical class begs therefore for a justification as to what exactly the several *prima facie* homonymous verbs also have in common by way of meaning. Such a justification is *not provided* by Nwachukwu (1985), and we doubt very seriously that any valid justification is feasible along the lines indicated above in this paragraph.

Thirdly, and most importantly, Nwachukwu's (1985) thesis of inherent complementation rests on the fundamental assumption that only some particular Igbo verbs need 'meaning-specifier' lexical items to complete or complement their meaning content for the communicatee. But *obscurity* of meaning as such, which we prefer to call '*semantic opacity*', and which the inherent complementation thesis is created to account for, is an inherent feature of *all* (not just some) Igbo verbs; and that is the central claim we defend in this paper – as follows.

5. Semantic Opacity and Igbo Verbs

Semantic opacity is *not* the same thing as semantic ambiguity, although the two notions are related. A word is said to be semantically ambiguous when the communicatee, usually out of context, can relate more than one meaning to the form concerned. For example, the form *blind* is semantically ambiguous in the sense that any one of the meanings (i) state of physiological handicap of vision, (ii) to cause that handicap, (iii) curtain, (iv) concerning a type of date, etc. may be assigned to it; and the communicatee cannot reasonably assign one of those meanings to the form to the exclusion of all the others out of context.¹⁶ So defined, semantic ambiguity is a common feature of *all* natural languages; and Nwachukwu's (1985) inherent complementation thesis clearly could *not* be about this universal semantic character of human languages. Semantic opacity for its part has to do with *obscurity* of meaning (rather than with *choice* of meaning, as in semantic ambiguity): here, the communicatee has purportedly identified some particular meaning content (out of several), but has difficulty visualising the exact specifics of that meaning.

Take the Igbo *ígbā* form again for illustration; this form is semantically ambiguous – in that it could relate to, as we have already noted. (i) shooting, (ii) running, (iii) being naked, (iv) prostituting oneself, etc. Assuming, then that we decide as communicatees to relate the form *ígbā* to the meaning ‘being naked’; the semantic opacity theory states in effect that we can only visualise that semantic content of the verb form clearly in the co-text of *òtò* (nakedness) as users of the Igbo language. According to our theory, *all* Igbo verbs suffer from semantic opacity as just explained prior to some sort of co-textual lexical specification, and the basic differences between Igbo verbs with regard to the semantic opacity question is really a matter of *degree* – NOT of kind, as Nwachukwu’s (1985) study in the domain could lead us to believe. In other words, all Igbo verbs are semantically opaque, according to our findings in this area of Grammar, but some are more semantically opaque than others.

Before arriving at the hypothesis stated above, we first collected several sets of Igbo verbs, guided to some extent by Nwachukwu’s (1985) selectional procedure. Nwachukwu (1985) lists 7 sample clusters of ICVs – namely, the *-tù*, *-gbá*, *-kpá*, *-tá*, *-kpó*, *-tí* and *-fù* clusters; our own study is based on a considerably more comprehensive corpus of simple verbs whose forms were generated from the permutation of the four consonant phonemes (/t/, /g/, /kp/, and /f/) of Nwachukwu’s ICV verb forms with the nine vowel phonemes of our reference dialect of Igbo, the Onicha-Ugbo dialect of Delta State, Nigeria. Each of our verb citation forms begins with the Igbo verbal prefix *í-* before any syllable containing the /i/, /u/, /o/ and /a/ phonemes – following the rules of Igbo vowel harmony. The Igbo citation form verbal affix *í/ĩ* carries an invariable high tone; the subsequent verb root usually carries a mid tone, and only occasionally a low tone – never a high (except when the verb root is cited without the verbal affix, as in Nwachukwu, 1985 – in which case most roots carry the high tone, a few the low tone, and none the mid tone). Our corpus does not pretend to be exhaustive, but is only indicative of the spread of possible verb citations. If, for example, a hypothetical verb root form’s vowel with a mid tone was seen non-productive of any attested Onicha-Ugbo verb form we could think of (the verb root form of the test being of course preceded by the Igbo *í-/ĩ-* verbal prefix), then we tested the same verb root form’s vowel with a low tone to see if any possible attested Onicha-Ugbo verb form could be derived thereby; but if the verb root form’s vowel with a mid tone was found productive of any attested Onicha-Ugbo verb form(s), then we did not bother to check for any other attested verb forms derivable from the verb root form with a low tone vowel. Also, we relied essentially on our own native-speaker intuition for the collection of data: and in this procedure we have been surprised by the number of times another attested verb for a particular citation form being tested has popped up, just when we thought we had noted all the verbs derivable from the citation form – which all goes to confirm that there must be several attested verbs derivable from our permutation procedure, which we have unwittingly left out of our corpus.

Next, we sought to establish which verbs needed meaning specifiers, and which verbs did not. We quickly arrived at the startling observation that every Igbo verb needs *some* meaning specification: for any given Igbo verb, the competent native-speaker Igbo person must automatically associate with the verb some other lexical item before the meaning of that verb form can be made definite in his/her mind. Which is to say that the Igbo verb by itself does not stand with a sufficiently definite meaning out of context,

without some semantic specification being suggested by another lexical item besides that verb.

Three types of such obligatory semantic specification were discovered – viz., ‘projective specification’, ‘retrospective specification’, and ‘double specification’. Projective semantic specification is one in which the verb ‘looks forward’ as it were to a ‘commenting’ lexical unit – for example, *ígbā in ígbā bôlù* (to play a ball) ‘looks forward’ to *bôlù* (ball) for us to know that we are dealing with the *ígbā* which has the meaning ‘to play’, not some other verb. Retrospective semantic specification is the reverse of the projective: here, the verb ‘looks back’ as it were to a ‘topical’ lexical element for its meaning to be properly situated. For example, *ètí in ifè ètí* (the moon is shining) ‘looks back’ to *ifè* (moon) in order for use to know that the verb concerned is the *ítí* verb with the meaning ‘to shine’, and not some other. Double semantic specification is one where the verb may ‘look forward’ or ‘look backwards’ electively. For example, the lexical element *ùkwálà* (cough) of *ìkwà* (to cough) may be topical or commenting in Igbo – such that sentences 11 and 12 below are equivalent sentences.

11.	Ígbòàfò	àkwā	ùkwálà.		
	Ígbòàfò	à-----kwà-----á	ùkwálà.		
Lex. T.	[NGBOAFO	IS	COUGH	ING	COUGH.]
Lit. T.	[[Ngboafò	is	coughing	a	cough.]]
Fr. T.	(Ngboafò	has	a	cough.)	

12.	Ùkwálà	àkwā	Ígbòàfò		
	Ùkwálà	à-----kwà-----á	Ígbòàfò		
Lex. T.	[COUGH	IS	COUGH	ING	NGBOAFO.]
Lit. T.	[[A cough	is	coughing		Ngboafò.]]
Fr. T.	(Ngboafò has	a	cough.)		

We also discovered that the crucial factor for determining the degree of semantic opacity of a verb of Igbo is ostensibly the degree of selectional restriction of semantic specifiers involved: the more the number of semantic specifiers an Igbo verb has or could have, the less semantically opaque it is; and the less the number of semantic specifier lexical elements the Igbo verb has, the more semantically opaque it is. Take, for illustration, the *ígbā* verb form, which happens to be highly productive of homophonous verbs (with up to nineteen citations in our corpus); a particular *ígbā* verb with the meaning ‘to sting’, which allows several topical-type semantic specifiers such as *èbù* (wasp), *ánwū* (bee), *ákpì* (scorpion), etc., is *much less* semantically opaque (despite the extreme ambiguity of the *ígbā* form *per se*) than the *ífū* verb having the meaning ‘to be difficult’, which allows only one commenting-type semantic specifier *ùfú* (difficulty), as in *ífū ùfú* (to be difficult), even though the *ífū* verb form is associated with only two attested verbs (as against up to nineteen for the *ígbā* form) in our corpus. Therefore, semantic opacity increases in Igbo verbs, not in proportion to the growing number of homophonous verbs

per verb form there are, but rather according to how few semantic specifier lexical items a given verb may be associated with: verbs with a surfeit of semantic specifiers, like *ítī* (to beat) – as in *ítī mádù* (to beat someone) – are just barely opaque: verbs which are very stingingly specified semantically, like the *ígbā* in *ígbā N̄bò* (to be solicitous) or the *ígbā* in *ígbā áká* (to be empty-handed), are sometimes so semantically opaque that they are accordingly almost impossible to translate as individual units; and plausible verbs which have zero semantic specification, such as *íkṗī*, *íkṗì*, *ígbè*, *íkṗī ífū* etc., are mere forms and not attested verbs of Igbo at all.

We found no serious evidence in our study of any semantically motivated clustering of verbs. Perhaps a primary meaning does exist in the case of at least some verbs in Igbo language, of which other meanings would constitute various degrees of extension. A ready illustration that comes to mind could be *ítī* (to beat) as in *ítī mádù* (to beat someone) – of which other kinds of *ítī*, such as the *ítī* (to box) of *ítī òkpó* [[hitting a box]] and the *ítī* (to play music) of *ítī égwú* [[beating a dance]] might be reasonably argued to be semantic extensions. But even here it is very hard to see how the *ítī* (to shine) of *ifè ètí* (the moon is shining) fits into the semantically motivated cluster theory. We do hope that some kind of interesting semantically motivated clustering of Igbo verbs can be found; but there is unfortunately no strong evidence so far to encourage that hope.

To conclude here, the truly characteristic and particularly interesting ICVs in Nwachukwu's (1985) thesis of inherent complementation have, according to our own study, been found to be in fact definable as those verbs which have only one semantic specifier each inherently, and are *ipso facto* very semantically opaque. Clusters of ICVs are only non-existent, but, paradoxically, ICVs have been shown in this our study to be strong pointers to the general rule of semantic opacity in all Igbo verbs, instead of being seen as so many bizarre violations of a supposed semantic determinacy in Igbo verbs.

6. Verbal Entries

Our observations this far regarding semantic opacity in Igbo verbs should determine the way verbal entries are made in the lexicon of Igbo. We propose the following tentative guidelines.

Verbs of projective semantic specification should be followed by a/the token semantic specifier lexical item – thus, for example, for *ítī* (to box) in *ítī òkpó* [[hitting a box]]:

ítī <*òkpó*

Verbs of retrospective semantic specification should be preceded by a/the token semantic specifier lexical item – thus, for example, for *ígbò* (to bark) as in *N̄kítē àgbò ágwò* (Dogs bark at snakes);

<*N̄kítē* < *ígbò*

Double semantic specification verbs like *íkwà* (to cough) in the co-text of *ùkwàlà* (cough) should receive two entries – first a retrospective entry, then a projective entry, with a/the token semantic specifier – thus:

- i) <ìkwàlá> ìkwà.
- ii) ìkwà <ìkwàlá>.

7. Grammatical Indeterminacy

It might at first blush appear very odd that any language could have semantically opaque lexical items, such as Igbo verbs have been shown to be; and the initial reaction of the grammarian could be to try to force the linguistic facts to conform with known theories – as Nwachukwu (1985) seems to have recognised so clearly in making his case for the existence of ICVs. So, how could the existence of semantic opacity in Igbo verbs be explained? In short, why does the phenomenon exist at all, if one may advance such a question? Our hypothesis is that semantic opacity in Igbo verbs is actually symptomatic of the inherent uncertainty of value of language texture, which we call ‘*grammatical indeterminacy*’, of which semantic ambiguity is another reflection, which the language communicatee has to grapple with in order to access the communicative intents of the language communicator.

The above hypothesis, if correct, should predispose us to find the same phenomenon of semantic opacity in other languages besides Igbo, or even to be able to establish some kind of universal typology of languages in terms of the degree of semantic opacity of their lexical items. With particular reference to verbs, perhaps semantically determinate verbs of languages like English are the way they are precisely because each of the verbs typically admits of several semantic specifiers as a matter of course, unlike what obtains in Igbo? Even such a verb as the English *to rain*, for example, does not associate exclusively with the lexical item *rain* but admits other topical semantic specifiers such as *sawdust*, *sand*, *flowers*, *fruits*, *pebbles*, etc.

We should also expect to find other types of grammatical indeterminacy, besides semantic opacity (and semantic ambiguity), in languages – including formal or symbolic kinds of indeterminacy. In a language like Chinese, for instance (see Chao, 1968), it is apparently the case that a lexical item translatable to English as *DANCE* may be verb or noun, but is, by itself, unmarked for either category – without some co-textual or contextual specification. Now, that is what we understand as an example of *categorical indeterminacy* of lexical items.

Our work on simplified languages (see Uwajeh, 1979) leads us to the strong conviction that child languages in particular and simplified languages in general progress from the less determinate or more general to the more determinate or specific. Progressive specification is, according to our research conclusion, no doubt *the* law of linguistic evolution...

8. Semantic Determinacy

In our discussion up to now in this paper, we have naively adopted a *form*-based, and therefore *communicatee*-centred, approach to Grammar. Implicitly or explicitly, this happens to be the standard approach for almost all serious Grammars to date. There is another, we think much better, approach to Grammar – the *communicator*-centred and *meaning*-based one. This is the approach of *Generative Semantics* as formulated at inception, of Chafe’s (1970) so-called ‘*Meaning-Structure Grammar*’ and of *Performative Grammar*.

Within a meaning-based approach to the characterisation of Language as endorsed by Performative Grammar, Language is viewed as essentially a *representational* phenomenon. The communicator has some experienced reality for communication, also called an ‘experience’ or *referent*; he makes a direct mental image (*not necessarily* a faithful reproduction) of that reality, his ‘thought’ or *reference*, representing the experience; and he uses some form, his ‘symbolisation’ or *referend* for representing the thought, so that through that performance the communicatee may eventually share his experience in communication. The ‘three Rs’ – referent, reference, and referend – we also call R₁, R₂ and R₃ respectively, strictly according to their order of appearance for the communicator, as illustrated below.

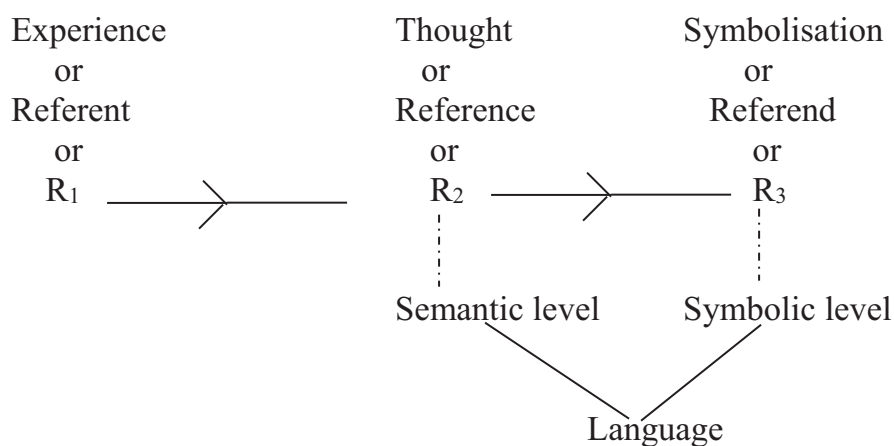


Fig. 1: The Three Rs of Language Communication

In such a picture of Language as that presented above, the thought or reference or meaning part of a lexical item (its idea or ‘concept’) occurs *before*, and is then represented by, the symbolisation or referend or form part of that same lexical item (its symbol or ‘seme’) – strictly in that order. In such a theoretical framework, *every* lexical form is necessarily *determinate* semantically (for the thought unit or concept exists, and is known, before the representing symbolic unit or seme). So, the problem of semantic indeterminacy generally or semantic opacity in particular simply does not arise. It does not exist.

Notes

1. In this discussion, the fact that Language is essentially a communicative tool in *no* may implies that anything communicative must be a language, just as one may *not* reasonably infer that anything which can fly must be an aircraft (birds do fly too!) simply because any aircraft qua aircraft should be able to fly. It is also definitely *not* implied in our discussion here that Language may not also be used for other purposes besides communication.
2. Performative Grammar is the performance and context-sensitive approach to the scientific characterisation of Language structure created by us at the Université de Montréal in 1979 which derives form the tenets of *Performative Linguistics*. See Uwajeh, M.K.C. (1979), *Structures Syntaxiques du Deuxième Registre*. These de Doctorat; Département de Linguistique, Université de Montréal. See also Uwajeh, M.K.C. (1996a); “Is ‘May I ask you a question?’ a Question?” in *Pragmatics*; Vol. 6 (1): 89-109.
 Performative Linguistics is a *Performance* Linguistics – that is, a Linguistics conducted from the perspective of Language *in use*, like Text Linguistics – which we started working out in the late 1970s at the Université de Montréal to help counter the perceived inherent inadequacies of Generativism’s ‘syntacticist’ (i.e., essentially just structure-baded) characterisation of Language. The bedrock postulate of Performativism is that ‘Language is an intelligent performance’, in this special sense that Language is something ‘performed’ by its users with due regard for the communication exigencies of real life – such that Language texture or structure is in effect conditioned by and a reflection of those communicative constraints; therefore, that any realist characterisation of Language must also take into account those same communication exigencies which make texts *bona fide* communicative constructs of Language users. See Uwajeh, M.K.C. (2002): *Beyond Generative Grammar: A Course in Performative Linguistics*, Spectrum Books Ltd.
3. ‘Translatology’ is the science of translation. *Performative Translatology* is the particular translatological perspective which builds on the tenets of Performative Linguistics. See especially Uwajeh, M.K.C. (1994d): “The Case for a Performative Translatology” in *Perspectives: Studies in Translatology*; 1994, 2. Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen.
4. ‘Text’ is used technically in translation studies to refer to *any* piece of language construct – whether spoken, written, or gestured.
5. ‘Level of translation’ here is similar to Catford’s (1965:24-26) classical model ‘rank of translation’, but *not* to his own ‘level of translation’. However, the two notions (of Catford’s ‘rank’ and Uwajeh’s ‘level’) are loaded with quite different theoretic presuppositions (see Uwajeh, 1994d for some), and should accordingly *not* be confused with one another.

6. The reference dialect of our study throughout this paper is that of Onicha-Ugbo in Delta State, Nigeria; but we have a sound competence of the main dialects of Igbo both East and West of the River Niger, and claim that our principal findings in this study do apply to the Igbo language as a whole.
7. All four levels are *not* always needed, all together, for every translation exercise, but depend on the text and goal of the particular translation exercise. However, it should be obvious from the nature and function of each level properly understood that the clarifications just supplied cannot be reasonably construed to detract in any way from the theoretical and practical validity of each level's separate identity.
8. In our convention for tone-marking, we mark *all* tones – including the mid tone, which even though only occurring after a high tone in Igbo words is nevertheless a *bona fide* tone in its own right within the Igbo phonological system. As much as possible, our tone marking is *tonetic*, NOT *tonemic* – that is, every effort is made to mark tones according to what pitch level is actually heard, rather than with reference to some deeper phonological rules of tones contrasts. This should make it much easier for a non-Igbo speaker to read our Igbo examples as close as possible to the way they are pronounced by the Igbo concerned. And to the extent that we are really dealing with the lengthening of a vowel segment rather than with its repetition or morphemic realisation, one particular segment may, by our convention, carry more than one tone mark. For example, *àsâ* (seven) *ìtàlì* (whip), *ìtàlì-ì* (your whip), *òlì ákwā* (eater of eggs).
9. According to the Igbo concerned, “*wókòṃ*” is the sound produced by all croaking frogs. The joke here in the given saying above is that some frogs are supposedly mocking other frogs for saying “*wókòṃ*” (apparently an unpleasant sound) by repeating “*wókòṃ*” after them, whereas they, too, like all frogs, do croak “*wókòṃ*” regularly as a matter of course – a case, that is, of ‘the pot calling the kettle black’!
10. The ‘co-text’ of a linguistic item or items is the *intralinguistic* environment – as different from the *extralinguistic* environment which is called the ‘context of situation’ in neo-Firthian Hallidayan terminology – of the linguistic unit(s) concerned.
11. We use a capital ‘n’ – that is, N – for the so-called syllabic nasal phoneme of Igbo, whose three allophones are realised phonetically as imploded [m], [n] and [ŋ] – before frontal, median, and posterior consonants respectively of Igbo words.
12. This traditional translation procedure is so common that a random sample of the description of an African language's structure with a European language like English in learned-journals of Linguistics is almost certainly bound to be in a version of it. Nwachukwu's (1985) study characteristically adopts this traditional translation procedure.

13. Such a position is endorsed, for example, by Schuh, Russell (1989), in a personal communication with us.
14. It should be stressed here that *not all* Igbo sentence constructs apparently identical to sentence examples 4 to 6 of our illustrations in thought pattern necessarily have *two* direct objects each. A good deal of research is needed, guided by correct literal translations, to establish what is what.
15. The item is *àkwùlà* in the Igbo dialect of Nwachukwu's (1985) study. The four items listed for criticism of the cluster sub-theory of ICVs are presented according to our translation conventions, but the examples themselves are actually culled from Nwachukwu's paper under review here.
16. With semantic ambiguity, a communicate-centred Grammar then automatically faces a very old lexical problem first enunciated in ancient Indian linguistic studies, which remains largely unresolved in such Grammars to date – i.e. whether it is correct to say accordingly that the *word* concerned (that is, *blind* in our example) is *polysemous* (in other words, that the word has several meanings), or whether the correct thing to say is that there are actually several *words* involved (*blind*₁, *blind*₂, *blind*₃, etc., using our example) with the common form *blind* – which are homophonous when pronounced alike, are homographic when written alike, and are homonyms when pronounced *and* written alike.

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47. Anaphoric Relations & Overt NPs: A Comparative Analysis of French & Hausa

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1. General Introduction

Scholars have proposed theories in order to account for syntactic relations. These theories accounting for syntactic relations take into consideration functional/ grammatical and/or semantic and/or pragmatic characteristics of syntactic elements. For instance de Saussure in his “*Cours de Linguistique Generale*” first published in 1916, accounted for functional syntactic elements horizontally and vertically reflecting the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations among elements. This breakthrough gave a face-lift to Linguistics as an autonomous discipline. In a more recent time, a significant contribution came from Chomsky with his “*Syntactic Structure*” in 1957 tagged “Linguistic Revolution”. This was and still is a monumental work that brings to light theories which account for syntactic relations. The theories were modified through the years to account for certain specific syntactic relations. For instance, Government and Binding Theory is among the last theories developed by Chomsky and espoused by his followers. The theory is aimed at accounting for: (a) structural property or properties involved in syntactic process or processes e.g. Theta-Role, Case Marking, Government etc., (b) Semantic interpretations of Noun Phrase(s) (NPs) e.g. Binding.

This paper intends to determine anaphoric relations and overt NPs in French and Hausa with a view to reflecting how these relations, which are semantic in nature, are established in these languages. The comparative analyses in this paper are expected to reflect the similarities and dissimilarities of the two languages in these aspects. Anaphoric relations are better explained through the Binding Theory. Overt NPs are types of NPs that are morphologically represented as distinct from non-overt NPs, which are not. In order to understand NPs there is a need to discuss the various types of overt NPs we have in two the languages involved in this study.

1.1 Aims and Objectives

This paper intends to discuss the anaphoric relations and overt NPs. It aims at identifying: (a) the types of NPs in French and Hausa, (b) discuss how these NPs are related with their referents whether within or without the universe of discourse, (c) at which “range” certain NPs like the reflexive NPs must be in order to be bound by their antecedents and (d) discuss the dominance configuration which reflect the structural relations between the antecedents and the reflexive NPs. In the light of Government and Binding Theory (GB), which is a further look at Chomsky’s “general syntactic theory”, we hope to explain these and other syntactic relations as regards anaphors and their referents. The theory i.e. GB is the subject of our sub-section presented below.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

Government and Binding (GB) as said earlier, is a further look at Chomsky’s general syntactic theory. The theory is aimed at accounting for (a) structure property or properties

involved in syntactic process or processes like Theta-Role, Case Marking, Government etc. and (b) semantic interpretation of NPs like Binding.

As this paper looks into the types of overt NPs and their referential properties etc., our theoretical framework resides within the Binding theory (BT), which is a part of the Grammar or general framework that regulates the referential properties of NPs. Binding Theory (BT), according to Chomsky (1988), operates at the Logical Form (LF), which is the part that deals with semantic properties of syntactic elements among which anaphors, pronominal, R-expressions, etc. B.T. has a principle governing each of these categories. The principles are as it follows:

- a) “An anaphor is bound in its governing category.
- b) A pronominal is free in its governing category.
- c) An R-expression is free” (cf. Chomsky 1988:168)

From the principles presented above, we can observe that B.T. focusses essentially on anaphoric and structural relations of NPs. Munkaila (1990:37-9) argues that the sub-category “is concerned with relation between anaphors, reciprocals, reflexives and pronouns whether phonetically overt or otherwise to their potential antecedents”. Napoli (1983:187) observes that “pronouns can be locally bound if they do not receive a Theta-Role, while anaphors generally receive Theta-Role unless they are used emphatically”. These assertions suggest that Binding theory is related to Theta Theory. Binding theory is not only related to Theta-theory but also to other Sub-theories. For instance, a Binder must C-Command its Bindee.

This means that a node B binds a node C if and only if they co-index and B C-Commands C. In essence BT as different from Bounding theory is semantic in nature. It determines the relationship between three categories of NPs (i.e. pronouns, reflexives, R-expressions) with their antecedents. For the sake of illustration, consider the following examples from French and Hausa.

- 3a) Paul lui donne le cahier (French) vs Shehu ya bashi takarda (Hausa) “Paul gives him the exercise book”
- b) Jean se soigné lui-meme (French) vs Adamu yana ba wa kanshi magani (Hausa) – “John treats himself”
- c) Christophe lui donne des conseils (French) vs Ali yana bashi shawra (Hausa) – “Christophe advises him”

In the example 3a above, the NPs: “Paul” and “Shehu” which are R-expression NPs are free likewise the pronoun NPs: “lui” and “-shi” (him) in both languages in line with the principle of the BT. In the example 3b, on the other hand, the R-expression NPs: “Jean” and “Shehu” are co-indexed with “lui-meme” (himself) and “kanshi” respectively. Thus “Jean” binds “lui-meme” and “Shehu” binds “kanshi”. With this framework we intend to discuss the anaphoric relation and overt NPs in French and Hausa as presented below.

1.3 Types of overt NPs

Technically we consider overt NPs as lexical categories that are morphologically represented. In order to familiarise ourselves with the types of overt NPs in the two

languages, i.e. French and Hausa, it is deemed necessary to present the following examples:

- a) *Jean l'aime* (French) *Audu yana sonta* (Hausa) – John loves her
- b) *Joseph se lave les mains* (French) *Ali-yana wanke hannuwansa* (Hausa) – Joseph washes his hands.
- c) *Il se soigné lui-meme* (French) vs *Shi yana wa Kansa magani* (Hausa) – He treats himself
- d) *Elle parle a elle-meme* (French) vs *Ita tana Magana wa kanta* (Hausa) – She talks to herself
- e) *Ils s'aiment l'un et l'autre* (French) vs *Su suna son junansu* (Hausa) – They like each other
- f) *Elle est rentree avec eux* (French) vs *Ita ta je gida da su* – she went home with them
- g) *Elle est rentree avec lui* (French) vs *Ita ta je gida da shi* (Hausa) – He went home with her
- h) *Il l'a appelle* (French) vs *Shi ya kirata* (Hausa) – He called her.

In the above examples, we can distinguish three (3) types of Overt NPs. These types of the NPs are: (a) full NPs e.g. *Joseph*, *Jean*, etc., in French and *Audu*, *Ali* etc., in Hausa, (b) Pronoun NPs e.g. “il”, “elle”, “lui”, etc., in French and “shi”, “ita”, “shi” etc. in Hausa equivalent to he, she, him respectively, and (c) reflexive NPs e.g. “elle-meme”, (herself), “lui-meme” (himself), “eux-meme” (themselves), etc., in French and “kanta”, “kanshi”, “kansu”, etc., equivalent to herself, himself and themselves respectively. The first type of NPs is referred to as independent NPs which, according to Haegeman (1994:204) “select their referent from the universe of discourse”. On the other hand the second type of NPs is restricted to some features which are grammatical in nature i.e. [+male] [+singular] etc. These features allow us to pick a referent of this type of NPs in the universe of discourse as the previous type of NPs. For instance consider the following:

- 2a) *Elle parle a elle-meme* (French) vs *tana Magana wa kanta* (Hausa) – She talks to herself
- b) *Il chante a lui-meme* (French) vs *yana waƙa wa kansa* (Hausa) – he sings for himself

In the examples (2a-b) above we can observe that the pronouns NPs “elle” (she), “il” (he) are morphologically represented unlike, in Hausa where they may be deleted but we can still identify the referent in the universe of discourse from the reflexive NPs. In spite of

the fact the pronoun NP is not visible in Hausa from the reflexive NP “kanta” or “kanshi” we can identify the referent. That is to say for the example 2a our referent is [-male], [+3rd pers.], [+singular] while for the example 2b, the referent is [+male] [+3rd pers.] [+singular]. It is interesting to note that in French either the pronoun NP or the R-expression NP must be morphophonologically represented in order to co-index with the reflexive NP. In Hausa there are grammatical characteristics on the NPs, which reflect in order to define the referent in universe of discourse. These grammatical characteristics constitute exponents of the referents in the universe of discourse. In French or English the interpretation of the reflexive NPs e.g. “elle-meme” herself, “lui-meme” himself, etc. depends on a visible or morphologically represented pronoun NPs, which coindex with the reflexive pronouns. Nevertheless, in Hausa the pronoun NPs are optional.

In the foregoing, we identified three types of NPs, which are characterized in different ways. The interpretations of the reflexive NPs depend on a morphologically represented NPs in the case of French, while in the case of Hausa it is not. Because as we are going to discuss later that when the NPs with which the reflexive NPs co-index are not visible the sentences become ungrammatical in French.

2. Analysis is in the Linguistic Paradise

Our analysis in this paper centres on the structural relationships of various categories of NPs with their referents. The paper looks also at the context in which each category of NPs i.e. pronouns, reflexives, and R- expressions takes its referent. It is also of interest to determine the coindexation with view to finding out what type of NP coindexes with another NP.

We have observed that there are three types of NPs, which are each regulated by certain grammatical principles. In order to discuss the anaphoric relation between the NPs, it is essential to observe the structural relationship that determines their interpretations. For the sake of illustration, consider the following examples from French and Hausa.

- 4a) Audu lui a donne des gateaux- (French) vs Audu ya bashi ket (Hausa) “Audu gives him some cakes”.
- b) Audu donne des conseils a lui-meme (French) vs Audu yana ba wa kanshi shawara (Hausa) “Audu advises himself”.

In the examples above (4a), we can observe that “Audu” in both languages, which is a full NP i.e. R-expression is not coreferential with the pronoun “lui”, “-shi” (him), while in the example 4b, “Audu” coindexes with the reflexive “lui-meme”, “kanshi” (himself). The major distinction between the behaviour of the NPs, i.e. “lui”, “-shi” and “lui-meme”, “kanshi” is that the former is a pronominal which by the principle (b) it must be free in its governing category, while the latter is a reflexive, i.e. an anaphor which by the principle (a) must be bound in its governing category. The reflexive coindexes with an NP that is in the sentence as reflected in 4b where “lui-meme”, “kanshi” coindexes with an R-expression “Audu”. The reflexives, i.e. anaphors do not only co-index with R-expressions, but also pronouns which bound them. Consider the examples from French and Hausa.

- 5a) Elle parle a elle-meme (French) vs ita tana wa kanta magana (Hausa) – “she talks to herself”
- b) Il donne des conseils a lui-meme (French vs shi yana ba wa kanshi shawara (Hausa) – “he advises himself”
- c) Elles se soignent elle-meme (French) vs su suna ba wa kansu magani (Hausa) – “they treat themselves”

From examples (5a-c) we can observe that the anaphors “elle-meme”, “kanta” (herself), “lui-meme”, “kanshi” (himself) and “elle-meme” “kansu” (themselves) respectively co-index with the pronouns “elle”, “ita” (she), “il”, “shi” (he) and “elles”, “su” (they) respectively. The pronoun NPs in French are not optional since they cannot be omitted without resulting in ungrammaticality. On the other hand the pronominal NPs: “lui” (French) and “-shi” (Hausa) (him) in 4a are free in their governing categories. The reflexive on the other hand is bound in its governing category. It can be observed that in kernel sentences like 4a, the pronominal NPs: “lui” (French) and “-shi” (him) do not have their referent in the sentence but in complex sentences the pronominal NPs do have their referents within the sentences. For the sake of illustration, consider the following examples.

- 7) Il pensait que Aisha est amoureuse de lui- (French) vs “Shi cewa yake Aisha tana son shi” (Hausa) “He thought that Aisha loves him”.

In (7), the pronominal NPs: “lui” (French) and “shi” (Hausa) (him) have referents in S, i.e. the principal sentence. A pronominal may also have its antecedent outside the sentence. This case arises from what Haegeman (1994:204) refers to as “specific context”. For the sake of illustration consider the following examples from French and Hausa.

- Et Jean? (French) vs “John fa?” (Hausa) – “What about Audu?”
 -Aisha est amoureuse de lui (French) vs “Aisha tana son shi” (Hausa) – “Aisha loves him”

In 9, we can observe that the pronominal NPs: “lui” (French) and “shi” (him) do not have referents in the sentence but in another, i.e. 8.

Though we agree generally that the pronominal NPs and/or the reflexive must have a referent with which it coindexes, the antecedent must not only agree in number, person and gender but also it must be within a reasonable distance, from its pronominal and/or reflexive. For instance consider the following examples.

10. *Ali pense qu’ a lui-meme Audu chante (French) vs * “Ali yana cewa wa kanshi Audu yana waƙa (Hausa). * “Ali thinks to himself Ali sings”

The above sentences are ungrammatical because the reflexive “lui-meme” and “kanshi” (himself) are not within the range within which they can be bound by their antecedents

with which they coindex, i.e. “Audu”. Haegeman (1994:208) argues that there is a “local domain”, i.e. a binding domain from which the antecedent must be in order to bind the pronominal or the reflexive. Thus, we may add to the principles of BT that the reflexive or pronominal must be “locally bound”. Haegeman refers to this condition, as “clausemate” condition, i.e. the reflexive/pronominal must be in the same clause otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical as observed in the example 10 above. For instance consider the following examples.

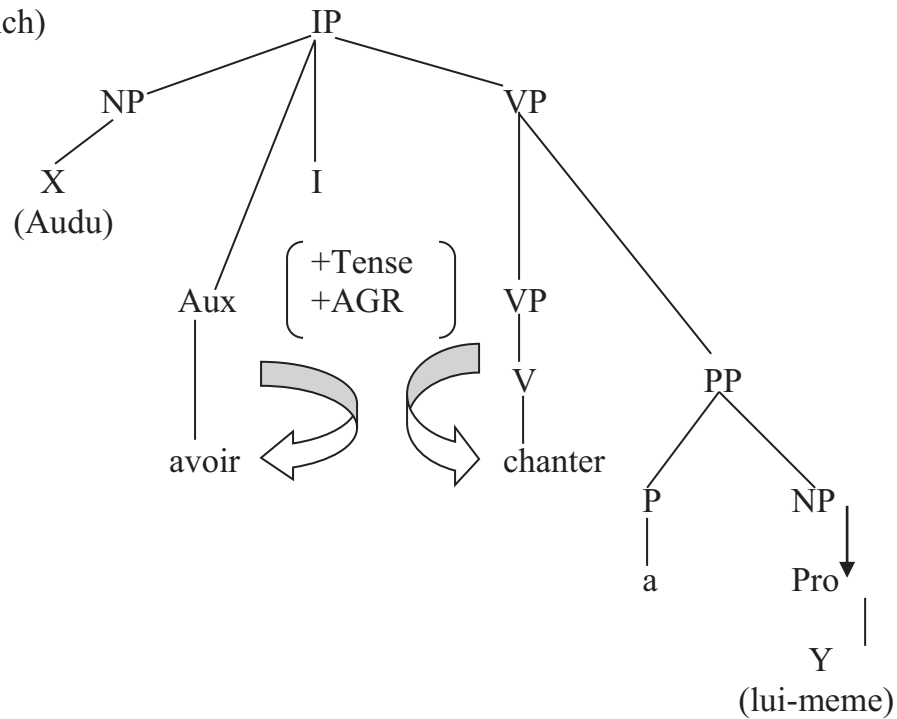
11. Ali pense que Audu chante a lui-meme (French) vs “Ali yana cewa Audu nawa kanshi waƙa” (Hausa) – “Ali thinks that Audu sings to himself”.

In 11, we can observe that the reflexive “lui-meme” (French) and “kanshi” (Hausa) (himself) and their antecedents are in the same clause. Hence, the clause-mate condition is met. Thus the reflexive “lui-meme” (French) and “kanshi” (Hausa) (himself) are bound by the NP “Audu” that are in same clause. In addition to the clause-mate condition, it is equally important to note that the antecedent must precede the reflexive, otherwise we end up with ungrammatical sentences.

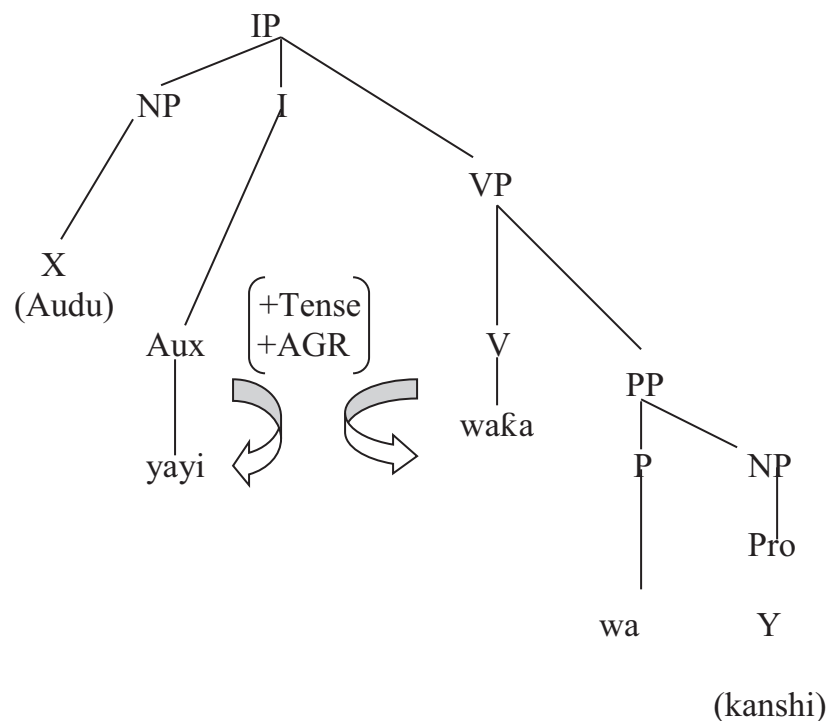
12. *Ali pense que [IP a lui-meme Audu chante] (French) vs *Ali na cewa [IP wa Kanshi Audu na waƙa] (Hausa) *Ali thinks that [IP to himself Ali sings.

In 12, we can observe that both the reflexive and the antecedent are in IP, that is a non-finite clause. Thus, the clause-mate condition is met but the reflexives NPs: “lui-meme” (French) and “kanshi” (Hausa) “himself” precede the antecedent “Audu” but the sentences become ungrammatical. The structural analysis of the relationship between the reflexive and its antecedent leads to the fact that the clause-mate condition is not sufficient to determine binding condition. The antecedent must C-Command the reflexive. That means neither the antecedent nor the reflexive dominates each other. The maximal projection which dominates antecedent also dominates the reflexive and vice versa. For the sake of illustration see examples below.

12a) (French)



12b) (Hausa)



In the diagrams (12a) and (12b) presented above we can observe that the NP X (Audu) coindexes with the NP Y (lui-meme) and (kanshi) which both satisfy the clausemate condition. The first branching node dominating X also dominates Y and neither X nor Y dominates each other. Thus we can readjust our binding principle to account for not only the clause-mate condition but also the C-Command condition.

The reflexive must agree with its antecedent, i.e. referent in the sentence with respect to nominal features of number and gender, because the reflexive depends on its antecedent for semantic interpretation. When these agreements are not established, we

end up with an ungrammatical sentence. For the sake of illustration consider the following examples.

13. *Aisha s'est blaissee lui-meme (French) vs *Aisha ta ji wa kanshi rauni “*Aisha hurts himself”

Example 13 above are tagged ungrammatical because the agreement between the reflexive “lui-meme (French) and “kanshi” (Hausa) (himself) and “Aisha with respect to gender, is not established. The reflexive “lui-meme (French) and “kanshi” (Hausa) (himself) have the feature specification [+male], while “Aisha” has a feature specification [+female]. Thus, the gender agreement is not established. For the sake of illustration consider the following examples.

14. Aisha s'est blessee elle-meme (French) vs Aisha ta ji wa kanta rauni (Hausa) “Aisha hurts herself”

The pronominal “elle-meme” (French) and “kanta” (Hausa) (herself) in example 14, on the other hand, requires also these agreements with respect to nominal features of gender and number. In French, referent of the reflexive must be morphophonologically represented for the sake of grammaticality, but in Hausa, even if the referent is not represented, the sentence is grammatical. That is because the reflexive in Hausa carries the specifications of the referent. These specifications help to identify the referent in the universe of discourse. In Hausa the reflexive NP is optional. In both Hausa and French the reflexive NP may have its referent in complex sentences, as exemplified in 7 where “shi” (he) coindexes with “shi” (him) in Hausa, while “Il” (he) coindexes with “lui” (him) in French. The reflexives and the pronominals that must be bound by their antecedents/referents are the binders. This necessitates the agreement with respect to nominal features of person, gender, and number with the binders.

3. Summary and Conclusion

This paper discusses the structural relationships of NPs i.e. the R- expression, the pronoun and reflexive, with regard to binding principles in French and Hausa. We observe that in both languages in line with the universal condition that the R-expressions are types of NPs that are free, while the pronouns are also free but must agree with their referents with respect to gender, person and number because they (the pronouns) depend on their referents, i.e. the binders for their semantic interpretations. The reflexives depend on their binders, which are either R-expressions or pronouns. It is observed that in simple sentences, the pronouns do not have their referents but in complex sentences they do, as exemplified in 7 where the pronominal has its referent, which is in the principal sentence. The pronominal may have also its referent outside as sentence, i.e. in a “specific context” as Haegemen (1994:204) observes. The reflexives are NPs that must have to be within “reasonable distance” from their referents, i.e. they must satisfy the clause-mate condition whereby the reflexives and their referents must be in the same clause. In addition, it is observed that the referents must also precede the reflexives. The structural analysis of the relationship between the reflexives and their antecedents leads to the fact that the clause-mate condition is not sufficient to determine the binding condition. The antecedents must

C-Command the reflexives as exemplified in the diagram (12a and b). It is observed that in Hausa the referent of the reflexive NP is optional, while the French the referent of the reflexive must morphophonologically represented.

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48. On the Grammatical Classification of *bá* and *fi* in Yoruba

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Several works have been done on *bá* and *fi* as grammatical elements, especially on their grammatical status in the Yoruba language (Bamgbose 1967, 1990; Awobuluyi 1979; Oyolaran 1982; Soyoye 1991). These words have often been confused with some other verbs because of their nature. Though identical in form with these elements under our focus, the verbs differ from them syntactically, as we can see below:

- 1a) Olú ń fi okùn.
(Olú -ACC swing rope)
Olú is swinging a rope.
- b) Olú ń fi epo jẹ ìṣu
(Olú -ACC use oil ear yar)
Olú is eating yam with palm-oil.
- 2a) Wón ti bá wa ra aṣọ
(They +ACC follow us buy cloth)
They have bought dresses for/from us.

The categorial status of **bá** and **fi** in sentences 1b and 2b above is our concern in this work.

A. Previous works on the subject

Despite the fact that these elements have been the focus of many Yoruba as well as foreign linguists, their categorial status is yet to be agreed upon. In traditional grammar, they were classified among adverbs. To some linguists, they are nothing but pre-verbs (Bamgbose 1967:19). Others have even referred to them as prepositions (Awobuluyi 1979), while to Oyolaran (1982), they are causative verbs. In one of his works, Soyoye (1991) describes them as valency increasing markers (VIM). To him, they are neither verbs, adverbs, nor prepositions.

We shall try in this study to examine these grammatical elements with a view to finding out the grammatical category into which they could be classified. We totally agree with Soyoye that **bá** and **fi** are not adverbs in that they do not have the same syntactic behaviour as the elements called adverbs in the Yoruba language. Whereas adverbs can be omitted in a sentence without rendering the sentence incomplete or ungrammatical, the absence of **bá** and **fi** in a sentence where they should occur would make the sentence meaningless and ungrammatical.

Let us look at the following sentences, for example:

- 3a) Olú mò-ón-mò sá ní ilé-ìwé
(Olú intentionally run prep. school)
Olú intentionally absented himself from school.

- b) Olú sá ni ilé-ìwé
(Olú run prep. school)
Olu absented himself from school.
- 4a) Olú fí epo jẹ ọ̀ṣu
(Olu use oil eat yam)
Olú used palm-oil to eat yam/Olu ate yam with palm-oil.
- b) *Olú epo jẹ ọ̀ṣu
(Olú oil eat yam)
*Olú palm-oil ate yam.
- 5a) Olú tètè ẹ́ ọ̀ṣé rẹ̀
(Olú quickly do work his)
Olú quickly did his work.
- b) Olú ẹ́ ọ̀ṣé rẹ̀
(Olú do work his)
Olú did his work.
- 6a) Olú bá Adé lọ
(Olú follow Adé go)
Olú went with Ade.
- b) *Olú Adé lọ
(Olú Adé go)
*Olú Adé went.

From the sentences above, it is clear that unlike adverbs, **bá** and **fí** when dropped in the sentences in which they occur, make the sentences grammatically incorrect and meaningless (see sentences 4b and 6b), whereas **mò-ón-mò** (intentionally) and **tètè** (quickly), two elements generally accepted in Yoruba language as adverbs, do not render the sentences meaningless when dropped. (see sentences 3b and 5b).

However, to us, **bá** and **fí** as grammatical elements are verbs contrary to the views held by some linguists like Soyoye and Awobuluyi.

To support our claim here, we shall refer to a few examples as used by some of these linguists whose views differ from ours as regards the elements under focus. For instance, to show that **bá** and **fí** are not verbs, Soyoye (1991) subjects them to the process of commutation with simple and helping verbs or what is traditionally called auxiliary verbs, as we can see below:

- 7) A fí àkàrà jẹ búrédì
(We use bean-cake eat bread)
We ate bread with bean-cake.

- 8) *A fẹ àkàrà jẹ búrédi
(We want bean-cake eat bread)
- 9) Olú bá mi ẹ se ịsé
(Olú follow me do work)
Olu assisted me in doing the work./Olu did the work with/for me.
- 10) *Olú lè mi ẹ se ịsé
(Olú can me do work)
- 11) Ó fì orí dúró
(He use head stand)
He stood on his head/He used his head to stand.
- 12) *Ó sàré orí dúró
(He run head stand)
- 13) Ó bá ọba kú
(He follow king die)
He died with the king.
- 14) *Ó lọ ọba kú
(He go king die)

Soyoye then concludes that these elements **bá** and **fì** are not verbs, because they could not commute with the simple verbs as demonstrated in the sentences above. He even goes further to say that since these elements could not assume the function of predicate/head of the verbal phrase in the sentences, they are therefore not verbs. He illustrates his arguments with the sentences like:

- 15) *A fì ẹpà
(We use groundnut)
- 16) *A bá búrédi
(We follow bread)
- 17) *Wón fì
(They use)
- 18) *Wón bá
(They follow)

B. Our Position

To our mind, these linguists cited above who claim that **bá** and **fì** are not verbs seem to lose sight of the fact that in the Yoruba language, there are different types of verbs, and to subject **bá** and **fì** to constructions as shown above is to limit Yoruba verbs to only the

simple type. This should not be the case, because we have both simple and compound verbs in Yoruba. In this category of compound verbs, we have various sub-divisions among which are splitting and serial verbs. The splitting verbs are, among others, verbs like **bàjé**, **báwí**, **réjẹ**, **gbàgbó**, etc; which mean ‘to destroy’, ‘to scold’, to cheat, and ‘to believe’ respectively. These verbs are called ‘splitting verbs’ as a result of their syntactic behaviour in a sentence. When they take objects, each of these verbs always splits into two and the objects are inserted between the two halves. For instance:

- 19) Ó *ré* Olú *jẹ*
He *cheated* Olu
- 20) Ó *bá* Olú *wí*
He *scolded* Olu.
- 21) Ó *ba* ìwé náà *jé*
He *destroyed* the book.
- 22) Mo *gba* Olórun *gbó*
I *believe* in God.

The serial verbs, on their own part, got their name from the way they occur in strings or in series of two or more verbs in a sentence. In the Yoruba language, some of these verbs may not have meanings when used alone just like components of some splitting verbs do not have independent existence too. It is the case of **ré** in **réjẹ** and **bà** in **bàjé**, as in the above sentences (19-22).

The two elements, **bá** and **fi** are verbal components that always occur in the type of constructions shown in examples 19 above where they do not have their own independent existence or meanings in the Yoruba language. They are always the first part of the verbs in which they occur. In actual fact, they commute perfectly well with the first components of the serial verbs:

- 23) A ra àkàrà jẹ búrédì
(We buy bean-cake eat bread)
We bought bean-cake to eat bread.
- 24) A fi àkàrà jẹ búrédì
(We use bean-cake eat bread)
We used bean-cake to eat bread/We ate bread with bean-cake.
- 25) Olú mú mi wá sí ilé
(Olú take me come to house)
Olu brought me home.
- 26) Olú bá mi wá sí ilé
(Olú follow me come to house)
Olu came home with me.

- 27) Ó gbé orí dúró
(He carry head stand)
He was stable.
- 28) Ó fí orí dúró
(He use head stand)
He used his head to stand/He stood on his head.
- 29) Ó na ọba kú
(He beat king die)
He beat the king to death.
- 30) Ó bá ọba kú
(He follow king die)
He died with the king.

The above sentences (23-30) clearly show that the elements **bá** and **fí** commute well with other elements recognised as verbs in the language. Again, just as there are some splitting verbs that cannot have their halves exist alone, since doing this is to produce meaningless and ungrammatical sentences, so also **bá** and **fí** cannot exist alone in the language. They cannot be used intransitively because they always have an object to control. For instance:

- 31) Olú rẹ Adé jẹ
Olu *cheated* Ade.
- 32) *Olu ré or *Olu réjẹ
- 33) Mo ba iwé jé
I *destroyed* the book.
- 34) *Mo bà or *Mo ba iwé
- 35) Adé fí èpà jẹ ògèdè
(Ade use groundnut eat banana)
Ade ate banana with groundnut.
- 36) *Adé fí èpà or *Adé fí

As it will have no meaning to say **Mo ba iwé** or to use only the first half of the verb without an object: ***Mo ba** to mean 'I destroyed the book', so also it is incorrect to say **Adé fí èpà** (Soyoye 1991:154) or **Olá ré Adé** to mean 'Ade ate groundnut' or 'Olu cheated Ade' respectively.

We cannot say that because **bàjé** and **réjẹ** cannot function as predicates/heads of verbal phrases in sentences, they are not verbs in the Yoruba language.

Syntactically speaking, apart from subjecting grammatical elements to the process of commutation and substitution in order to know their categorial status or their

grammatical class, verbs can also be identified in a sentence through some other syntactic manipulations like nominal and negative transformations. We shall try these grammatical processes, so as to show that **bá** and **fi** are nothing but verbs in the Yoruba language.

In Yoruba, one of the ways of nominalising verbs is by using the following formular: (C+I+VB) which 'C' stands for the initial consonant of the verb to be nominalised. 'I' is just the vowel 'i' which is always high toned, and VB stands for the verb itself. It is almost the same way that verbs are nominalised in the English language whereby the '-ing' form of the verb is just preceded by an article. E.g. Go = the going. For instance, in Yoruba we say:

- 37a) Adé lọ dájúdájú
(Ade go surely)
Ade surely went.
- b) Lílọ Adé dájú
(Going Ade sure)
The departure of Ade is sure.
- 38a) Adé jẹ ẹran púpò
(Ade eat meat much)
Ade ate meat too much.
- b) Eran jíjẹ Adé pò
(Meat eating Ade much)
Eating of meat by Ade is too much.
- 39a) Sọlá se oúnjẹ tà
(Sola cook food sell)
Sola cooked food to sell.
- b) Oúnjẹ síse tà ọ̀ro
(Food cooking sell difficult)
Cooking of food for selling is difficult.
- c) *Oúnjẹ títà se
(Food selling cook)
- 40a) Adé bá Olú lọ
(Ade follow Olu go)
Ade went in company of Olu./Ade went with Olu.
- b) Bíbá Olú lọ l'ẹ̀wu (ní ewu = l'ẹ̀wu)
(Following Olu go have danger)
Going with Olu is dangerous.
- c) *Lílọ Olú bá
(Going Olu follow)

- 41a) Olú fi ẹran jẹ ẹkọ
(Olu use meat eat eko)
Olu ate eko with meat.
- b) Fífi ẹran jẹ ẹkọ dára
(Using meat eat eko good)
Eating eko with meat is be good.
- c) *Jíjẹ ẹran fi ẹkọ
(Eating meat use eko)

The above sentences show that just like other verbs in the language, **bá** and **fi** react perfectly well to the nominalisation process. Just as the second halves of the splitting verbs cannot be nominalised, – they appear to lose their verbal property – the second halves of the serial verbs as in sentence 39c also refuse the process of nominalisation. So also do the second components of verbs with which **bá** and **fi** occur. For instance, as **tà**, the second half of the serial verb **sètà** could not be nominalised as shown in sentence 39c above, so also **jẹ** could not be nominalised when it occurred with **fi**, as it is the case in sentence 41c. In other words, **bá** and **fi** behave as verbs even more than the recognised verbs with which they occur to form compound verbs.

The same thing happens when it comes to negative transformation of verbs. **Bá** and **fi**, as shown in the sentences 42-51 below, respond to the negative transformation as do other verbs in the language. There are many ways of forming negative sentences in Yoruba, but in this essay, we shall try to use one of these ways; that is, the use of the morpheme **kò** which means ‘not’.

- 42a) Adé lọ
(Ade go)
Ade went.
- b) Adé kò lọ
(Ade not go)
Ade did not go.
- 43a) Adé ra ẹran
(Ade buy meat)
Ade bought some meat.
- b) Adé kò ra ẹran
(Ade not buy meat)
Ade did not buy meat
- 44a) Adé ra ẹran jẹ ẹbà
(Ade buy meat eat eba)
Ade bought some meat to eat eba.

- b) Adé kò ra ẹran jẹ èbà
(Ade not buy meat eat eba)
Ade did not buy meat to eat eba.
- 45a) Adé fì ẹran jẹ èbà
(Ade use meat eat eba)
Ade used meat to eat eba./Ade ate eba with meat.
- b) Adé kò fì ẹran jẹ èbà
(Ade not use meat eat eba)
Ade did not use meat to eat eba./Ade did not eat eba with meat.
- 46a) Olú wá Adé lọ
(Olu search Ade go)
Olu went in search of Ade.
- b) Olú kò wá Adé lọ
(Olu not search Ade go)
Olu did not go in search of Ade.
- 47a) Olú bá Adé lọ
(Olu follow Ade go)
Olu went with Ade./Olu accompanied Ade.
- b) Olú kò bá Adé lọ
(Olu not follow Ade go)
Olu did not go with Ade./Olu did not accompany Ade.
- 48) *Adé kò jẹ ẹran ra èbà
(Ade not eat meat buy eba)
- 49) *Adé kò jẹ ẹran fì èbà
(Ade not eat meat use eba)
- 50) *Adé kò lọ Olú bá
(Ade not go Olu follow).

Like other groups of verbs, **bá** and **fì**, as shown in the examples 45b and 47b can easily be transformed into negatives. And like other verbs too, they are the ones that take the negative marker **kò** while the other halves remain unmarked. The verbs **jẹ** and **lọ** as shown in sentences 48-71 could not take the negative marker **kò**. An attempt to do this will produce ungrammatical and meaningless sentences. In other words, as shown in the examples above, **bá** and **fì** like **rá** ‘to buy’, as components of the serial verbs in which they occur, react more favourably to the syntactic manipulation of negation than their other halves in the verbs.

Verbs in the Yoruba language can equally be recognised through their ability to produce, from their final vowels, the pronominal forms of their direct objects in the 3rd person singular. This is done by repeating the last vowel of the verb, and it is this repeated vowel that forms the pronominal object of the verb. For example:

52a) Mo rí Olú
(I see Olu)
I saw Olu.

b) Mo rí i
(I see him)
I saw him.

53a) Ó wá Sọlá lọ
(He search Sola go)
He went in search of Sọlá.

b) Ó wá a lọ
(He search her go)
He went in search of her.

54a) Ó bá Olú lọ
(He follow Olu go)
He went with Olu.

b) Ó bá a lọ
(He follow him go)
He went with him.

55a) Ó fi owó s'ílẹ̀
(He put money on ground)
He put the money down./He abandoned the money.

b) Ó fi í s'ílẹ̀
(He put it on ground)
He put it down.

N.B.: Fi sí = put

The above sentences show clearly that **bá** and **fi** behave as Yoruba verbs.

Apparently, those who claim that **bá** and **fi** are prepositions (Awobuluyi, 1979) are influenced in their classification of these elements by the translation from English into Yoruba. (See examples 45a/b and 47a/b). That is, they used meaning as the basic criterion for classifying grammatical items. In other words, putting **bá** and **fi** into a class of preposition seems to be related to the transposition of a category which is borrowed from English. Translation should not be used as a criterion for classifying a linguistic

element as the syntactic behaviour of an element may be different from that of its equivalent in another language. For instance, if **bá** and **fi** are considered as prepositions and not as verbs, where then is the verb in a sentence like:

- 56) *Ọmọ náà fi ata sí ojú*
 (Child the put petter into eye)
 The child put petter in the eyes)

where **sí** is also considered to be a preposition? As Bamgbose (1990) puts it, is it possible for two prepositions to combine to form a verb? Or does it mean that there is no verb in the sentence? There is certainly a verb and the verb is the compound verb **fisí** which means 'put'. Again, certain words may not have their equivalents in the other language, while some words may be difficult or even impossible to translate. For instance, how does one translate the verb in this sentence into English?

- 57) *Inú ní bí mi*
 (Stomach -acc give birth me)
 I am annoyed.

If the verb is taken out of context or if a word for word translation is done, the sentence will not have any meaning in English:

- 58) *Stomach is giving birth to me.

Moreover, to say that **bá** and **fi** are 'Valency increasing marker', as claimed by Soyoye (1991), is not far from saying that they are verbs if what Tesnière (1959:265-266) refers to as 'valence' is something to go by. The valency of a predicative verb is said to increase if the number of participants in the action it expresses increases from its normal number. For instance, **tomber** 'to fall' as an intransitive verb, takes, under normal circumstances, a participant which Tesnière (1959) calls **actant**. Example:

- 59) *Jean tombe*
 John falls.

But the number of participants could increase if a helping verb or a causative verb like **faire** 'to make' is used with it:

- 60) *Pierre a faith tomber Jean*
 (Peter +acc. make fall John)
 Peter made John fall.

In actual fact, the examples used by Tesnière to illustrate the process of valency increase is done with the causative verb **faire**. From the examples 59 and 60 above, one can see that **tomber**, an intransitive verb with only one participant in 59, increases its participants to two with the use of **faire** in 60. In other words, **tomber**, a monovalent verb, increases its valency to two with the use of **faire**.

In Yoruba, for instance, any verb involved in a serial construction with another verb makes such a verb to increase its valency. In other words, the valency increasing property is not limited to **bá** and **fi** alone. It characterises all verbs used as initial components of serial verbs. Take for example the monovalent verb **lọ** ‘to go’.

- 61a) Olú lọ
(Olu go)
Olu went.
- b) Adé wá Olú lọ
(Ade search Olu go)
Ade went in search of Olu.
- c) Adé bá Olú lọ
(Ade follow Olu go)
Ade went with Olu.

Wá and **bá** in the 61b and 61c increase the valency of the verb **lọ** from one to two.

- 62a) Adé jẹ èbà
(Ade eat eba)
Ade ate eba.
- b) Adé ra ẹran jẹ èbà
(Ade buy meat eat eba)
Ade bought meat to eat eba.
- c) Adé fi ẹran jẹ èbà
(Ade use meat eat eba)
Ade used meat to eat eba./Ade ate eba with meat.

The bivalent verb **jẹ** in 62a increases in valency through the use of **rà** and **fi**, as shown in 62b and 62c. The trivalent verb **şe** and **pọn** could also be increased to quadravalent in the same manner as shown in the sentences below:

- 63a) Ó şe ọdún fún ọmọ rẹ
(He do feast for child his)
He organized a feast for his child.
- b) Ó pa ewúré şe ọdún fún ọmọ rẹ
(He kill goat do feast for child his)
He killed a goat to organise a feast for his child.
- c) Ó fi ewúré şe ọdún fún ọmọ rẹ
(He use goat do feast for child his)
He used a goat to organize a feast for his child./He organised a feast with a goat for his child.

- 64a) Ó pọn omi fún Olú
(He fetch water for Olu)
He fetched water for Olu.
- b) Ó gbé igbá pọn omi fún Olú
(He carry calabash fetch water for Olu)
He took a calabash to fetch water for Olu
- c) Ó fi igbá pọn omi fún Olú
(He use calabash fetch water for Olu)
He used a calabash to fetch water for Olu./He fetched water with
a calabash for Olu.

C. Conclusion

We have tried in this work to subject **bá** and **fi** to some syntactic operations in order to show the grammatical category to which they belong. From all indications, it is evidently clear that these grammatical elements do not have similar distribution as **tètè** ‘quickly’ and **mò-ón-mò** ‘intentionally’ which are traditionally adverbs in Yoruba. Perhaps the treatment of **bá** and **fi** as adverbs have been influenced by the general practice in traditional grammar to conceive the adverbial class as nothing but a ‘dustin’ into which all grammatical elements that are found difficult to classify are dumped (cf. Berrendonner 1983). Little wonder therefore, that the verbal elements like **bá** and **fi** are arbitrarily grouped among adverbs in Yoruba by the traditional grammarians. Our analysis above evidently shows that these grammatical elements perfectly commute with other elements recognised as verbs in the language, especially when it comes to compound verbs. They therefore could not be any other thing but verbs.

Abbreviations

+ACC	=	Accomplished Aspect Marker
-ACC	=	Unaccomplished Aspect Marker
Prep	=	Preposition
*	=	Ungrammatical sentences

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49. The Spec in Ngwa Igbo

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This paper examines the spec(ifier) – Noun relationship in Ngwa. While the post-N-Spec order is ‘unmarked’, the pre-N-Spec order represents the ‘marked’ construction. Unlike English, a multiple-Spec-sequence is possible in Ngwa. Neither Amfani’s (1995) ‘Broken-Determiner Analysis’ nor Radford’s (1988) ‘recursive analysis’ can capture the multiple-Spec-sequence in Ngwa. Hence this paper does not favour either of these analyses in relation to Ngwa multiple-Spec-sequences. The analysis favoured here is one which shows that a multiple-spec-sequence NP has series of projections. There is the head N as well as the spec levels of projection which unite by ‘absorption’ under a higher spec node.

1. Introduction

Specifiers fall within the items referred to as the closed set of elements, in that their NUMber is limited. Their class hardly admits new members. The Spec cannot constitute a phrase in its own right, but may consist of a single lexical item. Specs are not categorial terms but like complements, are functional labels for part of the structure of the Phrase. They stand in a modifying relationship to their heads.

Trask (1993) points out that in X-bar syntax the Spec is a cover term for any category which occurs as the daughter of a maximal projection (X") which serves, in some sense, to delimit the applicability of the maximal projection. This means that the Spec combines with a single bar category to form a related double bar category. The Spec is related to the head by its placement within a larger unit. It cannot be independent in phrases where it occurs. Rather, it must be dependent, and performs a kind of referential function which is usually definite or indefinite. Its role is in relation to the head element that it is specifier to. Generally, the Spec serves to delimit the semantic information provided by the head of the category within which it is used. This semantic information, though mainly referential, is determined by features of NUMber, specificity and emphasis.

2. Specs in Ngwa

Elements which can function as specs in Ngwa include articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, etc. Depending on their syntactic position, the specs which usually occur with Ngwa NP structures are divided into two. They are the Pre-N(oun) – specs and the post-N-specs. The post-N-spec order in Ngwa is ‘unmarked’ while the pre-N-spec order represents a ‘marked’ construction. Radford (1988:39) notes that an ‘unmarked’ phenomenon ‘accords with a universal principle (whether absolute or relative), while a ‘marked’ phenomenon is one which goes against some relative universal (i.e. a general tendency in a language)’. An absolute universal is shared by all languages (e.g. structure dependence), while a relative universal represents a general tendency in a language. The post-N-spec order accords with the relative principle of Ngwa. Let us look at the post-N-spec order first.

2.1 Post-N-Specs

In Ngwa, post-N-specs exhibit little or no lexical restriction. They include the demonstrative (DEM), the numeral (NUM), the particularizer (PTR), the quantifier (QNT) and the pronominal possessive (POSS). We shall examine these post-N-specs one after the other.

2.1.1 Demonstratives

The demonstrative specs are **(n)à** ‘this’ and **áhù** ‘that’. Each of these two combines with a clitic plural morpheme **wó** to realise a plural counterpart: **(n)à wò** ‘these’ and **áhù wò** ‘those’, as in:

- | | | | |
|------|---------|--------------|---------------------|
| 1(a) | Óché | (n)à/áhù | ‘this/that chair’ |
| | N | DEM | |
| (b) | jí | (n)àwò/áhùwò | ‘these/those yams’ |
| | N | DEM | |
| 2(a) | Nwókō | (n)à/áhù | ‘this/that man’ |
| | N | DEM | |
| (b) | Nwáànyì | (n)àwò/áhùwò | ‘these/those women’ |
| | N | DEM | |

As can be observed from the examples (1&2), the DEM post-modifies the head N. It has a wide range of applicability, including making a deictic reference. Apart from proper nouns which cannot admit it, most other nouns are specified with it. These are however some concrete nouns which can admit a singular DEM. Such concrete nouns are always perceived in terms of single entities. Amongst such nouns is **Ónwá** ‘moon’, as in (3).

- | | | | |
|----|-------|--------------|------------------|
| 3) | Ónwá | (n)à/áhù | ‘this/that moon’ |
| | N | DEM | |
| 4) | *Onwa | (n)àwò/áhùwò | |

2.1.2 Numerals

Numerals are elements used for counting. There are two kinds of numerals: cardinal (cf. 5) and ordinal (cf. 6).

- | | | | |
|------|----------|------|---------------|
| 5(a) | éghú | ātó | ‘three goats’ |
| | N | NUM | |
| (b) | ákwúkwọ́ | īsé | ‘five books’ |
| | N | NUM | |
| (c) | ótu | mádù | ‘one person’ |
| | NUM | N | |

- 6(a) mādū ké ānó ‘the fourth person’
 N PTR NUM
- (b) ùlō ké áśàà ‘the seventh person’
 N PTR NUM
- (c) ùlō ké m̄bù ‘the first house’
 N PTR NUM

From (5) and (6), it is observed that both the cardinal and the ordinal NUMs post-modify nouns in Ngwa. The cardinal NUM **ótù** ‘one’, however, precedes the noun it modifies. The cardinal NUM simply answers the question ‘how many?’ An ordinal NUM is achieved when a cardinal NUM post-modifies a noun, which in turn is also post-modified by the PTR **ke** (cf. 6). The PTR is emphatically deictic in its function. It particularizes an entity amongst others.

2.1.3 Quantifiers

There are two post-N-quantifiers in Ngwa. They are **līlě** ‘all’ and **ùfódí** ‘some’ (**ùfódí** can also pre-modify a noun). These QNTs have a wide range of collocational ability, as in:

- 7(a) mādù/ìtè/óché līlě ‘all people/posts/chairs’
 N/ N/ N QNT
- (b) ùlō/éghú/ósísí ùfódí ‘some houses/goats/trees’
 N/ N/ N QNT

2.1.4 Pronominal Possessives

The pronominal possessives comprise the first, second and third persons (their singular and plural forms), as in:

- 8(a) Óché m̄/ānyí ‘my/our chair’
 N POSS
- (b) ìtè yá/wó ‘his or her/their pot’
 N POSS
- (c) jí í/únù ‘your(sg)/your(pl) yam’
 N POSS

2.2 Pre-N-Specs

As mentioned above, the pre-N-specs constitute the ‘marked’ class of specs in Ngwa. As their names suggest, they are licensed before the N. The spec-N-order in Ngwa is subject to lexical and stylistic constraints. Most of the NP constructions arising from spec-N-order yield plural interpretation, and the choice of head nouns that participate in

constructions involving pre-modifiers is highly restricted. Generally, nouns characterised as [+ ANIMATE] are usually pre-modified.

All the pre-modifiers recognised so far, also perform quantifying function. Hence we group them also as quantifiers. They are *ù m ù* literally translated as ‘offspring of, *ń d é* (pluralizer), *ótútù* ‘many’, *ùfódí* ‘some’, and *ùzhé* ‘so many’. We shall briefly look at these.

2.2.1 *Úmù*

The lexical item *úmù* is entered twice in the lexicon of Igbo; one as a full-fledged noun, the other as a spec. As a noun, *úmù* can be post-modified by other specs as in (9).

- 9(a) *úmù* (n)àwò/áhùwò ‘these/those children’
N DEM
- (b) *úmù* àtò/ké/yá/lílé ‘three/his/all children’
N NUM/PRT/POSS/QNT

In this paper, we are interested in *úmù* as a spec. As a spec *úmù* pre-modifies [+ ANIMATE] nouns. With [+ HUMAN] nouns, it functions as a pluralizer, while with [- HUMAN] nouns (animals), it serves the dual function of a pluralizer and a diminutive (cf. 11).

- 10(a) *úmù* nwókō ‘men’
Spec N
- (b) *úmù* nwáànyị ‘women’
Spec N
- 11(a) *úmù* ńnùnù ‘birds/offsprings of birds’
Spec N
- (b) *úmù* ńkítā ‘dogs/puppies’
Spec N

However, there are [- ANIMATE] nouns which may subcategorize for *ûmû*. Such nouns are highly stylistically marked, since they are used in particular registers to create idiomatic meaning (cf. 12).

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------|-----------|----------------|
| 12(a) | úmù
Spec | óchē
N | ‘small chairs’ |
| (b) | úmù
Spec | ìtè
N | ‘small pots’ |

2.2.2 N'dé

This is mainly subcategorized for by [+ HUMAN] abstract nouns to derive their collective counterparts, as in;

- | | | | |
|-------|------|-----|-------------------|
| 13(a) | ńdé | óhī | ‘thieves’ |
| | Spec | N | |
| | | | |
| (b) | ńdé | ńsī | ‘witches/wizards’ |
| | Spec | N | |

Also some concrete nouns as those in (14) which are [+ HUMAN] subcategorize for *nde*. The resultant structure does not give the interpretation of collectives, but of plurality.

- | | | | |
|-------|------|-------|----------|
| 14(a) | ńdé | mádù | ‘people’ |
| | Spec | N | |
| | | | |
| (b) | ńdé | nwókō | ‘men’ |
| | Spec | N | |

It is also possible to have the nouns in (14) preceding the spec *ndé* as in (14c & d). But, such an N-*ndé* order is interrogative in nature.

- 14(c) mádù ídé ((n)à) ‘these people?’
N Spec
- (d) nwókō ídé ((n)a) ‘these men?’
N Spec

2.2.3 Ọtútú

Ótútú is mainly subcategorized for by concrete nouns and one abstract noun ókwú ‘talk’, as in:

- 15(a) ótútú mádù/ínùnù ‘many people/birds’
Spec N

(b) ọtútú óché/ìtè/úlò ‘many chairs/pots/houses’
Spec N

(c) ọtútú ókwū ‘so much talk’
Spec N

2.2.4 Ùfódí

Ùfódí also pre-modifies nouns. It is subcategorized for by most nouns, as in:

16(a) ùfódí óché/úlò/ázù/ényì ‘some/chairs/houses/fishes/friends’
Spec N/ N/ N/ N

(b) ùfódí nwokō/nwáànyì/mádù ‘some men/women/people’
Spec N/ N/ N

2.2.5 Ùzhé

Just like ùfódí, ùzhé pre-modifies most nouns in Ngwa, as in:

17(a) ùzhé ánū/ázhù/éjhi ‘so many meat/fish/snail’

(b) ùzhé mádù/nwókō ‘so many people/men’

Ùfódí and ọtútú, however, differ from the other specs. First, they have a morphological structure and tone pattern characteristic of nouns in Igbo. Also, they can be used alone in a minimal NP (cf. Emenanjo 1982) where they can be modified by a relative clause. But, the fact remains that such minimal NPs are discourse ones, since the specs ùfódí or ọtútú must have a discourse reference which is a substantive NP located in discourse but not overtly realised in the clause.

3. Multiple Spec-Sequences

Certain multiple-spec-sequences in a language like English result in syntactic ill-formedness or rather ungrammaticality (Radford 1988:171). Thus, sequences such as (18a, b, & c) are ungrammatical.

18(a) *a my book

(b) *this your tie

(c) *some your friend

Further evidence that the sequences in (18) display syntactic anomaly comes from the fact that the sequence in (18) have perfectly grammatical synonymous counterparts as shown in (19a, b, & c).

19(a) a book of mine

(b) this tie of yours

(c) some friend of yours

Radford also notes that sequences such as (18) which are not grammatical in English are perfectly grammatical in Italian, Spanish and Romanian. He cites the following examples.

20(a) un mio libro (Italian)
a my book 'a book of mine'

(b) esas ideas tuyas (Spanish)
those ideas yours 'those ideas of yours'

(c) carte a ta (Romanian)
book the your 'your book'

Amfani (1995) also notes that multiple-spec-sequences are natural in Hausa. He observes that two specs: the DEM and the previous reference marker (PRM) are involved in double-spec constructions. In such constructions, the DEM occurs pre-nominally or post-nominally together with a post-nominal PRM.

Examples:

21(a) wánnàm yaáro ò (this particular boy)
DEM N PRM

(b) yaáro ò nan (that other boy)
N PRM DEM

Amfani concludes by noting that specs in Hausa enter into a semantic alliance to capture a semantic reference of some universal spec or to mark emphasis (cf. 21a & b). Neither of the specs can achieve this universal semantic reference (cf. 22).

22(a) wání yaáro (some boy)
DEM N

(b) yaáro ò (the boy)
N PRM

In Ngwa, multiple-spec-sequences are possible. They comprise a head N preceded or followed by the specs as the case may be. Double (cf. 20), triple (cf. 21) and quadruple (cf. 22) spec-sequences are possible in Ngwa, while an NP construction with more than four specs is not grammatical, since the grammar of the language does not permit such NP constructions.

- 23(a) ákwúkwò ányí (n)à 'this book of ours'
N POSS DEM
- (b) itè ké ātọ 'the third pot'
N PTR NUM
- 24(a) óché ndé (n)à lílẹ́ 'all of these chairs'
N PLU DEM QNT
- (b) ùfọ́dí óché ndé (n)à 'some of these chairs'
QNT N PLU DEM
- (c) ọ́tútú mádù (n)à lílẹ́ 'most of these people'
QNT N DEM QNT
- 25(a) úlọ́ ndé ké (n)àwò lílẹ́ 'all of these houses'
N PLU PTR DEM QNT

As can be observed from (23-25), the specs in a multiple-spec-sequence are involved in a semantico-syntactic alliance. Each can equally modify the N without resulting in ungrammaticality. It is pertinent to note that the distinction between post-N-specs and pre-N-specs is maintained.

The order of multiple-spec-sequences in Ngwa is free. This is because most of the specs involved co-occur, preceding or following one another freely. However, there are some few co-occurrence restrictions which result in ungrammaticality. Thus, the order outlined in (26), (27) and (28) are not possible.

26. Double-spec-sequence restrictions

- (a) *POSS+POSS (e.g. óché ányí únù)
N POSS POSS
- (b) *NUM+QNT (e.g. óché ātọ lílẹ́/ọ́tútú/ùfọ́dí)
N NUM QNT/QNT/QNT
- (c) *PLU+NUM (e.g. óché ndé ātọ)
N PLU NUM

27. Triple-spec-sequence restrictions

- (a) *DEM + QNT + PLU (e.g. óché (n)à lílẹ́/ọ́tútú/ùfọ́dí ndé)
N DEM QNT/QNT/QNT PLU
- (b) *PLU + DEM + NUM (e.g. óché ndé (n)à ātọ)
N PLU DEM NUM
- (c) *DEM + PLU + NUM (e.g. óché (n)à ndé ātọ)
N DEM PLU Num

- (b)
- N''
- Spec

Úmù

Ndé

Ótútú

Ùfódí

Ùzhé

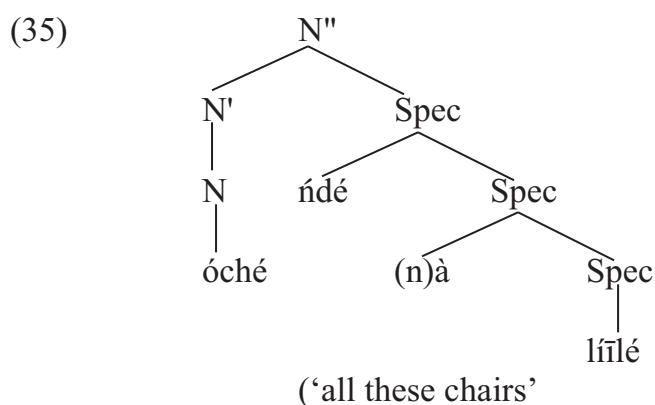
Ótù

N'

N

Unlike in Hausa, the multiple spec-sequences in Ngwa do not represent a compositional unitary meaning which may correspond to a construction expressed by a single spec. Each spec in a double or multiple-spec-sequence can modify N independent of other specs. Hence, the multiple spec-sequence cannot fit into the ‘Broken-Determiner Analysis’. Similarly, a recursive analysis for the Ngwa multiple spec-sequences would be ill-motivated. This is because the NP structures which contain multiple specs are not recursive, since they do not contain any NP structure within them. The X-bar framework provides a specific specifier position for an XP. Therefore, there is only one specifier position for each phrase. In cases where there are several constituents which function as specifiers to one head, such constituents have to undergo a process of ‘absorption’ (Haegeman 1993:503) or unification under one specifier node position.

We, therefore, analyse the multiple-spec-sequences along the lines shown in (35a & b). Our analysis is further justified by the fact that each of the specs involved can successfully be detached from the head N without affecting the grammaticality of the resultant structure.



4. Conclusion

In discussion spec-N-relations in Ngwa, this paper has identified the various specs which can co-occur with an N. The specs have been sub-divided into post-N-specs and pre-N-specs. It has been noted that the post-N-specs are ‘unmarked’, while the pre-N-specs represent the ‘marked’ ones. The preference of a particular spec to another within an NP structure depends on the inherent qualities of the head N. Also, certain semantic information which relate to NUMber, specificity and emphasis are captured through the use of certain specs in Ngwa. Hence, plurality, for instance, is achieved through the use of certain specs, without any overt morphological marking on the N. It has also been observed that multiple-spec-sequences are natural in Ngwa. However, both the ‘Broken-Determiner’ and ‘recursive’ analyses’ could not capture this phenomenon. Hence, the motivation for an independent analysis, which shows that a multiple-spec-sequence NP has several projections (cf. Napoli 1996). These are the head N projection and the spec-levels projection.

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Abbreviations

DEM = Demonstrative; N = Noun; NP = Noun phrase; NUM = Numeral; PLU = Pluralizer, POSS = Possessive; PRM = Previous Reference Marker, PTR = Particularizer; QNT = Quantifier; Spec = Specifier.

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50. Emphasis in Ibibio

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1. Introduction

Ibibio belongs to the Lower-Cross subgroup of the Delta Cross group of languages. It is spoken by about five million people, according to experts' projections based on the 1963 census figures, independence in 1960. It is spoken mostly in Akwa Ibom and Cross River States, which are south-eastern states in Nigeria and which till 1987 constituted one state. Dialects like Efik and Annang, among the major ones, form a cluster of dialects with Ibibio, though recently years Efik-speaking and Annang-speaking people often claim autonomy from Ibibio.

2. Definition of Emphasis

Our approach in this paper is rather an eclectic one; descriptive, pragmatic or information structure, a little bit of X¹ theory and a little bit of comparison in the hope that from this eclecticism will emerge a unified treatment of what, on the surface, look like disparate phenomena and which have been described or treated variously by others as contrastive emphasis (cf. Harries-Delisle, 1978), focus (cf. Brown and Miller, 1980, 1991, Comrie, 1989, Dakubu 1992, Saah, 1988, etc), or topic/ topicalization (cf. Brown and Miller, 1980, Dakubu 1992, etc). We do not intend to go into the differences among emphasis, focus, contrast and topic/topicalization. Indeed, we shall use emphasis and focus interchangeably because, as we shall see in Ibibio, there is little need for a distinction.

Let me begin with what I consider to be just a working definition of emphasis, or what many would refer to as focus – in the hope that we will arrive at a more profound definition heuristically, as the paper develops. For now, I would like to define emphasis as prominence – comparable to prominence in phonology, directed or focused attention on an element. Such prominence or highlighting, in Ibibio – and I would imagine in many other languages – generally involves contrast between the constituent in focus, and some other constituent the existence of which is typically either assumed or not referred to at all in the discourse, because knowledge of it is shared by both speaker and addressee. It seems to me that in Ibibio contrast is always there, explicit or implied, but for the most part in implied and identifiable only in the context of a discourse, as we shall see. Some of the abbreviations we shall use in this paper include 1st sg. (first person singular), 1st pl (first person plural), Redpl (reduplication), C (Concord), RM (relative marker) SM (subordinate marker).

2.1 What are Emphasizable in Ibibio?

Part of our major concern in this paper is to be able to say or identify what emphasis is and thereby go beyond our working definition in 1 above. We would, therefore, like to consider what can be emphasized as a starting point.

First of all, all the major lexical items – nouns, verbs, adjectives (which in Ibibio is (+N) and (+V), adverbs – or phrases of which they are heads – can be emphasized in one way or another (cf. the strategies in 3 below), as the following examples show.

- (1)a. Èmèm ké nyém
Emem that 1st sg + want = ‘It is Emem (not any other child) that I’m looking for?’
- b. Sàásáñà¹
Walk + Redupl. = ‘be walking (to some destination) (instead of running)’
- c. Dép ìkpó-ìkpó ébòt
By big + Redupl. Goat = ‘Buy very big goats (rather than not very big ones)’
- d. Nkára- nkára ké ikíba mmè ọmmọ
Cunning + Redupl. 1stpl + Past + stay with them = ‘Cunningly we stayed with them (rather than innocently)’

Related to (1) are (2) below:

- (2)a. Nyêm Èmèm
1stsg + want Emem = ‘I’m looking for Emem’
- b. Sàñá: ‘walk’
- c. Dép ìkpó ébòt: ‘buy big goats’
- d. Ìmàibà mmè ọmmọ ñkára- ñkára
1stpl + Past + 1stpl + say with them cunningly = ‘We stayed with them cunningly’

It is clear from the examples in (2) that the examples in (1) carry the speaker’s new information. In addition, they also appear to carry the speaker’s own personal involvement or interpretation of the situation in what s/he is saying.

Furthermore, each of the sentences can be said to be uttered in response to some presupposition. We shall return to the meaning or interpretation of emphatic sentences. For now it is important to point out that in each case the new information which only the speaker has, is contrasted with something else which can usually be pragmatically or contextually determined. In (1a) Emem is contrasted with another known entity (presumably another child, if Emem is a child in a family context). Sometimes, the speaker can make the contrast quite explicit, as in (3a).

- (3)a. Èmèm ké nyém, ídóóhó Ímá: ‘It is Emem I am looking for, not Ima’.

Similarly in (1b), **sàásáñà** is the focus or new information given by the speaker and contrasted with what must have been wrongly assumed by the addressee. The new information can be contrasted explicitly with what the addressee actually did, such as (3b).

- (3)b. Sàásánà, ku fèé féghè ‘be walking, instead of running’ were both verbs are reduplicated.

Thematization and reduplication are by no means the only strategies for emphasis, as we shall see in the next section. But for now, we would like to examine whether what Kreidler (1989:243) refers to as function words like auxiliaries, prepositions, and conjunctions and grammatical categories like tense, aspect, and mood can be emphasized.

Let us begin with auxiliaries. Like the main verbs, modal auxiliaries can be emphasized by reduplication, as the following examples show.

- (4)a. Ànié ówò íkéèkemè ínám útó ñkpò òdò?
Who person C + can + Redupl do kind thing the = ‘Who can dare to do anything like that (there really can’t be such a person)’.
- b. Nkànnákân ikid òdó ówò
‘I am not at all able to see the person (contrary to the assumption that I saw him briefly)’.

Interestingly emphasis of the modal auxiliaries is possible only in interrogative and negative sentences, as the ungrammaticality of (5), for example, shows.

- (5) Nkeekeme iwet enye: ‘I would dare to write him’.

Examples such as (5) show that there may be some constraints on emphasis but we shall not pursue this matter further here.

On the other hand, focus or emphasis on grammatical categories like tense, aspect and mood is done through the verb to which they are attached as bound morphemes.

- (6)a. Mmàákèèkìd ènyé
1stsg + Past + see + Redupl him/her = ‘I had already seen him/her (before anyone did)’.
- b. Mmàásìkèèkìd ènyé
1stsg + Past + Hab + see + Redupl him/her = ‘I used to see him/her (before any order was given stopping seeing him/her)’.
- c. Àkpekeekìd ènye, m>m (ènyé)
2ndsg + Mood + so + Redupl him/her, arrest him = ‘If you ever see him/her arrest him/her’.

Although reduplication of verbs commonly focuses on the verbal action, progress or state, the focus shifts to the marker which immediately precedes the verb root in positive sentences. In that case, the neutral tense marker, a concept we will discuss, in 3.6, is selected. Thus in (6a), it is the ‘pastness’ of the situation which is in focus in relation to the time any other person would have seen him or her. In (6b), however, it is the

frequency of the action, albeit in the past, which now comes under focus, whereas in (6c) it is the modality of the situation which now comes under focus.

To focus on the verb itself, the contrastive form of the tense marker (cf. 3.6) will have to be used, as (6d) shows.

(6)d. *Ńkékèékìd ènyé*

1stsg + Past + see + Redupl him/her ‘I actually saw him/her (not merely wrote)’.

Emphasis on conjunctions and prepositions is interesting in its own way. For conjunction, the only way of emphasizing it is by the use of emphatic stress which “always involving greater loudness, lengthening and pitch, and can affect not just syllables but whole words, phrases and even sentences”, according to Essien (1990:59). Consider the following examples, where stress is indicated by underlying the stressed item.

(7)a. *Ímá m̀m̀m̀è Nsìkàn*: ‘Ima **and** Nsikan (not Ima alone)’

b. *Ímá ókpon ɔ̀nỳl̀n ɔ̀nỳɔ̀n*: ‘Ima is big **and** tall (I didn’t say big only)’.

Where *m̀m̀m̀è* and *ɔ̀nỳl̀n* mark phrasal and sentence conjunctions, respectively.

The free morpheme *ké* (not to be confused with its homophone *ké* in (11a) and later) performs a variety of functions which in English are prepositional. It can be translated as **in**, **on**, **at**, etc., as in *ke úfòk* ‘at home’ *ké mmóon* ‘in water’, *ké íwúòd*: ‘on the head’. *Ke* generally performs a locative function.

However, in order to distinguish concepts such as those found in English prepositions like **under**, **behind**, **inside**, etc. Ibibio uses *ke* + an NP of a sort, as in the following examples:

(8)a. *Ké idàk b̀èd*: ‘Under the bed (lit ‘in the underneath of the bed)’.

b. *Ké èdèm úfòk* ‘behind the house (lit ‘at the back of the house)’.

It is expressions such as those in (8) that can be contrastively emphasized, not the morpheme *ké* itself and this can be done by laying emphasis on the nominal expression itself like *idàk* and *èdèm* either by stressing the nominal expressions or reduplicating them, either of which results in different pragmatic interpretations, as examples in (9) and (10) show:

(9)a. *Ké idàk b̀èd*: ‘**under** the bed (not on top)’

b. *Ké edem úfòk*: ‘at the **back** (not in front) of the house’

(10) *Ké idàk- idàk b̀èd ódò*: ‘only under the bed (nowhere else)’.

It seems clear that it is the noun which is emphasized here since, as we shall see later, reduplication is one of the ways of focusing on the noun or NP, of which the noun is the head.

The entire PP itself can be focused, as (11) below shows:

- (11)a. Ké ìdàk bēk ké ìdàk bēd ‘restricted to only under the bed’.
 b. Ké èdēm úfòk ké èdēm úfòk: ‘restricted to the back of the house’.

It is not only nouns, adjectives and verbs that can be focused, NPs, APs, and VPs, are subject to emphasis, though the VP is somewhat problematic here, as the following examples show:

- (12)a. Èkà m̀m̀à àkà m̀m̀ì ‘only my mother’.
 b. àtá ékám̀bá-ékám̀bá ‘really big’
 c. Nkédèédép kòmpútà ódò
 1stsg + Past + buy + Redupl. = ‘I actually bought the computer (it was not stolen or donated to me)’

In (12c), the entire VP (i.e. verb + the object or complement) is not subject to focus, unlike the entire NP **èkà m̀m̀ì** ‘my mother’ in (12a). In (12b), although only the adjective (ékám̀bá) is reduplicated for emphasis, the intensifier **átá** ‘very’ is often stressed, so that altogether the entire phrase **átá- ékám̀bá** comes under focus. That is (13a) is not possible, though (13b), in which the NP constituent of the VP is in focus, is allowed.

- (13)a. Ǹkèdèp kòmpútà ǹkèdèp kòmpútà ‘I bought computer bought computer’.
 b. Ǹkédèp kòmpútà kòmpútà ‘I bought only computer’.

Perhaps this has to do with as yet not properly understood relationship between the object NP and the VP as a whole.

What we have tried to do in this section is to examine as widely as we can what can be emphasized and what cannot. And we have observed that nouns, adjectives, verbs, Adverbs, NPs, PPs as well as function words like modal auxiliaries and grammatical categories, like tense, aspect and mood, can be emphasized or focused in one way or another. However, in the case of tense, aspect and mood, the focus is done through the verbs to which they are morphologically bound. We have also observed some constraints on emphasis. What seems clear from what we have seen above is that it is a proper subpart or constituent of an S which can be in focus and contrasted with another proper subpart (or null counterpart) the knowledge of which is shared by both speaker and addressee.

3. Strategies for Emphasis

There are a number of strategies for focusing in *Ibibio* and some of these have already been mentioned in 2.1 above. Except one – stressing – these processes are essentially morphological or syntactic. They are stress, reduplication, thematization, relativisation and what is sometimes referred to as emphatic reflexives.

3.1 Stress

Ibibio is not a stress language, therefore stress – the use of prominence commonly involving lengths, pitch and loudness or intensity – is not a regular part of the language structure. However, as discussed by Essien (1990:59) stress can be used for emphasis:

Stress (e.g. word stress) in Ibibio always involves greater loudness, lengthening and pitch and can affect not just syllables but whole words, phrases and even sentences. When an Ibibio wants to stress a word or phrase s/he usually does so by uttering it as loudly, reinforced by gestures, as possible...

One interesting feature of the Ibibio stress is that the palatal glide (y) generally becomes an affricate, depending on the intensity of feeling of the speaker. In other words, stress involves the fortition of some consonants.

It seems clear from the above description that we are concerned with accentuation, at least in one sense of the term, by which “intonation does allow the option of stressing these words but the stress is then meaningful in contrast with normal or unmarked pronunciation” (Clark and Yallop, 1990).

Contrastive stress or accentuation in Ibibio, as in English, is commonly used in contrasting the accented or focused constituent for a variety of reasons including contradicting the addressee, putting the record straight or correcting the addressee because of misconception, misinformation, or a misleading general assumption.

More commonly, this kind of stress in Ibibio is often accompanied by irritation, anger, desperation or frustration.

Consider the following example:

(14)a. Ìkíbò BET!

b. DAKKA DA Okoppo se ntan?

STAND UP! (and you are still sitting down) Have you not heard what I have said?

c. Nkpó ódò ÁNYÀT (ánoát)

‘The thing has REALLY ANNOYED me (in case you didn’t know it)’.

(14)a. for examples, in which BÉT can be focused alternatively as

(15)c. can be answer to a question such as (15b).

(15)a. BÉT ké ìkíbò: ‘IT was WAIT that we said’

(15)b. Èkebò BÈT: ‘Did you say ‘shut’?

to which the first speakers would reply (perhaps impatiently) with it, (14a) emphasizing what they really said by the use of contrastive stress (or by cleft construction in 15a). So in (14a), the speakers are contrasting *bét* ‘wait’ with other possible things which their addressees could have thought they said. On the other hand, in (14c), the speaker is

contrasting the intensity of his/her feeling of anger with the degree of anger which his/her addressee had in mind in misjudgment or misconception.

3.2 Reduplication

As defined by Essien (1986:68), “reduplication is a process by which a category or constituent of a sentence can be doubled.” Constituents that can be reduplicated include nouns, some nominal modifiers like specifiers such as demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers, attributes (cf. Radford, 1988) like adjectives; verbs; adverbs; NPs and PPs. Reduplication can perform functions other than emphasis or focus (cf. Essien, 1990:123).

Let us now consider the reduplication of these constituents and the emphatic functions that result, beginning with Ns (i.e. when an NP occurs with the nominal head as the only constituent of the NP).

(16)a. *Ńkédòkkò Ñsíkàn Ñsíkàn*

1stsg + Past + tell *Ñsíkàn* + Redupl = ‘I told only *Ñsíkàn* (not any other person – of all possible persons I would have told)’.

b. *Ínêm áma únâm idàháémì*

Inem C + like beef + Redupl nowadays = ‘Inem likes only beef (and no other meat) nowadays’.

Reduplication of the normal constituents *Ñsíkàn* and *Ínêm* focuses only on these constituents, and gives the interpretation **only**, predictably in contrast with ‘other structurally identical constituents’ (cf. Harries-Delisle, 1978:421). Thus reduplication, like other strategies as we discuss below, “establish identity between a known or presupposed entity (in the context of the situation) and a focused entity, which represents the new information” (Harries-Delisle, 1978:422). In (16a), it is *Ñsíkàn* **only** which is the new information, in contrast with some other person(s) known to both speaker and addressee (in the pragmatic context) who the latter might have assumed had been similarly told the same information – whatever it was. Indeed the speaker could just have said (17a) below:

(17)a. *Ńkédòkkò Ñsíkàn Ñsíkàn, ñkédòkkò' ke ówó éfèn*

‘I told only *Nsikan*, I told no one else’.

making the contrast obvious and unequivocal.

Similarly in (16b), what is now is not just that *Inem* likes **beef**, but that it is **only beef** that she likes, in contrast with other possible alternatives like fish, chicken, etc. Again the speaker could have said (17b), spelling it out more fully,

(17)b. *Ínêm áma únâm, ímáhá íyák*

‘Inem likes only beef, she doesn’t like fish’.

and making the contrast obvious.

Incidentally, it is possible to lexicalize the emphasis in (16a) and (16b) as (18a) and (18b) respectively.

(18)a. *Ŋkédòkkò Nsìkàn ìkpòḡḡ* 'I told only Nsikan'.

b. *Ínem àmà únâm ìkpòḡḡ* 'Inem likes beef only'.

where the lexical item **ìkpòḡḡ** performs the emphatic function.

NPs with modifiers can also be reduplicated, but with different interpretations depending on the kind of nominal modifier. When deictic demonstratives lie **émì** 'this' is reduplicated 'only' interpretation results, but when quantifiers and adjectives are reduplicated intensification or high degree is the result, and when a numeral is reduplicated, a different kind of interpretation with an adverbial one results. Now let us consider the following examples which exemplify the different kinds of emphasis mentioned above, respectively.

(19)a. *Òkôn ákékìd émi émi*

Okon C+Past+see this this'

'Okon saw only this (entity) (and not that entity)'.

b. *Ùwák- Ùwák íbààn énem utom ukàrà idàháémi*

'Very many women (in contrast with very few in the past) now work in the civil service'.

c. *Òbóíkpa ódò áyèm èkám-bá-èkám-bá ákpáráwà*

Girl the C+wabt big big young man

'The girl is looking for a very huge (not just big) young man'.

d. *Ètúbòm ákénò ówó íbòró kèè-è-kèèd*

Headmaster C+Past+give results one one

'The headmaster gave the results individually (lit one person after another) (rather than in a group or twos).

The reduplication of verbs, as observed by Essien, (1990:103-106) performs an emphatic as well as imperfective function, as the following examples show:

(20)a. *Kòlónné áwééwêt sé éyém*

Kokonne C+write + Redupl what is wanted

'Kokonne is writing what people want (rather than presenting it orally)'.

b. *Ímá áwááwât ákà òwèd*

Ima C+drive+ Redupl C+go school

'Ima is driving to school (rather than walking)'.

In both cases, the speaker is focusing on one verbal action, activity or situation, in contrast with other possible actions, activities, or situations which might have been assumed by the addressee. As pointed out already above, the entire VP with the verb is its head and the object as its complement is not subject to reduplication for emphasis. But

the major constituents of the VP themselves – verbal head and the object or complement – can be, as in (20) and (16), respectively.

3.3 Thematization/Cleft Construction

This is a process by which a constituent of a sentence is moved from some position on the right to the initial position on the left for emphasis or focus. In Ibibio, such constituents always occur after the verb (Ibibio being an SVO language). Structurally, thematization involves the introduction of the particle **ké**, which intervenes between the subject and the verb of the sentence.

In a general treatment of thematization in English, Brown and Miller (1980, 1991) identify four sets of rules of thematization, namely subject selection rules, promotion of subject rules, left movement rules and cleft rules. The last two of these are relevant to Ibibio and we explain them briefly below.

Left movement rules involve the thematization of a particular constituent without any consequence of grammatical function, as in (21) below in English.

(21)a. Christmas, I love

Clefting on the other hand, ‘involves the distribution of constituents of some proposition into a copular sentence’, as in (21b).

(21)b. It’s Handel that I’m very fond of.

(22a) and (22b) exemplify left movement and clefting respectively in Ibibio.

(22)a. Èmèm ké ñkékò’òd

Emem that 1stsg+Past-call = ‘It is Emem that I called (not any other child)’.

b. Èmèm ódó éyín àñkékò’òddo

Emem is child RM+1stsg+Past+call+SM

‘Emem is the child (not any other child) that I called’.

Semantically, as far as Ibibio is concerned, there is hardly any difference between (22a) and (22b) – they appear to be stylistic variations (though perhaps 22b may be a shade more emphatic and certainly more formal).

3.4 Relativization

In Ibibio, relativization does not only modify an NP identifying and specifying it from others – it also contrasts it with some other parallel NP. Relativization in Ibibio involves a number of operations. These include the use of the marker **â** with a falling tone; the placing of the relative sentence immediately after the NP it modifies, the marking of the verb of the relative clause with a subordination marker (SM) if the tense is past or present, and the selection of the contrastive tense marker. Consider the following examples:

- (23)a. Émám ówó âkéyìppé nímótò ònyìn
 C+arrest person RM+Past+steal+SM car our
 'The man who stole our car (in contrast with someone who did not) has been arrested.'
- b. Àkpàráwâ âdídó ènyé áyàáníé m̀fònisó
 The Youngman C+Fut+marry her C+Fut+have good luck
 'The Youngman who will marry her will be very lucky'.

3.5 Emphatic Reflexives

Emphatic reflexives, as the name implies, have the form of a reflexive pronoun but are used to give new information (often to the surprise of the addressee(s) in a situation where something is done not by someone (or those) who would normally be reasonably assumed (or suspected) to be capable of doing this, or to someone (or some people) who would be so normally treated). What is new is that a person who is not expected to do something does it or a person who is not expected to be affected by an action is affected. The contrast in this pragmatic situation is generally very clear.

Consider the following examples.

- (24)a. Ètúbóm ké idem ọ́mmò ákéyìp ñwèd ódò
 Headmaster by body his C+Past+steal book the
 'The Headmaster himself (not even the pupils) stole the book'.
- b. Ñdítò úfòkńwèd íwúòd Úkàrà ké idem ọ́mò
 Children school C+Past+Call Head Government by body his
 'The students invited the Governor Himself (not his deputy, secretary, commissioner, etc.)'.

3.6 An Observation

One salient feature should be observed in all cases of emphasis except in cases of tense/aspect (cf. 6a and 6b) is the occurrence of forms of tense allomorphs referred to in my publications on tense (cf. Essien, 1983, 1986, 1990a, 1990b, 1991a, 1991b, etc.) as contractive or non-neutral tense allomorphs. For the benefit of readers who have no access to these publications, this summary should suffice it.

Ibibio has a tripartite tense system with past, present and future tenses not only morphologically marked but with the tense allomorphs each alternating in certain syntactic environments in what Zima (1967, 1971, etc.) and I have independently described as syntactic conditioning of tense allomorphs. In Ibibio, there is this beautiful distributional equivalence identified by Essien (1983):

Mé: Ø what màá/mà: ké and yàá/yàá: dī (mé is to Ø what màá/mà is to ké and yàá/yàá is to dī)

In other words, the tense allomorphs alternate in mutually exclusive syntactic environments.

While the neutral allomorphs **mé-**, **màá/mà-** and **yàá/yàa** representing the present, past and future tenses respectively occur in what Essien (1983) calls Type I sentences, their emphatic or non-neutral counterparts occur in Type II sentences. Type I sentences include simple declarative sentences with no emphasis, overt or implied, as well as yes-no question sentences. On the other hand, Type II sentences include the following: wh-question sentences, modally marked sentences, emphatic sentences and negative sentences.

Let us now consider some examples of non-emphatic and emphatic sentences with the three tenses, as in the following examples:

(25)a. **Ímémáyàíyá**

1stsg+Pres+pretty = 'I'm pretty'

b. **Íyàáyàíyá**

1stsg+Pres+pretty-Redupl = 'I'm really pretty indeed (in case you didn't know)'

(26)a. **Ímàáyàíyá**

1stsg+Past+pretty = 'I was pretty'

b. **Íkáyàáyàíyá**

1stsg+Past+pretty+Redupl = 'I was exceedingly pretty (in case you didn't know)'

(27)a. **Íyàáyàíyá**

1stsg+Fut+pretty = 'I will be pretty'

b. **Ídáyàáyàíyá**

1stsg+Fut+pretty+Redupl = 'I will be exceedingly pretty (beyond your expectation)'.
'

4. Functions of Emphasis

What does emphasis or focus do to a constituent or the sentence as a whole? Whether a constituent is stressed, reduplicated, thematized or affected by emphatic reflexives, in Ibibio, the grammatical functions or relations of the affected constituent is hardly affected, nor are the grammatical classes affected either: nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc., remain what they are respectively. However, as indicated earlier, emphasis performs important pragmatic functions:

- (1) Emphasis conveys new information that the speaker knows or has, but which the addressee does not for a variety of reasons including commonly the following: wrong assumption, 'mishearing', misinformation, wrong information, misconception, ignorance, contradiction, by the addressee(s). For example, (14a) with the stress on **BÉT** could be a response to an earlier utterance 'misheard' by the addressee probably as **bèt** 'shut'. In such circumstances, (14a) would set the record right by correcting the 'mishearing'. In this way, communicative effectiveness is restored or enhanced. Emphasis is, therefore, a potent and an unequivocal way of communicating information which has been in a 'coma', so to say, between the

speaker and the addressee and which becomes new to the addressee on contextual prompting (which include the situations listed above). Many other authors use the term foregrounding information. For example, as regards NP focus, Croft (1990) says: “in focus construction, the focus NP, rather than the predicate is the prominent or foregrounded piece of information that the speaker is communicating”. This applies *mutatis mutandis* to all the other cases of emphasis.

- (2) Emphasis, as we have already pointed out, involves contrast. A number of linguists have also pointed out this but generally this is restricted to a particular kind of emphasis. The clearest example is found in Harries-Delisle (1978) who refers to cleft construction as contrastive emphasis “used by a speaker to mark a constituent as being in contrast with another structurally identical constituent”. It is common knowledge that in English one of the ways of focusing on a constituent is to use a contrastive stress, which then not only foregrounds the constituent, but also contrasts it with some other structurally similar constituent.

Our contention is that contrast in emphasis is not *ad hoc*. It is common to all emphatic or locus cases. The highlighting or making a constituent prominent makes sense in the context of contrast. To bring this point home, let us consider reduplication and thematization as exemplified in (20a) and (22a), respectively repeated below for the convenience of the reader.

(20)a! Kòkónné áwééwêt sé éyém

‘Kokonne is writing what people want (rather than presenting it orally)’.

(22)a! Èmèm ké ñkékiood

‘It was Emem that I called (not any other child)’.

In (20a), the speaker is very likely contrasting Kokonne’s writing, what people want with an oral presentation of the matter. Similarly, in (22a), the speaker is contrasting Emem with any other child (given a family setting, for example). S/he is asserting emphatically that it was **Emem** and no other child that was called in order to, perhaps, correct a wrong assumption or impression by the addressee. In both cases – and indeed in almost all cases – of emphasis, the contrast is being reinforced by the use of the contrastive form of a tense morpheme discussed in 3.6 above.

Myhill (1992:21-24) uses the notion of information status, exploiting Givón’s (1980) metaphor of ‘discourse file’ to explain what is given information or new information. I find this refreshingly insightful and similar to the explanation I have given in this section above. This is how he explains the metaphor.

... At any given point in a conversation, speech, narrative, etc., the hearer/reader has a mental file associating different entities, actions, concepts, etc., with various degrees of ‘activation’. An entity is activated to the extent that it is in the forefront of the hearer’s consciousness. Roughly speaking, the more recently an entity has been mentioned, the more activated it is. Overt mention of an entity

moves it to the most active discourse file, if an entity is not mentioned at all for some time, it is gradually shunted into the inactive discourse file.

On the basis of the notion of activation, the notions of **given**, **new** and **focus** are explained or defined. For Myhill, the terms **given** and **new** refer to different levels of activation. Entities which have been overtly mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse are maximally activated and ‘given’. Entities which have not been mentioned recently (or perhaps not all) are ‘new’. On the other hand, “in focus constructions, the entire sentence is highly activated except one constituent, which is in focus”. For Myhill, then, focused constituents are not necessarily unactivated or low in activation, the only requirement is that they be low in activation in the ‘discourse file’.

So in contrastive stress, reduplication for emphasis, thematization and emphatic reflexives, one constituent has been low in activation in the discourse file just before its mention. It, therefore, becomes new or focused at the moment of mention in contrast with a parallel constituent that has already been activated and in the addressee’s consciousness. The constituent may represent an entity, e.g. an NP like Emem (20a) which has been low in activation but is now re-activated, a situation like (20b) in which **writing** is re-activated crucially at the moment of speech, etc.

4.1 Tense

Since newness of information or what I would like to call re-activation (advancing Myhill’s notion of activation) must be related to the moment of speech – a point that has hardly been made by anybody (including Myhill), tense then becomes important in emphasis or focus. Thus, as pointed out in 3.6, all the emphatic devices employ the contrastive tense allomorphs – Ø for the present, **ké** – for the past and **dí** – for the future. Allomorphic variations of tense morphemes in Ibibio is thus functionally explained. We shall return to the variation later.

5. Comparison of Emphasis with some Grammatical Categories

In this section, we shall compare emphasis with tenses, aspect, mood. Wh-question and negation.

We begin with tense, aspect and mood, which are generally more closely related. In Ibibio, these elements are categories of the verb, being attached to roots of verbs as prefixes, as the following examples show:

(28)a. Mmàáyàiyá

1stsg+Past+pretty = ‘I was pretty’.

b. Ìnì àsíyàiyá

Ini C+Hab+pretty = ‘Ini is often pretty’.

c. Àkpàráwâ ódò ákpàáyàiy, ákpésínè m̀fọ̀n ọ̀fọ̀n

Young man the C+Mood+pretty, C+Mood+put on nice clothes

‘The Youngman would be handsome if he puts on nice clothes’.

With emphasis, however, nearly all categories are affected – it operates on NP, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc. Emphasis is, therefore, unlike tense, aspect and mood syntactically.

However, like tense, the moment of speaking is somewhat relevant to emphasis, if we exploit Myhill's notion of activation. For information is new or brought into focus, just in case it has been low in activation before the moment of speech. What is therefore new is activation at the moment of speech, it seems to me. A corollary of this is that what is new at this moment of speech will no longer be new or in focus at the next moment of speech, since it will now belong to the most activated part of the sentence. The dovetailing of tense and focus at the moment of speech results in the contrastive-neutral tense allomorphs dichotomy pointed out in 3.6. This dovetailing in turn shows that focus or emphasis also relates to the moment of speech, like tense.

Secondly, like mood, emphasis revolves very much around the speaker. In asserting, for example in (20a) that Kokonne is writing it (rather than presenting it orally), the speaker is not only giving new information, but is also expressing his/her own 'side' of the story, and therefore being modal to that extent. It is also pertinent to point out that modally marked sentences, such as (28c) above, attract the contrastive Tense markers as the zero tense marker in the sentence shows.

Aspectually, we have also seen that examples such as (20a) and (20b) combine both emphatic and imperfective interpretations. Thus, emphasis in verbs brings about imperfectivity in *Ibibio*. In addition, Essien (1990:89) has shown that the inceptive (or inchoative) aspect, as in (29), has an implicit contrastive interpretation, somehow comparable to emphasis. Not surprisingly then, it attracts the contrastive tense marker *ké-*

- (29) *̀Nsíkà̀n ákédísà̀nà òtè éyín óbòq̃n*
Nsikan C+Past+Incept+Walk like son of a chief
 "Nsikan started to walk like a prince (in contrast to what he used to do – walk humbly, probably)".

Lastly in this section, let us consider interrogative sentences, in particular *wh*-question, and negative sentences.

- (30)a. *̀Ànié óboĩkpà íkídí*
 which girl C+Past+come
 "Which girl (of all the possible girls that I know) came".

- b. *̀Ínèm ímèmmé*
Inem C+weak+neg = 'Inem is not weak (contrary to what you think)'.

The first thing to observe here is that *wh*-question and negation involve implied contrast, very much like emphasis. This is true not just of those sentences in (30) but generally in *Ibibio*.

Secondly, like emphasis they select the contrastive tense markers. The syntactic similarities between *wh*-question and negation are hardly surprising. Klima (1963:311) observed them in English. Based on these similarities, he suggested that negation and *wh*-questions share "a common grammatico-semantic feature... Affect(ive)" (p. 313).

In the case of *Ibibio*, since it has been amply demonstrated that *wh*-questions and negation share the grammatical characteristic of selecting the contrastive tense markers and semantically imply contrastive emphasis, there is no question of a missing link between emphasis on the one hand and *wh*- and negation on the other – they all belong together and I would suggest share the feature **emphatic**. One would, therefore, like to further suggest that *Wh* and *Neg* as categories belong to emphasis which we are going to suggest is a category of its own in *Ibibio*. Since *Wh*- and *Neg* are themselves emphatic, we either treat emphasis as a major category, and *Wh*- and *Neg* as constituents or by the feature approach ascribe the feature [+Emph(atic)] to both of them. For now, we will not argue which is a better solution, but what is important for us is that *Wh*- and *Neg* are emphases of their own syntactically and semantically.

6. What is Emphasis?

We would like to conclude this paper by revisiting our working definition earlier in the paper.

We believe that the best option open to us for the phenomena we have described as emphasis or focus is to regard them as manifestations or exponents of a category that we would like to refer to as EMPH. Such a category can occur as a constituent of *S*, such as NP, PP, and ADVP or constituents of such *S* constituents like NP, VP, and PP.

There is nothing revolutionary about our suggestion. Indeed, this has been implied in many an analysis (cf. Dukubu 1992; Schacter 1973, etc.). In other cases, it has even been explicitly posited as an underlying category, though commonly as FOC (cf. Harries-Delisle, 1978, Saah 1988, etc.). What we have done is merely to suggest formally, based on its syntax and functions, that it be treated as a category. So we can now redefine emphasis as a syntactic category by which a least activated constituent in a discourse now becomes the focal point or new information at the moment of speech in contrast with a structurally identical constituent, which has already been activated in the discourse.

Note

- 1 It appears reduplication in verbs is accompanied with the modification of the root reduplicated as well as with a floating tone which has the effect of influencing other tones right words. *Sanásàná* is the underlying representation from which *sàásàná* is derived. The perturbations of tone on the last two syllables (e.g. the L+H melody) is triggered off by the floating one. (cf. Goldsmith, 1990).

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51. On *Wh*-questions in Iẓon

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Languages of the world have been classified into two groups with respect to the behaviour of interrogative words in overt syntax. In some languages, *wh*-phrases obligatorily occur at the clause-peripheral position, i.e. the specifier of C° position, while in some others, *wh*-phrases remain in-situ (i.e. in their base-generated position). The possibility or impossibility for a *wh*-phrase to obligatorily undergo a leftward movement in human language has given rise to the formation of the *wh*-parameter, so that languages of the world are distinguished in terms of those where *wh*-movement is obligatory or those where *wh*-phrases may remain at their base-generated position¹. The purpose of this paper is to examine *wh*-questions in Iẓon, with a view to finding out which of the binary options is allowed in the language. The paper is divided into three sections. §1 is the introduction which presents some background information about Iẓon and the dialect from which we shall draw our data, as well as the theoretical basis of the paper. §2 is about the nature of *wh*-questions in Iẓon, while §3 is the conclusion. The dialect of Iẓon from which we shall draw our data is Bùmọ.

1. Introduction

1.1 The Basics

Iẓon is the most widely spoken language of the Ijoid group of languages. It is spoken in four states located in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria: Bayelsa, Delta, Edo, and Ondo. According to Efere and Williamson (1999), Iẓon is a West Ijọ language of the Ijoid family of languages. In general, the phrase structure of Iẓon is strictly head-final. The clausal head I°/AGRs°, for instance, follows its complement. Since Iẓon is head-final, all functional categories, TAM, which are associated with the verb occur after the verb. In orthodox grammatical analysis, the canonical word order in Iẓon is SOV (i.e. subject-object-verb). Any other word order found in the language must have been derived from the basic word order through some kind of syntactic process.

Bùmọ, the dialect of our choice, is spoken in Bayelsa State, Nigeria. It is essentially pitch-accent. In a typical pitch-accent system, only the accented syllables are marked as high, while the unaccented ones, which are low, are not marked. This convention works perfectly for Nembe; but the Bùmọ system is somewhat problematic in that syllables preceding the accented one are also high. In this work, we have adopted the convention (as suggested by Kay Williamson (personal communication)) for marking tones in Kolokuma/Mein (also Ijoid lects) for purposes of harmonization within Ijọ. The convention is as follows:

- a. An initial Low is unmarked
- b. 1st High in the series is marked thus: ´
- c. Next Low after High is marked thus: `
- d. Next High after a Low is marked thus: ´

- e. A marked High after another preceding marked High with no intervening Low is downstepped High
- f. Any unmarked syllable is same as the preceding one

1.2 Background

It is no longer in dispute that languages of the world seem to display two major patterns with respect to the position of interrogative words in overt syntax (cf. Cole 1994:239; Machobane 2001:67). In English/Spanish-type of languages, single interrogative words (perhaps with a few exceptions) “must be overtly moved from their base-generated position to a clause-peripheral position – the specifier (Spec) of Complementizer (Comp) position” (Aoun and Li 1993:199). There are Chinese/ Japanese-type languages where the interrogative word remains in-situ, i.e. in the same position as the nominals they are used to query. Languages in the first category have been described as non-*wh*-in-situ languages, while those in the second category have been described as *wh*-in-situ languages.

Let us consider the following examples from English and Mandarin Chinese:

- 1) What_i did John see t_i?

Spanish (Cole 1994:239)

- 2)a. **Qué**_i crees [que ha hecho t_i Juan]?
‘What do you believe that Juan has done?’
(what believe hat has done Pr.N)
- b. *Tu crees [que ha hecho **qué** Juan]?
(2s believe that has done what Pr.N)
- c. *Tu crees [que Juan ha hecho **qué**]?
(2s believe that Pr.N has done what)

Mandarin Chinese (Aoun and Li 1993:199):

- 3) Zhangsan kandao **shenme**?
(Pr.N saw what)
‘What did Zhangsan see?’
- 4) Zhangsan zai **nar** kandoa ni?
(Pr.N at where saw 2s)
‘Where did Zhangsan see you?’

In either (1) or (2a) above, we observe that the interrogative word **what** or **qué** has been moved from the post-verbal position to the clausal-peripheral position (i.e. the specifier of C°), creating an antecedent-trace relation. In the spirit of the Empty Category Principle, the trace left behind at the original extraction site is lexically governed. In (3) and (4), the interrogative words **shenme** ‘what’ and **nar** ‘where’ respectively remain in

their base-generated position. We also observe that sentences (2b) and (2c) are ungrammatical because the interrogative word is not preposed.

From the foregoing data, we observe that for the English/Spanish-type of languages, interrogative words must obligatorily occur at the leftmost edge of the sentence, resulting from a syntactic operation of movement. In the Chinese-type, the interrogative words remain in-situ. Iẓon, however, displays two patterns, namely, *wh*-in-situ questions and non-*wh*-in-situ questions. In other words, interrogative words in Iẓon can be base-generated or they can be optionally moved into sentence-initial position. The two possibilities belong to the core grammar of Iẓon.

In the remaining part of this paper, we shall discuss the nature of *wh*-questions in Iẓon.

2. The Behaviour of *Wh*-Questions in Iẓon

In English-type languages, interrogative phrases must be displaced in overt syntax, so that they occur at the leftmost edge of the sentence. In Iẓon, however, three possibilities do exist, and each of them is both grammatical and acceptable in the language.

The first possibility is a situation where the interrogative phrase is base-generated in the same position as the substantive nominal it is used to query. The second possibility is for the interrogative phrase to be moved into the specifier of C° in clause-peripheral position. And the third possibility is for the interrogative phrase to be moved rightward from its original position².

In any of the three options, one finds that *wh*-questions in Iẓon end with a sentence-final low tone vowel. The sentence-final low tone vowel copies all the segmental features of the vowel in the preceding syllable. But when the final low tone vowel which marks questions in Iẓon is absent, we find an emphatic particle **n̩** in sentence-final position. *Wh*-questions in Iẓon with this sentence-final particle **n̩** are more emphatic than their counterparts with the sentence-final low tone question marker.

In Iẓon, an interrogative word can be *wh*-extracted from any position with the exception of the subject.

Let us examine the following examples:

- 5)a. **Túḃo** kẹ́ óú-m̩n̩i-ì? OR ... n̩ n̩?
 (Qw Foc cry-pres.prog-Q) EM
 ‘Who is crying?’
- b. CH = [t, túḃo]
 t̩ óú-m̩n̩i ḃo-m̩ túḃoḃi ḃò-ò? [Right-moved]
 (cry-pres.prog person-def.art Qw person-Q)
 ‘Who is (the person) crying?’
- 6)a. **Tẹ́** ìye kẹ́ páa-m̩n̩i-ì? OR ... n̩ n̩?
 (Qw thing Foc happen-pres.prog-Q) EM
 ‘What is happening?’
- b. CH = [t, tẹ́ ìye]
 t̩ páa-m̩n̩i ìye-m̩ tẹ́ ìye-i-e? [Right-moved]
 (happen-pres.prog thing-def.art Qw thing-Q)
 ‘What is (the thing) happening?’

- 7)a. I tɛ̃ yò kɛ̃ (wó) mú-mìnɪ-i? OR ... nɪ nɪ?
(2s Qw place Foc PRT go-pres.prog-Q) EM
'Where are you going?'
- b. Tɛ̃ yò_i kɛ̃ i tɪ wó mú-mìnɪ-i? OR ... nɪ nɪ?
(Qw place Foc 2s PRT go-pres.prog-Q) EM
'Where are you going?'
- c. – tɛ̃ yò kɛ̃ mú-mìnɪ-i? OR ... nɪ nɪ?
(EC Qw place Foc go-pres.prog-Q) EM
'Where are you going?'
- d. CH = [t, tɛ̃ yò]
I tɪ mú-mìnɪ yò-mì tɛ̃ yò_i-o? [Right-moved]
(2s go-pres.prog place-def.art Qw place-Q)
'Where is the place you are going?'
- 8)a. I tɛ̃ ifie kɛ̃ rɛ̃ bó-ò? OR ... bó nɪ?
(2s Qw time Foc Loc come-Q) EM
'When did you come?'
- b. CH = [tɛ̃ ifie, t]
Tɛ̃ ifie_i kɛ̃ rɛ̃ i tɪ bó-ò? OR ... bó nɪ?
(Qw time Foc Loc 2s come-Q) EM
'When did you come?'
- c. – tɛ̃ ifie kɛ̃ rɛ̃ bó-ò? OR ... bó nɪ?
(EC Qw time Foc Loc come-Q) EM
'When did you come?'
- d. CH = [t, tɛ̃ ifie]
I tɪ bó ifie-mì tɛ̃ ifie_i -e? [Right-moved]
(2s come time-def.art Qw time-Q)
'Where did you come?'/ 'What time did you come?'
- 9)a. I té kɛ̃ duonɪ ɛ̃rɛ̃-mìnɪ-i? OR ... nɪ nɪ?
(2s Qw Foc because talk-pre.prog-Q) EM
'Why are you talking?'
- b. CH = [té, t]
Té kɛ̃ duonɪ i ɛ̃rɛ̃-mìnɪ-i? OR ... nɪ nɪ?
(Qw Foc because 2s talk-pre.prog-Q) EM
'Why are you talking?'
- c. – té kɛ̃ duonɪ ɛ̃rɛ̃-mìnɪ-i? OR ... nɪ nɪ?
(EC Qw Foc because talk-pre.prog-Q) EM
'Why are you talking?'

- d. CH = [t, té]
 I t_i dúoni ɛɛ-mɪni iye-mi té_i iye-e? [Right-moved]
 (2s because talk-pre.prog thing-def.art Qw thing-Q)
 ‘Why are you talking?’

In examples (5a) and (6a), the interrogative phrases are generated in-situ in subject position. They are marked as the FOCUS in that position by the general focus marker *kɛ*. The interrogative phrases in the subject position do not undergo any further movement into the specifier of C° in the clause-peripheral position. The reason why *wh*-extraction into the pre-sentence position does not apply to the interrogative phrase in the subject position may be that the sentence-initial position generally correlates with the position of prominence; hence, further movement into a higher position is barred.

In the (a) sentences in (7)-(9), the interrogative phrases are base-generated in non-subject position. In the (b) sentences in (7)-(9), we find that the interrogative phrases have been displaced, so that they occur at the leftmost edge of the sentence. In (5b), (6b) and (7d)-(9d), the interrogative phrases are moved to the right, so that they occur after the verb. All the sentences in (5)-(9) are grammatical. Each of them is a normal way of expressing *wh*-questions in Bəmɔ-İzən.

The b-type and d-type sentences in (7)-(9), for instance, exhibit a trace in the form of an empty category; the trace can be related to its antecedent across an apparently unbounded distance. In these sentences where there is evidence of movement, we symbolized the trace element (i.e. the empty category left behind by the displaced interrogative phrase) as *t*. The moved interrogative phrase serves as the antecedent of the trace element at the original extraction site. The interrogative phrase and its associated trace element enter into a ‘Head-Tail’ CH (chain) relationship necessitated by the rule Move-α.³

The chain relationship existing between the antecedent and its associated trace in the sentences where the interrogative phrase is right-moved is, however, different. In constructions where the interrogative phrase is right-moved the Head-Tail chain relationship is reversed.

The idea of chain formation derives from the fact that

... elements can be pronounced in positions different from those in which they are interpreted as thematic arguments, as theta-assigners, as modifiers of various sorts, etc. By ‘chain’ I mean the connection between a displaced element and its traces, down to relevant interpretive position (Rizzi 2003:89-90).

It is important to note also that the movement of the interrogative phrases either leftward or rightward in Bəmɔ-İzən violates neither Rizzi’s (1990, 2003) principle of “Relativized Minimalist” nor Chomsky’s (1995) “Shortest Movement Condition”.⁴

We also observed that in İzən, it is possible to drop the pronoun in the subject position in *wh*-questions if the subject is the second person⁵. Consider the (c) sentences in (7)-(9). It is important to note that in (7a-b), there is the presence of an invariable, non-coreferential particle *wɔ*⁶ which occurs next to the interrogative phrase in the complement position of the verb. In (7a), where the interrogative phrase is base-generated in the complement position, the presence of the invariable, non-coreferential particle *wɔ*

is optional. But its presence is obligatory when the interrogative phrase is displaced to the pre-sentence position.

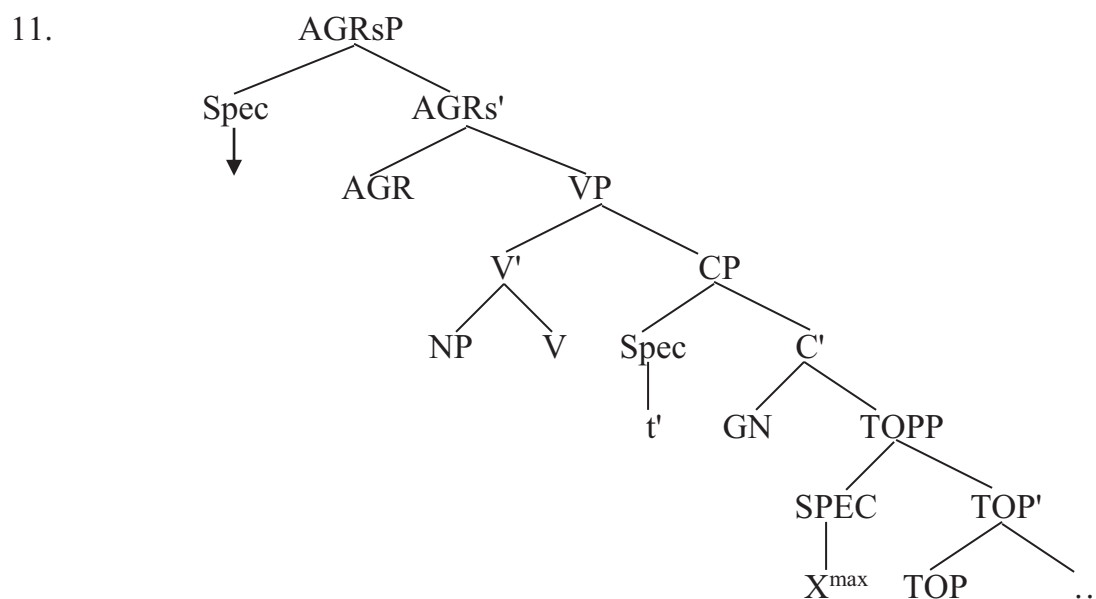
From the foregoing examples we notice that every interrogative phrase in İzön is marked as the FOCUS of the message by the ‘exclusive’ focus marker **kɛ** no matter the position of the interrogative phrase⁷. The function of the focus marker **kɛ** is to narrow down the referential range of the constituent it is associated with, and to place it in an exclusive class of its own. The constituent that is so focused is brought into sharp contrast with all other constituents in the same sentence. The fact that every interrogative phrase in İzön is inherently marked as the FOCUS by **kɛ** lends further support to the claim in the literature that *wh*-questions are a type of focus construction.

The structural differences for the three possible positions in which İzön interrogative phrase are found can be sketched, as shown below:

- 10)a. [AGRsP ... X^{max} **kɛ** ...]
 b. [CP X^{max} i **kɛ** [AGRsP ... t_i ...]]
 c. [AGRsP ... t_i ... [CP ... X^{max}₁ ...]]

In (10a) the interrogative phrase (represented here as X^{max}) is base-generated internally within a minimal clause; here there is no evidence of movement. In (10b), the interrogative phrase has been moved to the leftmost edge outside its minimal clause, so that a trace is created at the original extraction site. In (10c), the interrogative phrase has been moved into a more embedded position at the right edge of the sentence (after the verb). Here again, a trace is created at the vacated position position.

Perhaps it is necessary at this point to sketch the tree structure to how interrogative words in İzön are moved rightward:



The positions with the arrow pointing downward show where an interrogative phrase can be extracted from. The position represented as X^{max} shows the ultimate landing site of a

right-moved interrogative phrase. The symbol *t'* represents the intermediate landing site of the moved interrogative. The reason for this is to ensure that right-moved interrogative phrase does not violate Subjacency. GN represents the generic nominal which introduces the embedded construction containing the right-moved interrogative phrase. The choice of the appropriate generic nominal is dependent upon the nature of the right-moved interrogative phrase. The choice of the appropriate GN depends on such features as <animacy>, <humanness>, <temporalness>, <location>, <number>, etc.

2.1 Types of *wh*-questions in Iẓon

Having given some background to the nature of *wh*-questions in Iẓon, we shall proceed to discuss some of the types of *wh*-questions in Iẓon. We shall base the classification on the type of constituent that a particular interrogative phrase is used to query.

2.1.1 Questions of Identity or Reference

Question words (Qws) can be used to query the identity or reference of a person or a thing. The major Qws which are used for this purpose include **túḥo**, **té**, and **tíe**. In (12), it is the identity of the thing that ate the yam that is sought. In (13), the questioner wants to know which item is good, perhaps in the midst of similar items. In (14), it is the identity of the person that killed the goat that is at stake, and so on.

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 12) Té kẹ búru-mì fì-i?
(Qw Foc yam-def.art.neu eat-Q)
'What ate the yam?' | OR ... fì nì?
EM |
| 13) Tíe yè kẹ ibí ìmi-i?
(Qw one Foc good is-Q)
'Which one is good?' | OR ... mi nì?
EM |
| 14) Túḥo kẹ obóri-beí (wó) bà-a?
(Qw Foc goat-def.art.masc. PRT kill-Q)
'Who killed the goat?' | OR ... bà nì?
EM |
| 15)a. oó túḥo ùnu kẹ (wó) tì-in?
(3p Qw PM Foc PRT call-Q)
'Who(pl.) did they call?'/ 'Who and who ...?' | OR ... tìn nì?
EM |
| b. Túḥo ùnu kẹ oó wó tì-in?
(Qw PM Foc 3p PRT call-Q)
'Who(pl.) did they call?'/ 'Who and who ...?' | OR ... tìn nì?
EM |
| 16)a. oó tíe òtu kẹ (wó) tì-in?
(they Qw people Foc PRT call-Q)
'Which people did they call?' | OR ... tìn nì?
EM |
| b. Tíe òtu kẹ oó wó tì-in?
(Qw people Foc they PRT call-Q)
'Which people did they call?' | OR ... tìn nì?
EM |

- 17)a. Ebí **té** kẹ́ (wọ́) gba-a? OR ... gba nì?
 (Pr.N Qw Foc PRT say-Q) EM
 'What did Ebi say?'
- b. **Té** kẹ́ Ebí wọ́ gbà-a? OR ... gbà nì?
 (Qw Foc Pr.N PRT say) EM
 'What did Ebi say?'

From the above examples, we can observe that any of the Qws **túḡo**, **té**, and **tíḡ** can be used to query the identity of an entity or individual, as in (13)-(15). In these sentences, the interrogative phrases are base-generated in the subject position, and therefore need not undergo any further movement. The interrogative phrases in the (a) sentences in (15)-(17) are base-generated in the complement position of the verb. There is no evidence of *wh*-movement in these sentences. In sentences (15b)-(17b), the interrogative phrases are moved into pre-sentence position. Interestingly, in the a-type and b-type sentences in (15)-(17) we observe the presence of the invariable, non-coreferential particle **wọ́** occurring in the position immediately before the verb. This invariable, non-coreferential particle **wọ́** is optional in the a-type sentences where there is no *wh*-extraction, but obligatory in the b-type sentences where the interrogative phrase is moved. We are not sure for now of the status of this invariable element which surfaces in the preverbal position. This 'suspect' element **wọ́** is not a resumptive pronoun, because it is not coreferential with the interrogative phrase; neither the phonetic nor the morphological shape of the particle is determined by the number, gender or person of the interrogative phrase.

2.1.2 Questions of Location or Direction

In questions of location or direction, the questioner wants to know the place where something is situated or the direction towards which something moves. The interrogative phrase which is used to question the location of an entity or the direction towards which an entity moves is **tíḡ**. It is accompanied by a locative nominal **yọ́** 'place', so that the two form a phrase. Whereas the Qw **tíḡ** carries the interrogative load of the phrase, **yọ́** serves to specify the location of the entity being questioned.

- 18)a. Ebí **tíḡ** yọ́ kẹ́ rẹ́ (ghẹ́) imí-ĩ? OR ... mí nĩ?
 (Pr.N Qw place Foc Loc is-Q) EM
 'Where is Ebi?'
- b. CH = [**tíḡ** yọ́, t]
Tíḡ yọ́_i kẹ́ rẹ́(ghẹ́) Ebí t_i imí-ĩ? OR ... mí nĩ?
 (Qw place Foc Loc Pr.N is-Q) EM
 'Where is Ebi?'

In (18a) the interrogative phrase **tíḡ yọ́** 'which place' is base-generated in pre-subject position. But in (18b), the entire phrase is moved into the pre-subject position, leaving behind a coindexed empty trace at the original extraction site.

It may be misleading to conclude that locative interrogative phrases in complement position are incompatible with the presence of the invariable, non-coreferential **wó** particle in preverbal position. In (7), repeated here as (19), we discover that the same interrogative phrase **tíe yò** ‘which place’ can co-occur with the invariable, non-coreferential particle **wó** in the preverbal position. As in other predicate in-situ *wh*-questions that we have examined, the presence of the particle **wó** in preverbal position is optional (cf. (19a)), while in (19b), its presence is obligatory.

- 19)a. I **tíe** yò kẹ (wó) múmìnì-ì? OR ... nì nì?
 (2s Qw place Foc PRT go-pres.prog-Q) EM
 ‘Where are you going?’
- b. **Tíe** yòì kẹ ì tì wó múmìnì-ì? OR ... nì nì?
 (Qw place Foc 2s PRT go-pres.prog-Q) EM
 ‘Where are you going?’

2.1.3 Questions of Time

Interrogative phrases can be used to question the time, day, week, year, season, etc., that an event took, is taking, or will take place. The Qw used to seek for information about time is **tíe**. For a questioner to be specific about the time, an appropriate temporal nominal, such as **ifíe** ‘time’, **ini** ‘day’, etc., usually accompanies the interrogative word. The function of the interrogative word is to signal the construction as a question, while the accompanying nominal indicates the precise time of the event being queried.

- 20)a. Ebí **tíe** ifíe kẹ rẹ(ghẹ) bó-ò? OR ... bó nì?
 (Pr.N Qw time Foc Loc come-Q) EM
 ‘When did Ebi come?’
- b. CH = [tíe ifíe, t]
Tíe ifíeì kẹ rẹ(ghẹ) Ebí tì bó-ò? OR ... bó nì?
 (Qw time Foc Loc Pr.N come-Q) EM
 ‘When did Ebi come?’
- 21)a. Ebí **tíe** ini kẹ rẹ(ghẹ) mu-ụnmụnú-ù? OR ... nú nì?
 (Pr.N Qw day Foc Loc go-FUT-Q) EM
 ‘Which day will Ebi go?’
- b. CH = [tíe ini, t]
Tíe iniì kẹ rẹ(ghẹ) Ebí tì mu-ụnmụnú-ù? OR ... nú nì?
 (Qw day Foc Loc Pr.N go-FUT-Q) EM
 ‘Which day will Ebi go?’

In (20a-b), what is at stake is the specific time that the subject came, while in (21a-b) it is the specific day in the week that is at stake. Whereas the interrogative phrases in (20a) and (21a) are generated in-situ, those in (20b) and (21b) are displaced. Hence, an empty

- 25)a. Ebí ɪndɛ nɪa ifie kɛ (wɔ) akɪ aán kɪɛ-ɛn? OR ... kɪɛn nɪ?
 (Pr.N Qw QTI time Foc PRT take 3s.neu count-Q)
 ‘How many times did Ebi count it?’
- b. **Indɛ** nɪa ifie kɛ Ebí wɔ àkɪ aán kɪɛ-ɛn? OR ... kɪɛn nɪ?
 (Qw QTI time Foc Pr.N PRT take 3s.neu count-Q) EM
 ‘How many times did Ebi count it?’

In (24b) and (25b), we observe that movement involves not just the Qw and quantity indicator, but also the object of the verb. What is of interest here is that the entire construction Qw + **nɪa** + nominal has already been marked as the FOCUS by **kɛ** prior to movement. It therefore means that any construction marked as the FOCUS in Iẓon must pied-piped (i.e. must be moved in one fell swoop) if movement is required.

We also observe the presence of the invariable particle **wɔ** in both the a-type and b-type sentences. (25) is a case of a serial verb construction involving two verbs **akɪ** ‘take’ and **kɪɛn** ‘count. Interestingly, the interrogative phrase occurs to the left of these verbs.

2.1.6 Questions of Purpose or Reason

It is also possible in Iẓon to seek for information concerning the reason or purpose for which a particular action was or will be carried out. The Qw used in this kind of question is **té**, which is also marked as the FOCUS by **kɛ** accompanied by the word **ɖuo(nɪ)** ‘reason’, as we see below:

- 26)a. Ebí **té** kɛ ɖuo(nɪ) bɔ-ò? OR ... bɔ nɪ?
 (Pr.N Qw Foc reason come-Q) EM
 ‘Why did Ebi come?’
- b. **Té**_i kɛ ɖuo(nɪ) Ebí t_i bɔ-ò? OR ... bɔ nɪ?
 (Qw Foc reason Pr.N count-Q) EM
 ‘Why did Ebi come?’
- 27)a. Ebí **té** kɛ ɖuo(nɪ) búru-mɪ fɪ-ɪ? OR ... fɪ nɪ?
 (Pr.N Qw Foc reason yam-def.art.neu eat-Q) EM
 ‘Why did Ebi eat the yam?’

In (26a) and (27a), the interrogative word **te** is base-generated, while in (26b) and (27b), it has been moved into the specifier of C° at the clause-peripheral position. We observe that the movement of the interrogative word in the (b) sentences above leaves behind an empty trace at the original extraction site. We also observe that in each version of the sentences in (26) and (27), a free lexical item **ɖuo(nɪ)** ‘reason’ always follows the general focus marker.

2.1.7 Questions of Manner

Interrogative phrases can be used to seek for information regarding the way or manner in which a particular action was or will be carried out. The Qw which is used to perform this role is **tie**, which is usually accompanied by **bara** ‘way’/‘manner’, as we can see below:

- 28)a. I **tíe** bàra kẹ (wó) mịẹ-mịnị-ì? OR ... mịnị nị?
(2s Qw way Foc PRT do-pres.prog-Q) EM
'How are you doing (it)?'
- b. **Tíe**_i bàra kẹ i t_i wó mịẹmịnị-ì? OR ... mịnị nị?
(Qw way Foc 2s PRT do-pres.prog-Q) EM
'How are you doing (it)?'
- c. **Tíe**_i bàra_i kẹ – t_i mịẹmịnị-ì? OR ... mịnị nị?
(Qw way Foc EC do-pres.prog-Q) EM
'How are you doing (it)?'

In (28a), the interrogative phrase occurs in-situ, but in (28b), the phrase has been moved into the leftmost edge of the sentence. In both the a-type and b-type sentences, we find the invariable particle **wŋ** in the preverbal position. In (28c), the subject pronoun is suppressed in overt syntax in the spirit of *pro*-drop. We observe that when the subject is suppressed, the invariable particle **wŋ** does not show up. It is not certain for now why **wŋ** does not occur in (28c). In this sentence where the pronominal subject is dropped, we observe that two gaps are created: the first is the gap created by the suppressed pronominal subject of the sentence, and the second is the gap created by the preposed interrogative phrase.

2.2 The Invariable Particle *wó*

From the foregoing discussion, we have seen that an invariable, non-coreferential particle **wó** has the propensity to occur at the preverbal position whether or not constituents are extracted from the object or complement position of the verb in Bùmò-Izòn⁹. We have observed that this particle element is not a resumptive pronoun, because there is no relationship of covariance between the person and number specifications of the moved constituent and those of the preverbal particle element **wó**.

As a matter of fact, the invariable particle **wǒ** presents a fundamental problem to syntactic theory, particularly θ -theory, Case theory, and Logical Form (LF) interpretation. It is not clear whether the occurrence of the invariable particle **wǒ** is a consequence of movement. There are two main reason why we are skeptical as to whether **wǒ** is created by the moved subject.

First, the natural thing that happens following the movement of a constituent is for an empty trace to occur at the extraction site of a moved constituent, in accordance with the “Trace Movement Principle”.

29) Trace Movement Principle

Any moved constituent X leaves behind at its extraction site an identical empty category [$x^n e$]. This empty category is known as a trace, and the moved constituent is said to be the antecedent of the trace (Radford 1988:555).

Second, the worst case of what can happen at the extraction site of a moved constituent is for a resumptive pronoun to show up there. One good thing about this situation is that the resumptive pronoun is an argument which derives its reference from the moved constituent. In other words, there is a relationship of covariance between the number and person specifications of a moved constituent and those of its resumptive pronoun. Hence, the moved constituent and the resumptive pronoun are assigned a unique subscript index, just like the empty trace and its antecedent.

In languages where movement correlates with the presence of an empty category or where a resumptive pronoun shows up at the extraction site, θ -chains are easily composed. In this case, the θ -role and Case properties of the original extraction site are easily transmitted to the moved constituent, while the inherent grammatical properties of the moved constituent (i.e. the antecedent) are transmitted back to its trace at the source position via the chain. Feature transmission is possible under this situation, because the original archaeological site still retains the essential properties of the extracted constituent, such as Case and θ -role. It is for this reason that the moved constituent and the trace or resumptive pronoun at the extraction site are coindexed. The mechanism which necessitates the transmission of properties/features between the antecedent and its trace is known as “Chain Transmission Principle” (Chomsky 1981).

30) Chain Transmission Principle

Grammatical properties (both the inherent ones and those that are assigned) are freely transmitted between an antecedent and its trace through a movement chain (Ndimele 1991, 1992:57).

The transmission of features between an antecedent and its trace provides an explanation as to why each movement chain carries a unique set of features (e.g. one Case, one θ -role). Radford (1988) describes this phenomenon as the “Chain Uniqueness Principle”.

From available evidence, $w\phi$ is neither a trace nor a resumptive pronoun. It does not refer back to the moved constituent. Hence, they cannot be coindexed. The moved constituent and the invariable, non-coreferential particle $w\phi$ cannot participate in the formation of a chain of the type described by Chomsky (1995):

31) $CH = (H_i, \dots, t_i)$

A fully formed chain must have a head and a tail that are referentially identical. There can be no such chain as:

32) $*CH = (H_i, \dots, t_i)$

Grammar forbids a one-member chain or a chain where the head and the tail are non-coreferential, because feature transmission cannot take place under such a relationship.

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that the invariable, non-coreferential particle **wǒ** portends danger to current syntactic theory. So, what are the problems?

- a) It is claimed in principles and parameters syntax that θ -roles are assigned only to arguments in a θ -position is a position to which a θ -role is assignable. Elements which receive co-referential interpretation at LF (= Logical Form) enter into a chain. A chain has a 'head' and a 'tail', and each chain contains just one θ -position. The tail of a chain must be a θ -position. θ -marking takes place at the D-structure prior to movement and spell-out. A moved constituent will have at LF the same θ -role it had at the D-structure, which is transmitted to it from the extraction site via the chain. Following from this are:
 - i) movement neither creates nor destroys θ -role, and
 - ii) nothing can move into a θ -position to gain a θ -role that was not assigned to it at the D-structure (cf. Chomsky and Lasnik 1995:45-6).
- b) If an invariable, non-coreferential particle **wǒ** now occupies the original extraction site, it follows that the preposed constituent will have neither Case nor θ -role – a situation which violates Case Filler¹⁰ requirement.
- c) We cannot argue that the extracted interrogative phrase acquires Case and θ -role at the landing site. This is because the specifier of C^0 where the extracted constituent occurs is an $\bar{A}$ -position (non-argument position). So, the preposed interrogative phrase must get these properties (i.e. Case and θ -role) from the original extraction site through a well-composed chain.
- d) For the very fact that the invariable, non-coreferential particle **wǒ** and the extracted interrogative phrase cannot form a chain, coupled with another obvious fact that grammar forbids a one-member chain, how to account for the Case and θ -role of the preposed interrogative phrases becomes a problem. It has already been argued that Case and θ -role associated with extracted constituents of the type we are considering are transmitted from the element at the extraction site via a chain. If **wǒ** truly occupies the vacated position of the moved constituent, it then follows that both the original archaeological site of the preposed constituents and its associated features (e.g. Case and θ -role) have been effaced. We have already stressed some of the dangers inherent in this proposal:
 - i) It will create a one-member chain (where there is a 'head', but no 'tail' or vice versa);
 - ii) It will cause the extracted constituents to have neither Case or θ -role in an opaque domain¹¹ – an impossible situation.

Having taken some time to discuss the apparent threats to syntactic theory presented by the appearance of the invariable, non-coreferential particle **wǒ**, what is left now is how to

ascertain its actual grammatical status as well as its true syntactic position in the derivational history of Iẓon sentences. Considering the problems we raised above concerning the claim that **wó** appears at the extraction site of an argument from the object or complement position of the verb, one is skeptical as to whether this assertion is correct. For now, we do not seem to have any clear answer to the problem rather we shall pose some questions which require further investigation:

- a) Could be it that **wó** was truly a resumptive pronoun (which was fully co-referential with an antecedent of some sort) at some point in the history of Iẓon?¹². But the problem here is: why does it occur in predicate in-situ *wh*-questions or in non-interrogative sentences where there is no evidence of overt syntactic movement of any constituent from the object position?
- b) Could it be that **wó** was part of the verb phrase, stemming from the period when the verbs in Iẓon had bound object or complement markers? What synchronic evidence, at least, in other parts of Iẓon grammar supports this view?
- c) What are the basic characteristics of the constituent in object or complement position of verb that necessitate the optional or obligatory appearance of **wó**?
- d) Why is **wó** absent when there is pro-drop in the subject position or when an interrogative phrase is right-move?
- e) What is the semantico-syntactic import of **wó** in the sentences where it occurs?

Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that there are three ways of expressing *wh*-questions in Bũmọ-Iẓon. One way is to allow the interrogative words to remain in their base-generated position; the second is to optionally move them into the specifier of C° in clause-peripheral position, and the other one is to move the interrogative phrase to the right of the verb. We have argued that any of these options is grammatical, and that they are all normal ways of forming *wh*-questions in Bũmọ-Iẓon.

We observed that an interrogative phrase can be *wh*-extracted from any syntactic position with the exception of the subject. The reason we gave for the non-overt extraction of the interrogative phrase in subject position is that the subject position in some languages always correlates with the position of prominence. Hence, further movement is uncalled for.

Of particular interest in Iẓon is the presence of an invariable, non-coreferential particle **wó** (in the case of Bũmọ) or **mó** (in the case of Kolokuma as recorded by Williamson 1965) in the preverbal position in some sentences. It is not clear what determines when the particle must surface or when it must be absent. What we can vaguely say for now is that **wó** shows up at the preverbal position in sentences containing substantive NP objects. We have presented arguments to show the danger in claiming that the invariable, non-coreferential particle **wó** occupies the position of an extracted constituent in object or complement position of the verb. But whether this invariable, non-coreferential particle **wó** occupies the original extraction site of a preposed

constituent or is just a particle bound to the verb in prefix position should constitute the subject for further research.

Abbreviations

2s = 2nd Person Singular; 3p = 3rd Person Plural; 3s.neu = 3rd Person Singular Neuter; 3sM = 3rd Person Singular Masculine; AGRs^o = Functional Head of Agreement Project; C^o = Functional Head of Complementizer Project; CH = Chain; def.article = Definite Article; def.art.neu = Definite Article (neuter); EC = Empty Category; EM = Emphasis Marker; Foc = Focus; FUT = Future; I^o = Functional Head of Inflection Project; Loc = Locative; PM = Plural Marker; Pr.N = Personal Name; PRT = Particle; Q = Question Marker; QTI = Quantity Indicator; Qw = Question Word; TAM = Tense, Aspect and Modal.

Notes

¹ Ndimele (2003) and Uwalaka (2003) have, however, warned against this sharp binary distinction as far as some languages are concerned. With a sizeable amount of data from many African languages from different families, Ndimele has shown that some languages do have a mixed system, while some others allow up to three possibilities as far as the position of interrogative words is concerned. The implication of the above observation is that sub-sets do exist within a particular value of a parameter, culminating in what can be described as a sub-set problem for the learner of a language.

² Bũmō-İzōn behaves like Kikuyu in this regard. The only difference is that in Kikuyu right-moved *wh*-questions are quite restricted. According to Bergvall (1987:37), they are found mainly in sentences where an internal argument NP is suspected to have undergone a dative movement (cf. (c)).

- a. Wamboi aheire o yekombe? [Wh-in-situ]
Pr.N gave who cup
'Who did Wamboi give a cup?'
- b. Ne-o Wamboi aheire – yekombe? [Sentence-initial after Foc]
Foc-who Pr.N gave NC cup
'Who was it that Wamboi gave the cup?'
- c. Wamboi aheire – yekombe o?
Pr.N gave NC cup who
'Who did Wamboi gave a cup(to)?'

³ The type of CHAIN LINK existing between the antecedent and its trace is specified thus: CH = (H, ..., t) where H is the head of the chain. The composed chain then "enters into head- α relations" (Chomsky 1995:177), where α is any category (preferably a variable).

⁴ Movement in Principles and Parameter framework is now a locality requirement, so that any moved constituent does not cross more one barrier/bounding note at a time.

⁵ The conditions necessitating the dropping of the pronominal subject in Iẓon have been extensively discussed by Ndimele (2000a).

⁶ Williamson (1965:71) identified this invariable, non-coreferential particle which surfaces immediately before the verb when a constituent is extracted within that domain in Iẓon. She calls it a “replacer” morpheme, which is suggestive of the fact that it occurs in the original extraction site of the displaced constituent. We must state that the semantico-syntactic import of the invariable particle element is not yet known, save to say that it is obligatory in the sentences where it occurs in order to prevent unwanted constructions. Perhaps, it is just a saving device (a last resort effort) in Iẓon morphosyntax in order to avoid ungrammaticality when there is an extraction.

⁷ It is necessary to state, however, that the focus marker **kẹ** is absent when an interrogative phrase is moved rightward. Could it be that focus in Iẓon is a feature of higher positions rather than more remote (embedded) positions?

⁸ It is necessary at this point to differentiate between agent and force. But the agent and force are the initiators of an action. They are responsible for an action or event taking place. But whereas an agent may involve some form of volition on the part of the initiator of the action, a force does not.

⁹ It is necessary to point here that **wọ** also occurs in ordinary non-interrogative sentences, where there is no evidence of extraction from the object or complement position of the verb.

¹⁰ Case Filter is a constraint which states that overt NPs must be assigned Case, else the sentences in which they occur will be ungrammatical.

¹¹ An opaque domain that is accessible to for Case assignment or θ -marking. $\bar{A}$ -position is an opaque domain. Arguments that occur in $\bar{A}$ -position must have acquired their Case properties and θ -roles prior to movement.

¹² We have seen this happens in Igbo where a variable and co-referential low tone pronominal clitic which signals question in the language shows up as an invariable, non-coreferential particle in some peripheral dialects of Igbo (cf. Emenanjo 1979).

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52. On the Class Concept

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1. Introduction

The concept of ‘class’ signifies, on the surface level, an idea of compartmentalisation. The categorisation of any set of items is often determined by certain principles which normally derive from the nature of the units to be classified; and, probably also, some other factors surrounding the existence of the units, such as the environment and mode of interactions between them at any given point in time. The unique system of agreement in certain lexical and syntactic elements is the hallmark of class languages.

In this paper we discuss noun classes with special emphasis on Swahili.

2. The Class Concept and Class Language

Scholars seem to be unanimous in their perception of the class concept, at least within the framework of African Linguistics as undertaken from the precolonial era till date. In fact, it may be safely said that it is in African linguistic studies that the class phenomenon got unravelled. Consequently, in this context, it is held that most languages with complex morphologies are class languages, of which Bantu is the most dominant (Pierre 1972). In the works of early nineteenth century linguists in Africa such as Wilhelm Bleek, Carl Meinhoff, Sigismund Koelle, Malcolm Guthrie, Diedrich Westermann and others, the complexity of the noun class system and the principles of class concord were distinct and, in fact, became peculiar features of a great majority of African languages especially those of the Bantu family. It soon became clear, therefore, that for a language to be designated a class language, it must, among other things, exhibit noun class systematization and class concordance.

Noun classes consist in the grouping of the nouns of a language into a given number of classes (from two to about twenty). This way they constitute an obligatory grammatical system, where each noun chooses one from this small number of possibilities (Dixon 1986). Classes are associated with grammatical categories, schemes of agreement, which, in some languages (like Dyirbal) are coded as separate grammatical elements or noun markers (Dixon 1972), but in Bantu languages are marked by affixes, precisely prefixes. The choice of patterns of agreement, that is, the choice of characteristic prefixes for the words that agree, is ruled by the grammatical substantive subject of the utterance, from which comes the name “noun class” (Welmers 1973, 1999).

By class concord, a morpheme phonologically identical or similar to a noun’s class prefix is extended to cross-reference grammatical categories such as subject and object markers of a verb, or noun modifiers like demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals and adjectives. According to Bright (1992), more often than not, the noun and verb morphology in such languages are of the agglutinative sort. Crystal (1997) notes that agglutinative languages are those in which words typically contain a linear sequence of morphs.

Apart from the grammatical value of these class elements, a semantic implication is also proffered to the extent that, classes correspond to the separation/declension of objects and beings into such categories that suggest a general idea like human beings, animals, plants, etc. A pair of such classes in the two-way oppositional relationship: singular-plural, constitutes a gender. For example in the Bulu language, we have

1. (a) alú 'night'
- (b) melú 'nights'

In the Gikuyu language also, we have:

2. (a) mũ-ndũ 'person'
- (b) a-ndũ 'people'

The class situation in Kolo-Ogbia is one dictated by vowel harmony (Isukul 1995).

This is fostered by a perfect harmony symmetry in which the selectional restriction rule strictly plays on the plus-minus [$\pm$ ATR] dichotomy, as in 3-6:

3. ó-rérén; í-rérén
'tree' 'trees'
4. ɔ-káɪ ε-káɪ
'plantain' 'plantains'
5. o-yel i-yel
'youth' 'youths'
6. ɔ-bakʊ ε-bakʊ
'chair' 'chairs'

The concept of class is extensively exemplified in Swahili which is the largest single language in Black Africa, spoken from the island of the Comoros all the way to Congo. Inasmuch as Swahili is not a tone language, its grammatical constituents are typically of the Bantu structure. The noun classes relating in the oppositional (binary) dimension: singular-plural, are categorized into eight as follows:

m-/mw-	wa-
m-/mw-	mi-
ϕ-/ji-/j-	ma-
ki-/ch-	vi-/vy-
N-	N-
U-/w-	N-/ϕ/ma-
Ku-/kw-	_____
Mahali-	_____

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pa-} \\ \text{ku-} \\ \text{mu-} \end{array} \right\}$$

(cf. Nkwera 1978; Awde 2000)

In associative construction, each noun class will feature based on the general idea domain (mentioned above) to which the independent nominal (IN) subject belongs. This will in turn influence the choice of characteristic prefixes that span through the dependent categories within the structure. Information of this sort about noun class could be concatenated within a single morepheme structure as in Swahili:

7.	M – wa		mtu 'person'	watu 'people'	mwalimu 'teacher'	walimu 'teachers'
8.	M – mi		mti 'tree'	miti 'trees'	Mwaka 'year'	miaka 'years'
9.	ϕ – ma		duka 'shop'	maduka 'shops'	jibu 'answer'	majibu 'answers'
10.	Ki – Vi		kiti 'chair'	viti 'chairs'	kiatu 'shoe'	viatu 'shoes'
11.	N – N –		nguo 'cloth'	nguo 'clothes'	_____	
12.	U – N –		ulimi – 'tongue' –	ndimi 'tongues'	uso 'face'	nyuso 'faces'
13.	Ku-/Kw-	ϕ	Kuimba, 'to sing'/ 'singing'	kwenda 'to go'/ 'going'	_____	
14.	Mahali-	ϕ	mahali pangu 'my place'	(Position on the surface of something)		
			mahali kwangu 'my place'	(Spatial whereabouts unknown to speaker)		
			mahali mwangu 'my place'	(Indicating insideness)		

Swahili nouns have a characteristic feature of being divided into classes by logical correlation. It is for this reason that one finds the class of human beings, the class of things, the class of trees and the class of animals. Size or quantity, including augmentative, diminutives, and collectives may also be used to determine class. The locative class is a special one, as it defines spatial relationship between objects.

Myachina (1981:23) insists that Swahili should be seen as commanding its own peculiar classes. She adds, however, that in grammars of the language and specialist literature, some uncertainty as to the exact number of classes may be noticed. This claim is so because some scholars treat singular and plural numbers as different classes. Within this kind of framework, classes one, seven (and most odd number classes) are related to singular nouns. Corresponding classes two, eight (and most even number classes) are related to plural nouns except for a few other classes which are designated neuter (Welmers 1973). But we wish to agree with Nkwera (1978) as our data so far show. He had proposed eight classes considering the singular-plural declension as one class in each case, making use of pronominal concord.

Noun class is never entirely marked within the nominal structure. If, for instance, (as in Swahili) nouns designate class via affixation, it follows that by reason of the affix presence, other lexemes within the structure get ‘infected’ in line with concordial principles. This is the case in Swahili – all other words in the noun phrase (NP) (demonstrative, numerals, adjectives, etc.) are affected, and are coded for certain syntactic functions, onto the verb (Dixon 1986). See examples from Swahili:

Class One = M-/mw- : wa-

This is traditionally known as the “people” class. The logical notions for nouns to belong here include:

(i) nouns referring to people:

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 15. | Mwana mzuri anakuja
‘a fine child is coming’ | Wana wazuri wanakuja
‘fine children are coming’ |
| 16. | Mwanaisimu amefika
‘a linguist has arrived’ | Wanaisimu wamefika
‘linguists have arrived’ |

(ii) nouns of nationality:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 17. | mhausa alimpiga
‘hausa man beat him’ | Wahausa wanawapiga
‘hausa men beat them’ |
|-----|---|---|

(iii) nouns expressing status in social/public life:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|--|
| 18. | Mpishi atapika
‘a chef shall cook’ | Wapishi watapika
‘the chefs shall cook’ |
|-----|---------------------------------------|--|

(i) nouns showing emotive characterization of people:

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 19. | Mgonjwa amepona
‘the sick person is well’ | Wagonjwa wamepona
‘the sick people are well’ |
|-----|--|---|

Nouns referring to other animates that are not placed in this class still take the pronominal concord of the first class. For example:

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 20. | Kipofu yule ni mrefu
'that blind man is tall' | Vipofu wale ni warefu
'those blind men are tall' |
|-----|--|---|

Class Two = M-mw- : mi-

The logical notion that guides the placement of nouns in this class comprises names of plants, growing things and products that are made from wood and parts of the body. It is the inanimate or trees class. For example:

- (i) trees and plants:

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 21. | Mnazi mrefu
'tall coconut tree' | minazi mirefu
'tall coconut trees' |
|-----|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|

- (ii) natural phenomenon:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 22. | Mwezi huu
'this month' | Miezi hii
'these months' |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------------------------|

- (iii) animate parts of the body:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 23. | Mkia wa mbwa
'tail of dog' | mikia ya mbwa
'tails of dogs' |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|

- (iv) some loan words:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 24. | mshahara wangu ni mdogo
'my salary is small' | Mishahara yangu ni ndogo
'my salaries are small' |
|-----|---|---|

Class Three = Ji-/j-/ϕ : ma-

The third class is traditionally referred to as the class of round objects. It carries the null prefix in most cases, but the form **ji-** (before vowels **j-**) is also present.

- (i) name of fruits:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 25. | Embe jingi lipo
'a mango fruit is available' | maembe mengi yapo
'plenty mangoes are available' |
|-----|---|---|

- (ii) name of parts of plants:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 26. | Shina la mti limerefuka
'the root of the tree has elongated' | mashina ya miti yamerefuka
'the roots of the trees have elongated' |
|-----|---|---|

- (iii) parts of the body:

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--|
| 27. | Sikio lake kubwa
'his big ear' | masikio yake makugwa
'his big ears' |
|-----|-----------------------------------|--|

(iv) objects found in natural environment with oval shapes:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|
| 28. | Yai limepasuka
'the egg is broken' | mayai yamepasuka
'the eggs are broken' |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|

(v) augmentative words:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 29. | Jijini kuna watu
'there are people in the city' | majijini kuna watu (mji = town)
'there are people in the cities' |
|-----|--|--|

Class Four: = Ki-/ch- : Vi-/Vy-

This class is referred to as "the class of things on inanimate objects".

(i) various objects:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 30. | Chambo cha usafirishaji
'travelling vessel' | vyombo vya usafirishaji
'vessels of travelling' |
|-----|--|--|

(ii) parts of the body:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 31. | Kichwa kina umwa
'the head is sick' | vichwa vina umwa
'the heads are sick' |
|-----|--|--|

(iii) names of persons with physical defects:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 32. | Kilema yule anakuja
'that cripple is coming' | vilema wale wanakuja
'those cripples are coming' |
|-----|---|---|

(iv) deverbative nominal stem:

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 33. | Kinyozi anafanya kazi
'the barber is working' | Vinyozi wanafanya kazi (nyoa = shave)
'the barbers are working' |
|-----|--|---|

Class Five = N-/N-

The best way of describing this class is to refer to the unchanging tendency of the prefix that is N/N in the singular and plural forms. It should be noted that it is **N-** before all consonants except **p, f, t, k, s**. Before **b, v, n** becomes **m-**; and it is **ny-** before vowels. Nouns that refer to animals, birds and insects belong to this class. For example:

(i) animals and insects:

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 34. | Mbuzi analia
'the goat is bleating' | Mbuzi wanalia
'the goats are bleating' |
| 35. | Nyuki imelala
'a bee has slept' | Nyuki zimelala
'the bees have slept' |

(ii) kinship terms also belong here:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 36. | Ndugu yangu ni mgonjwa
'my brother is sick' | Ndugu zangu ni magonjwa
'my brothers are sick' |
| 37. | Mama yao ni hodari
'their mother is hardworking' | Mama zao ni hodari
'their mothers are hardworking' |

(iii) articles of everyday life:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 38. | Saa yako ni nzuri
'your watch is good' | Saa zenu ni nzuri
'your watches are good' |
| 39. | Ndoo yake zimeanguka
'your bucket has fallen' | Ndoo zake zimeanguka
'your buckets have fallen' |

(iv) articles of dress and decoration:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 40. | Suruali yangu si nzuri
'my pair of trousers is not good' | Suruali zangu si nzuri
'my pairs of trousers are not good' |
| 41. | Pete yako si mbaya
'your ring is not bad' | Pete zenu si mbaya
'your rings are not bad' |

Class Six = U-/W- : N-/ϕ/ma

This class is a result of the merging of two Bantu classes. The class indicates elongated objects and abstracts from nominal and verbal stems respectively. It is referred to as the class of collectives.

(i) elongated objects:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|-----------------|
| 42. | Uzi 'thread' | nyuzi 'threads' |
| 43. | Ukuta 'wall' | kuta 'walls' |
| 44. | Utambi 'wick' | tambi 'wicks' |

(ii) objects taken single from a collection or group:

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------|
| 45. | Udevu 'a hair from beard' | ndevu 'beard' |
| 46. | Ushanga 'bead' (ushanga wake 'his bead') | shanga 'beads' |

(iii) natural phenomenon:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------|
| 47. | Upepo 'wind' | pepo 'winds' |
| 48. | Usiku 'night' | siku 'day' |

(iv) nouns with abstract meaning:

49.	Uzuri ‘beauty’	nzuri ‘beautiful’
50.	Ubaya ‘evil’	mabaya ‘evils’
51.	Ukweli ‘truth’	kweli ‘truths’
52.	Umbo ‘form’	maumbo ‘forms’
53.	Uzo wa mama ‘mother’s face’	Nyuso za mama ‘mother’s faces’
54.	Ulimi ya mume wake ‘her husband’s tongue’	Ndimi za mume wao ‘their husband’s tongues’

Class Seven = Ku-/Kw-

This is the ‘infinitive class’, also known as the gerund class. Words in this class are distinguished by nominal and verbal markers. The prefix **ku-** before consonants and **kw-** before vowels can be used to modulate almost all Swahili verbal roots. For example:

55. Kulala ‘to sleep’/‘sleeping’
56. Kujaribu ‘to try’/‘trying’
57. Kwenda ‘to go’/‘going’
58. Kusoma kuzuri ‘good reading’
59. Kulala kunafaa kwa watoto ‘sleeping is good for children’

Class Eight = Mahali - (Place)

This class has just a word **mahali (pahali)**, and it is referred to as the locative class. The class can make use of nouns of any other class (except the people and infinitive classes) to express spatial relationship with the help of the suffix **-ni**. The locative class has three markers **pa-**, **ku-**, **mu-**. Whereas **pa-** shows presence, **ku-** indicates whereabouts unknown to the speaker; **mu-** depicts a situation within a location. For example:

60. Kuna watu nyumbani pangu ‘there are people at my home’ (present/known)
61. Tunaenda shambani kwangu ‘we are going to my farm’ (farther/unknown)
62. Hamna chakula chunguni mwangu ‘there is no food in my pot’ (inside/within)

3. Summary/Conclusion

Sizeable data have been drawn to exemplify the class phenomenon. We have zeroed in on Swahili because of its acclaimed conspicuity in the African continent. The Swahili class taxonomy aptly fits into parameters specified by scholars for noun classification. For Denny (1976) cited by Payne (1986), such parameters are circumscribed within “interactions”. They include physical interactions, functional interactions and social interactions. These specifications are further broadened by Allan (1977) in what he delineates as seven features which according to him, are perceptual bases for noun classification. They include:

- ‘Material’ which consists in the inherent essence of the elements to which the noun refer (animate, inanimate, abstract, and such like)
- ‘Shape’ – That is the structural outlay of objects.
- ‘Consistency’ – in terms of flexibility, hardness, or non-discreteness.

- ‘Size’, as to how big or how small.
- ‘Arrangement’, as regards specific configurational quality (e.g. rolls of wire, packet of biscuits, etc.);
- ‘Location’ (a subclass of arrangement) which indicates actual position
- ‘Quantum’ (another subclass of arrangement) which gives such impressions as heap, cluster, etc.

This paper, therefore, upholds the eight class proposition of Nkwera (1978) above others. This is because it makes for a neater presentation in such features as the binary (interface) categories (as in the singular-plural oppositions).

It is generally believed that Swahili has lost some of its Bantu classes; there is, therefore, no need to list such as classes when, in actual fact, they have been fused into other noun classes.

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53. Aspectual Contrast in Urhobo

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Tense and aspect are contrasts in the Verb Phrase, both dealing with temporal specifications. Linguists, working on tense and aspectual systems of various languages have often remarked that the two are not mutually exclusive. This paper investigates the notion of aspect in Urhobo, a major language in Delta State of Nigeria. It discovers that the concept of aspect is quite distinct from that of tense, and that even where both share the same syntactic representation, there is a distinction at the semantic level, this being the notional prerogative of the speaker.

1. Introduction

Aspect, as a grammatical term, refers to the speaker's view of the internal temporal structure of a situation. According to Lyons (1977:108), aspect covers a wide variety of grammaticalised oppositions in a language; opposition based upon notions of duration, instantaneity, initiation, completion, etc. Langacker (1972:207) defines aspect as a grammatical notion, which refers to the inception, duration or completion of a situation.

Thus, aspect identifies the stages or phases of a situation (comprising process, action, event, state). It differs from tense in that while tense is deictic; aspect is non-deictic. In other words, while tense connects the time of an action to speech time, aspect depicts the internal temporal structure of a situation, analysed into phases or stages. This paper discusses the notions of aspect as they occur in Urhobo, an Edoid language spoken in 10 out of the 25 Local Government Areas of Delta State of Nigeria.

1.1 The Perfective and Imperfective

The term perfective contrasts with imperfective in that the former describes a situation viewed in its entirety or as a simple whole, while the latter distinguishes its various phases (Comrie 1976:16). In what follows, we discuss the perfective and its various presentations before taking a look at those of the imperfective in Urhobo.

1.2 The Perfective

The perfective underscores the notion of completion. It denotes a complete situation. In Urhobo the perfective marker is **nu**, a grammatically unbounded morpheme, which means 'finished'. It places emphasis on the notion of completion. The perfective past is clearly distinguished as an aspectual notion from the past tense in Urhobo, as the following sentences illustrate.

- 1a) Èfè ré èmù - Efe ate
Efe ate food
- b) Èfè ré èmù ré - Efe has / had eaten
Efe ate food pt

- c) Èfè ré èmù nù ré - Efe has finished eating
Efe ate food pfv pt

In 1a, the simple past tense (indicated by high tone on the verb) is highlighted. In 1b, the combination of the high tone and **re**, a past tense morpheme glossed as ‘already’ give the perfect tense as it relates speech time to past action. This syntactic structure NP Vpt **re**’ represents both the present and past perfect tenses in Urhobo. 1c clearly signifies the notion of perfectivity. Note that the perfective ‘**nu**’ still occurs in spite of the obvious “pastness” of the syntactic arrangement of the sentence. From these examples, it is seen that perfectivity as an aspectual notion is operative in the language. It is also pertinent to note that the perfective structure ‘NP Vpt **nu re**’ operates across the three tenses – past, present and future but in each case, the notion of completion is emphasised. The presence of relevant time adverbials would help to locate the ‘time’ of the action or situation as illustrated below.

- 2a) Nánanà á vué vwé né Èse ré èmù nù ré
Just now they told me that Ese ate food pfv pt
I have just been told that Ese has finished eating -present
- b) Bèsiè Èfè vwó rhè jè Èsè ré èmù nù ré
Before Efe aux came adv Ese ate food pfv pt
Before Efe came, Ese had finished eating -past
- c) Éné ódèròcha jè Èsè ré èmù nù ré
This time tomorrow adv. Ese ate food pfv pt
By this time tomorrow Ese will have finished eating -future

Note that each of these sentences 2a – c will still be correct without the ‘**nu**’. This is another confirmation that ‘**nu**’ as a grammatical morpheme belongs to aspectual and not to tense distinctions.

1.3 The Imperfective

Following Comrie’s analysis (1976:12), the imperfective contrasts with the perfective. The imperfective then subsumes the progressive, habitual, etc.

I have adopted a more inclusive approach by adapting from different linguists (Langacker, Quirk, Jespersen, etc.), the aspectual distinctions that are operative in any language of study. I will therefore treat the imperfective as a covering term for the progressive, habitual, durative, inchoative and prospective. This agrees with Lyon’s and Comrie’s analyses. I will investigate also their co-occurrence with the tenses.

1.4 The Progressive Aspect

The Progressive and continuous are not distinguished in Urhobo. They have the same morpho-syntactic representation. Semantically, they refer to situations, which precede, include and may exceed reference time. R. Reichenbach (1947) used the term ‘extension’ to refer to these notions. In Urhobo, the progressive is represented by any of or a combination of the following.

- a) Using the same syntactic representation as the simple present. This is one instance in which there is no clear distinction between tense and aspect. The context of the discourse therefore serves as the determining factor.
- 10) *Ó chà*
He come
means either “He comes” or “He is coming”
- b) By lengthening the final vowel of the NP. This is done for emphasis on the progressivity of the action. Usually, it is the last vowel of the subject NP that is lengthened.
- 11) *Ò -ò dà àmè*
She prog drink water -She is drinking water
- 12) *Émékpù – ú guè èfiá*
Emekpu prog tell lies -Emekpu is lying
- 13) *Ómóte óbiébi nà - djè ónè*
Girl black the prog run race -The black girl is running
- c) By the use of ‘re’, a grammatical morpheme glossed as ‘in progress’ in post-verbal position. The use of this particle does not necessarily exclude vowel lengthening.
- 14a) *Ó dà àmè ré*
b) *Ò - ò dà àmè ré* -He is drinking water
He prog drink water prog

Another observation about the progressive in Urhobo is that the tone remains low on the verb across the tenses. The distinction is indicated by the obligatory presence of an appropriate time adverbial, which fixes the time reference as present, past or future. Illustrations:

- 15a) *Èfè djè ónè (ré)* -present
Efe run race prog
Efe is running
- b) *Òkè mí vwó tè ètíyì, Èfè djè ónè (ré)* -past
When I aux got there, Efe run race pt
When I got there, Efe was running
- c) *Énè rode jè Èfè djè ónè ré*
By this time tomorrow adv Efe run race prog -future
By this time tomorrow, Efe will be running

1.5 The Habitual and Iterative

The iterative aspect expresses actions that are frequentative, while the habitual expresses actions which always occur. In Urhobo, this fine distinction is not operative semantically. As such, these terms should be regarded as interchangeable as in the following examples. The iterative is expressed in Urhobo via two means:

(i) By the simple present

- 16) Òkóro ruẹ iruó
Okoro do work - Okoro works
- 17) Kòhwó gbè éhá gágán
Kohwo dance dance very well. - Kohwo dances very well

The habitual, apart from expressing repetition also expresses eternal truths and characteristic activities. This agrees with Lyons (1977:716) statement that a habitual aspect is appropriately used for the expression of timeless truths.

- 18) Éméphrá dà
Birds fly
- 19) Éméravwé nò vwasò
The moon shines in the night.

(ii) By the use of the time adverbial indicating a frequentative or iterative situation, usually at sentence initial position. This could also be followed by ‘**vwo**’, which serves as an auxiliary verb meaning ‘use to’ in an: Adv NP aux VP structure:

- 20a) Kèdèkèdè ọ rièmù
Everyday he eats food
- b) Kèdèkèdè ọ vwó rièmù
Everyday he use to eat food

The habitual future is distinguished by the occurrence of the future morpheme **che**.

- 21) Mé dá dònù, kòkékòkè mí ché vwó wènè
When I’m big, all the time I will aux change (clothes)
When I’m big, I will be fashionable.

From the foregoing, it is observed that Urhobo employs both lexical and grammatical means to express habituality/iterativity.

1.6 Inceptive or Inchoative

As the name implies, this describes situations that are just beginning. The morpho-syntactic elements for the inceptive are **mwe** - - **obọ** where **mwe** is glossed as ‘started’

and **obo** as ‘just’. The usual syntactic arrangement is NP **mwe** ... Vinf obo (inf-infinitive).

- 22a) Ígho mwè (èmù) ẹ̀ríó òbò - Igho has just started to eat food
 Igho started food to eat just

The grammatical particle **re** can also be used to emphasise the notion of inception:

- 22b) Ígho mwè èmù ẹ̀ríó ré
 Igho started food to eat inc

There is no co-occurrence restriction between the inchoative and tenses. For the past, an appropriate time adverbial is necessary.

- 23a) Ẹ̀lọhọ mwè ùnù èbó òbò -present
 Eloho started mouth to shout just
 Eloho has just started to shout/scream.
- b) Ẹ̀nẹ̀ roderókpori (jẹ) Ẹ̀lọhọ mwè ùnù èbó òbò -past
 At this time yesterday, Eloho had just started to shout

For the future tense, a future time reference is also necessary as well as the future morpheme **ché** as illustrated in (24).

- 24) Ẹ̀nẹ̀ roderóchàná (jẹ) Ẹ̀lọhọ ché mwè ùnù èbó òbò
 By this time tomorrow adv Eloho fut started mouth to shout just
 By this time tomorrow Eloho will have just started to shout.

Another way of expressing the inceptive is by the NP V **re** structure. The semantic implication here is that hitherto, ‘NP had not been V-ing’.

- 25) Ọ̀mọ̀ nà rièmù re – the child has started to eat
 Child the eat food inc.

This syntactic structure also expresses the present progressive tense. Thus tense and aspect impinge on each other in this case.

1.7 The Prospective

In Urhobo there is an aspectual marking which corresponds with what Comrie (1976:64) calls prospective aspect. The meaning of this aspect is that ‘NP did not actually V, though he proposed to. The prospective morpheme **dino** is interpreted as ‘almost’ ‘nearly’ or ‘wanted to’.

- 26) Ẹ̀mékpù dínó riè ìrósù nà
 Emekpu pros. Eat rice the
 Emekpu (almost wanted to, nearly) ate the rice.

Constituent structure for the prospective is ‘NP **dino** VP’.

Note that the prospective aspect is restricted to past reference only. It has no present or future reference. The past could be immediate or indefinite. The reason for this can be semantically accounted for. Since the meaning is that ‘NP’ did not actually ‘VP’, the underlying time reference is essentially past.

1.8 The Durative

This aspect highlights the length of time a situation will last/lasted. This is expressed by **vwo** an auxiliary verb glossed as ‘use to...’ This aspect co-occurs with the past and future tenses, and not the present tense.

- 27a) Èdè érhà ó vwó wià ówiá nà
 Days three he used to work work the
 He did the work in three days -past
- b) Èdè érhà ó chá vwó wià ówiá nà
 Days three he fut use to work work the
 He will do the work in three days or
 It will take him three days to do the work -future

1.9 Conclusion and Summary

I have highlighted the grammatical notion of aspect as it occurs in the Urhobo language. The perfective, progressive, habitual/iterative, inceptive/inchoative, prospective and durative are discussed. In the process, the following have been uncovered:

- a) The notion of perfectivity is clearly distinct from the perfect tense in the language. An indication of a past situation, which does not employ the perfective marker **nu**, is interpreted as either the present perfect or past perfect tenses. This is clearly illustrated in sentences 1b and 1c. The perfective co-occurs with all tenses as highlighted in sentences 2a-c.
- b) The prospective and durative are also aspectual contrasts, but while the former can only co-occur with the past tense, the latter is restricted to the past and future tenses.
- c) The progressive, continuous, simple present/iterative and habitual are syntactically homogenous. Tense and aspect impinge on each other. Thus the progressive, iterative habitual aspects are notional or conceptual. Nevertheless, from the context of the discussion, a speaker is able to communicate either his emphasis on the time of a situation (tense) or the phases or stages of that situation (aspect).
- d) **re** as a grammatical morpheme functions as a veritable catalyst as it applies itself to underscoring tense and aspectual contrasts in the Urhobo language.

Abbreviations

adv.	-	adverbial
aux.	-	auxiliary
fut.	-	future
inc.	-	inchoative
inf.	-	infinitive
NP	-	Noun Phrase
pfv.	-	perfective
prog.	-	progressive
pros.	-	prospective
pt.	-	past tense
VP	-	Verb Phrase

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54. Justifying Linguistic Transformation

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Introduction

Linguistics is generally defined as a scientific study of language. And defined this way, one may wonder what is scientific about the study of languages and where is the boundary between literature and linguistics.

In this paper, I will show that linguistics is concerned with the theory of grammar and this grammar, like Chomsky, I will call it universal grammar (UG) and to attain this abstract level of grammatical analysis which should explain how a child acquires his language or knowledge, UG is innate. Chomsky put it this way:

... the problem of acquisition of knowledge has been characteristic of rationalist speculation about mental processes. The rationalist approach holds that beyond the peripheral processing mechanisms, there are innate ideas and principles of various kinds that determine the form of acquired knowledge in what may be a rather restricted and highly organised way. A condition for innate mechanisms to become activated is that appropriate stimulation be presented. Thus for Descartes (1647), the innate ideas are arising from the faculty of thinking rather than from external objects (p. 48).

... nothing reaches our mind from external objects through the organs of sense beyond certain movements... but even these movements, and the figures which arise from them, are not conceived by us in the shape they assume in the organs of sense... Hence it follows that the ideas of movements and figures are themselves innate in us. So much the more must be ideas of pain, colours, sound and the like be innate, that our mind may, on occasion of certain corporeal movements, envisage these ideas, for they have no likeness to be corporeal movements (p. 443)

Then relating this to language acquisition, Chomsky (1968) says:

... testing particular hypotheses about language - acquisition device. A theory that attributes possession of certain linguistic universals to a language - acquisition, as a property to be realized under appropriate external conditions ... specifically, grammatical transformations are necessarily "structure - dependent" in that they manipulate substrings only in terms of their assignment to categories. Thus it is possible to formulate a transformation that can insert all or part of the Auxiliary verb to the left of a Noun Phrase that precedes it, ... (p. 55).

The idea of syntactic transformation has been in linguistic literature since 1932¹ and 1935². That is, to the question: Is syntax? Many linguists give a positive answer. Taking the following French expression:

- 1) la maison paternelle
The house parental
- 2) la maison du père
(the house of father)
the father's house
- 3) la maison qui appartient au père
the house which belongs to the father

When one compares these phrases, though quite different, the expression: **paternelle**, **du père**, and **qui appartient au père** play the same role in the above sentences – that is, they quantify the noun **maison**.

Bally used this functional analogy to define the notion of “échange fonctionnel” or “transposition” and Tesnière used another closed notion “translation” meaning processes which change syntactic nature. O. Jespersen (1935) has the same conception as Bally and Tesnière in studying the following expressions.

- 4) the furiously barking dog
- 5) the dog barked furiously

In his study, he established a hierarchy in the order of importance to various elements of these phrases:

- 6) 3 2 1
the furiously barking dog
- 7) 1 2 3
the dog barked furiously

Z. Harris (1957) whose first studies were concerned with the distributional order of elements lead to the notion of transformation.

This came from the following schemas:

- 8) N₁ V N₂
- 9) N₂ V by N₁

Where one can construct an acceptable sentence such as:

le loup mange l'agneau
(the tiger eats the lamb)
the tiger is eating the lamb

from (8) by simply replacing N_1 by **le loup**, V by **mange** et N_2 by **l'agneau** and the same substitution is done in (9), one would obtain an acceptable sentence with a few modifications.

In examples of Bally and Tesniere and those of O. Jespersens, it is clear that (2) and (3) are derived from (1), (5) from (4) and (9) from (8). The notion of transformation as it is used in generative grammar, puts together two levels of analysis: Deep structure (DS) level and surface structure (SS) level. For instance from the initial symbol S (for sentence) a series of phrase structure (base structures) can be derived considering the following structure, I will say:

- 10) a S, = I'' = NP I'' VP V
 b S', = C'' = ... C'' CII''

- 11) $S \rightarrow \text{TOP NP INFL VP}^3$

while (10) describes the structure of S_1 it does not account for the possibility of having two NPs occurring to the left of I' . This is the only difference between (10) and (11). For the comp (C') position in (10b) does not account for those construction which involve leftward movement.

Transformations as a set of rules describe linguistic processes and specify the conditions under which any given rule (transformation) can apply. In this sense, a transformation accounts for those constructions which involve leftward movement.

Transformations as a set of rules describe linguistic processes and specify the conditions under which any given rule (transformation) can apply. In this sense, a transformation accounts for the acceptability or unacceptability of an utterance if certain conditions for applying the rule are violated. I will consider the WH movement transformation. Chomsky's formation of this rule is as follows:

Given S of the form:

- 12) [comp ... [wh - N] ... [+ WH][s...t...]

where t is the trace of [wh - N], re write it as [comp for which xx an N], [s ... [x ...] ...]. This rule of wh - movement applies in the following constructions:

- 13) who did Mary meet t (Chomsky 1977) The rule (12) given so far permits wh - movement within a clause, giving a sentence as (13) this sentence has been derived from: **Mary met who.**

This rule (transformation) can be observed in many languages though movement may be either to the left (English, French, Metta, etc.) or to the right as in Waja.⁴ The Waja language is a interesting example in that movement of the wh-phrase is to the right as in:

- 14a) ma sagu t cei we (D. Poloma (19870)
 (You saying talk who)
 you are talking to who

- b) ma sagu we cei⁵
 (You saying who talk)
 who are you talking to?

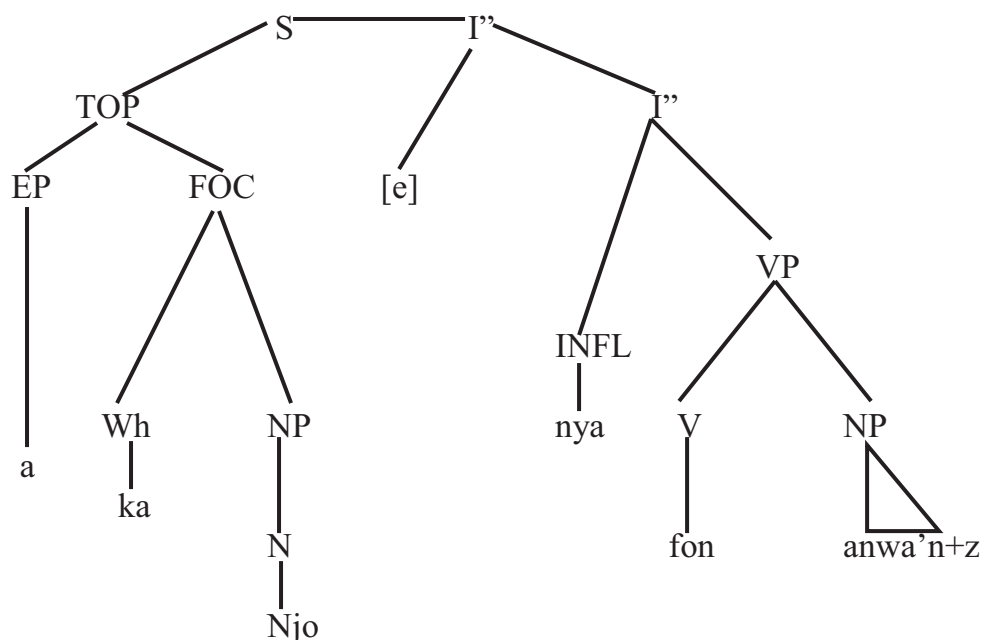
Given this example of Waja, it is obvious that movement in what is called wh is a universal property in questions in most languages of the world and that whether movement of the wh-phrase is to the left as in English, Metta, and French etc., or to the right as in Waja, the wh movement is a universal transformation. This rule applies under specific conditions, taking C.L. Baker's analysis for English questions. I will say that Chomsky's position that of Baker and mine (Teke 1986) provides a clear inside into question in languages like English, French, Metta and Waja. That is, C.L. Baker's postulation that there is an abstract question marker Q in English in sentence initial position and that if the question is posed on the object, this object NP is assigned the same structural index say i as Qi. My analysis (1986) confirm Baker's hypothesis in that, in a language like Metta, there is an overt question trigger marker in sentence initial position. This question trigger marker element wh - move the object NP which is assigned the structural index i into the TOP (TOPIC) position as in (15) below:

- 15a) a kθ Nj nya fon anwa'n+ z) t
 (EP Wh – FOC-OP Njo (MASC-NAME) PAST read book This)

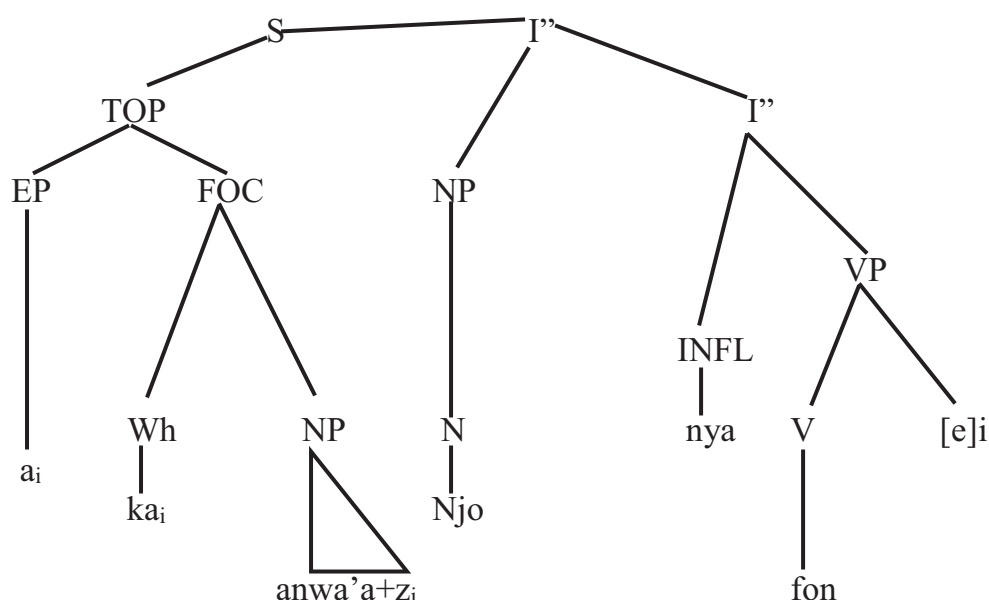
- b al kθi anwa'n+ Njo nya fon t
 (EP Wh-FOC-OP book this Njo (MASC-NAME) PAST READ)
 Is it this book that Njo read?

- b) has been derived from (15a) by the application of the rule of Wh-which Wh-moves **θnw'n+ z)** from object position of **fon** into TOP as in configuration.

16a)



16b)



The overt Wh-element in Metta as can be observed in (15) is **k9** which corresponds to Baker's abstract question marker Q. For languages in which movement is to the left, there is an obligatory operator element in sentence initial position.

The Waja example (cf. 14) in which the Wh-phrase moves to the right is described by the following rule:

17) [s ... [... t ...]_{WH} ... Wh-N]

This transformation raises a number of importance problems on “core grammar” which Chomsky (1977) outlined as follows:

- (1)
 - a Move NP
 - b Move Wh-phrase
- (2)
 - a Reciprocal rule: assign to **each other** the feature [+ anaphoric to i] in a structure containing N_{pi}
 - b Bound anaphora: assign to a pronoun the feature [+ anaphoric to i] in a structure containing NP, in the context (NP – possessive N_x)
 - c Disjoint reference: assign to a pronoun the feature [- anaphoric to i] in a structure containing N_{pi}

The rule in (1) are transformational and (2) are interpretive rules. I have justified (1b), the wh-movement transformation, showing how closely related derived from (surface structures) are to their underlying forms (Deep structures) (1a) and (2) have not been

discussed though I have proved elsewhere⁶ that both (1a and b) be modified to read Move- α into TOP.

Therefore the notion of linguistic transformations has been in linguistic literature since 1660 in the “Grammaire generale et raisonnee” by Lancelot et al.

Notes

1. Bally: *Linguistique generale et linguistique francaise* Berne, 1932, reed. 1965, S 179-196.
2. O. Jespersen: *Analytical syntax*, Copenhagen, 1935, chap 35.
3. Teke's analysis, Ph.D. Paris, 1987.
4. Waja is spoken in Bauchi State.
5. This construction is obtain simply by reinserting **we** in the position of **t**.
6. Teke (1987).

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55. Complementizers in Ao

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1. Introduction

Ào is a form of greeting equivalent to 'È pèlé' in standard Yorùbá. It is a form of common to a number of towns and villages in Ondó State. These are Ikún, Ipèsì, Ìfira, Ìdógún, Imeri, Àfò and a part of Ìdòàní. Apart from using *Ào* as a form of greeting, there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility among the dialects employed by the people of these towns and villages. Because *Ào* is commonly and regularly used by them, they have come to be identified with it and are called *Ào* people.

The term complementizer was used in Rosenbaum (1967) to designate the initial elements of embedded clauses e.g. 'that', 'for', etc., in English. The syntactic category comp was first proposed by Bresnan (1970, 1972). She argued for a base-generated category (introduced by the rule $S' \rightarrow \text{Comp } S$) which served two functions:

- i) as the sentence-initial category dominating the lexical complementizers, and
- ii) as the landing site for WH-movement.

Before Bresnan (1970), complementizers had been viewed as markers of syntactic subordination having neither semantic content nor significant syntactic function. However, Bresnan (1970) brought out the fact that complementizers are far from the semantically empty and syntactically trivial particles they have been assumed to be in most previous generative work.

This work shall give the semantic and functional description of complementizers in *Ào* as well as their distribution.

2. Ào Complementizers

The complementizers identified in *Ào* are *sé*, *nzé*, *dí... bá*, *dí... tá*, *pà... rín*, *fì/rhí*, *tìi* and *pàrin*. Semantically, these complementizers can be broadly divided into three groups – the question markers, the conditional markers and others with no semantic content.

2.1 Question Markers

Question marker complementizers are *sé*, *nzé*, *pà... rín*, and *pàrin*. *Sé* and *nzé* are presentential complementizers as they occur at the pre-subject position of clauses, thus they are clause-introducers. Consider the following data.

- 1a) *nzé/sé tírhà* *ó* *yá?*
Comp teacher agr come
'Did the teacher come?'
- b) *nzé/sé òn* *a* *zèrun?*
Comp they fut. eat
'Will they eat?'

- c) òzẹ/sẹ in fu iíẸ í Táyé?
Comp you (pl) give yam to Táyé
'Did you give yam to Táyé?'
- d) òzẹ/sẹ Ayò i í ulí?
Comp Ayo is in house
'Is Ayo at house?'
- e) òzẹ/sẹ Olú ó gbé?
Comp Olú agr hear
'Did Olu hear?'
- f) òzẹ/sẹ wẹ à yá?
Comp you(sg) fut come
'Will you(sg) come?'

As can be seen in (1), òzẹ and sẹ are variants; they are interchangeable without any harm to the syntax or semantics of *Ào*. However, òzẹ may not sub-categorise for we 'you (sg)', hence the (the question mark) in (1f) before òzẹ to question the acceptability of òzẹ with wẹ among native speakers. (1a-f) are the yes – no questions in *Ào*, since they require an answer of either yes or no.

Another question – marker complementizer in *Ào* is *Pà...rín*. *Pà...rín* is a pair of particles which has the VP inserted in it. To put it differently, *Pà...rín* is an intrasentential complementizer placed in the sentence in such a way that the first part of the pair *pà* comes before the VP, while the other part *rín* occurs at the sentence – final position, as we find in the data in (2) below:

- 2a) TírHà ó pà zerun rín?
Teacher agr comp eat comp
'Has the teacher eaten?'
- b) Ayó pà í ulí rín?
Ayo comp be house comp
'Is Ayo at home?'
- c) Táýò ó pà fu iíẸ í Táyé rín?
Táýò agr comp give yam to Táyé comp
'Did Tayo give yam to Taye?'
- d) Wo pà yá rín?
You (sg) comp come comp
'Did you come?'
- e) On pà gbèrè rán rín?
They comp go perf. Comp
'Have they gone?'

None of the elements of *Pà...rín* can occur alone in an utterance without the other, the occurrence of one without the other will cause take such utterance to be grammatical as in the following:

- 3a) *Tírhà ó pà zẹrun
Teacher agr comp eat
- b) *Tírhà ó zẹrun rín
Teacher agr eat comp
- c) *Ayọ pà í ulí
Ayo comp be house
- d) *Ayọ í ulí rín
Ayo be house comp
- e) *Wo pà yá
You (sg) comp come
- f) *Wo yá rín
You (sg) come comp

(3a-f) are ill-formed because *Pà...rín* occurs separately as **pà* and **rín*. As can be observed from (2a-e) *Pà...rín* is also a yes/no question marker.

The last of the question marker complementizers in *Ao* is *pàrin*. *Pàrin* is not to be confused with *Pà...rín* which was discussed above. *Pàrin* occurs at the sentence final position in an utterance. Unlike *Pà...rín*, it is an indivisible word, and cannot accommodate any word or group of words within it. *Pàrin* is the only complementizer that can co-occur with any other complementizers in *Ao*. However, *pàrin* cannot co-occur with *nẹ́* and *pà...rín*. *Pàrin* apart from its role as a question marker in an interrogative sentence; it is also an emphatic marker in a mild emphatic sentence, especially when it is combined with any other complementizer. Consider the following:

- 4a) Tírhà ó yá pàrin?
Teacher agr come comp
'Is it that the teacher come?'
- b) Ayọ í ulí pàrin?
Ayo be house comp
'Is it that Ayo is at home?'
- c) Oni ó yá pàrin?
We agr come comp
'Is it that we come?'

- d) Sé Tírhà ó gbọ pàrin?
Comp Teacher agr hear comp
'Is it that the teacher heard?'
- e) Fí/rhí Ayọ́ ó gbèrè pàrin?
Comp Ayo agr go comp
'Is it that Ayo went?'
- f) Ọmọ tìí Olú ó rí pàrin?
Child comp Olú agr see comp
'Is it the child that Olú saw?'
- g) Dí ọni ó bá jú pàrin?
Comp we agr comp go comp
'Is it that if we go?'
- h) Dí ulí ó tá gwó pàrin?
comp house agr comp collapse comp
'Is it if the house had collapse?'

In (4d), *pàrin* is combined with the question marker *sé*; it co-occur with *fí/rhí* in (4e), with *tìí* the relative marker in (4f) and with the conditional markers *dí...bá* and *dí...tá* in (4g) and (4h) respectively.

(5) below is the table of co-occurrence of complementizers in *Ào*. The symbol '+' indicates where co-occurrence is possible, while '-' indicates where it is not possible.

(5) Co-occurrence of complementizers

	sé	̀nẓẹ́	pà...rin	dí...bá	dí...tá	fí/rhí	tìí
pàrin	+	—	+	+	+	+	+

Since it is only *pàrin* that can co-occur with other complementizers, (5) clearly shows those that it can occur with and those that it cannot occur with.

2.2 The Conditional Markers

There are two complementizers that devote conditionality in *Ào*. The two are a pair of particles each with the same syntactic but different semantic behaviour. The two complementizers are *dí...bá* and *dí...tá*. Since they are discontinuous pairs of particles, each of them has words inserted in it. In actual fact, it is the subject NP that is inserted, this means therefore, that a part of the particle occurs in pre-subject position and the other part occurs at the post-subject position. This can be exemplified by (6) and (7) below:

- 6a) Dí Ọzọ́ ó bá gbọ
Comp Ojo agr comp hear
'If Ojo hears'

- b) Dí Táýò ó bá fẹ́rin
comp Tayo agr comp say so
'If Tayo say so?'
- c) Dí ọ̀ni ó bá jú
comp we agr comp come
'If we go?'
- d) Dí wò bá yá
comp you(sg) comp come
'If you come?'
- e) Dí uli ó bá gwó
comp house agr comp collapse
'If the house collapse?'
- 7a) Dí Òzò ó tá gbọ́
Comp Ojo agr comp hear
'If Ojo had heard'
- b) Dí Táýò ó tá fẹ́rin
comp Tayo agr comp say so
'If Tayo had said so?'
- c) Dí ọ̀ni ó tá jú
comp we agr comp go
'If we had gone?'
- d) Dí wò tá yá
comp you(sg) comp come
'If you had come?'
- e) Dí uli ó tá gwó
comp house agr comp collapse
'If the house had collapse?'

(6a – e) are instances of where we found *dí...bá*, while *dí...tá* is found in (7a – e). As these examples clearly indicate, *dí...bá* marks the conditionality of uncertainty. In other words, the conditional utterances in (6) might have taken place or might not have. (6a), for example, may mean that Ojo hears or that Ojo does not hear. *Dí...tá* in (7) expresses conditionality of a certainty in that it denotes an action that did not take place which ought to have taken place.

Syntactically, *dí...bá* and *dí...tá* have the same role and structure. They both mark conditional utterances, and as pairs of particles they both have subject NP inserted in them as they mark out utterances as conditional sentences.

2.3 Others: Clause – Introducing Complementizers

The two other complementizers are *tii* and *fi/rhi*. They have no semantic content, but serve as clause introducers. *Tii* introduces the relative clause in Ào; therefore, it is the relative marker, while *fi/rhi* is a nominalizer used to convert a full sentence to a nominal group in nominalization. *Fi/rhi* therefore is a subordinator. The examples below are instances where a whole sentence is relativized with the introduction of the relative marker *tii*.

- 8a) Olú ó rí ọmọ Adé
Olu agr see child Ade
'Olu saw Ade's child'
- b) Ọmọ Adé tii Olú ó rí
Child Ade comp Olu agr see
'Ade's child that Olu saw'
- c) Adé tii Olú ó rí ọmọ rẹ
Ade comp Olu agr see child his
'Ade that Olu saw his child'
- d) Olú tii ó rí ọmọ Adé
Olu comp pron see child Ade
'Olu that saw Ade's child'
- e) Rírí tii Olú ó rí ọmọ Adé
Seeing comp Olu agr see child Ade
'Seeing that Olu saw Ade's child'

(8a) is the sentence from where the various forms of relative clause in (8b – 8c) are derived. For example, in (8b) the object of the verb *rí* 'see' is moved to the pre-subject position. In (8d) the subject *olú* is moved to the pre-subject position and in (8e) the nominalized form of the verb is moved. When each of these items is moved as we have in (8b – e) above to the pre-subject position of the sentence, the relative marker *tii* is introduced immediately after them. Note that when the possessor in a noun-noun object is moved as in (8c) *rẹ* a resumptive pronoun now occupies the position of the moved constituent (the extraction site), so also *ó* another resumptive pronoun serves as the trace of the move NP – subject in (8d). (9) below are other examples of utterances where we can have the relative marker *tii*.

- 9a) Ûsà tii ọn fọ
Pot comp they break
'The pot that they broke'
- b) Ọnon tii tẹrọ
They comp lie
'They that lie/they that tell lies'

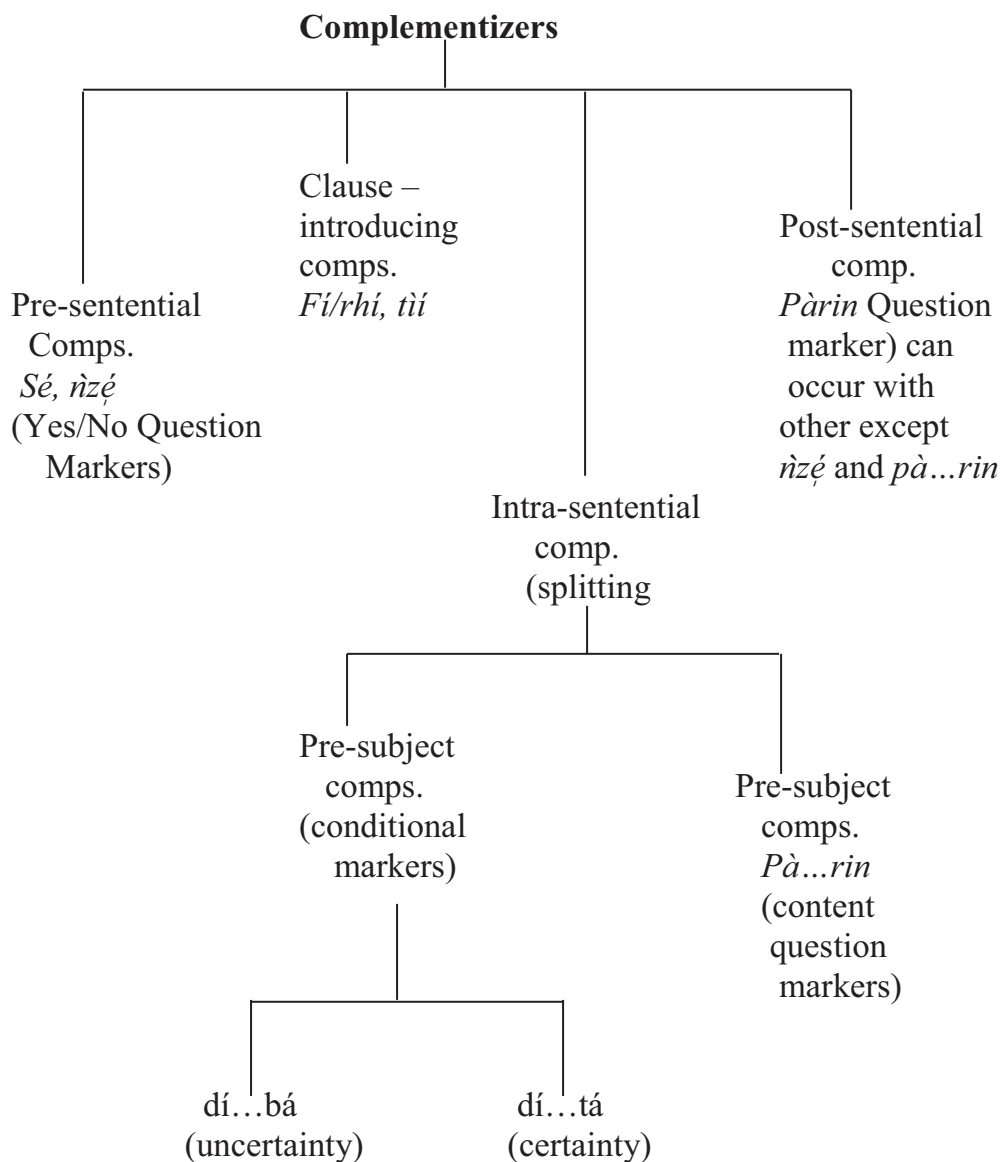
- c) Ọnon rájé tíi zẹ azá
They people comp eat dog
'The people that eat dog'
- d) Mótò tíi Adé ó rà
Car comp Ade agr buy
'The care that Ade bought'
- e) Uli tíi ọn gwó
House comp they demolish
'The house that was demolished'

Fí/rhí are variants used for the same function as nominaliser in *Ào*. *Fí* is used by speakers in Imeri, Ìdòàní, Idógún and Ifira, while *rhí* is employed by speakers in Ìpèsì. Consider the following:

- 10a) Ayò ó gbèrè
Ayo agr go
'Ayo went'
- b) Fí/rhí Ayò ó gbèrè
Comp Ayo agr go
'That Ayo went'
- 11a) Ọni ó yá
We agr come
'We come'
- b) Fí/rhí ọni ó yá
Comp we agr come
'That we come'
- 12a) Ìn rhá
You(pl) run
'You(pl) ran away'
- b) Fí/rhí ìn rhá
Comp you(pl) run
'That you (pl) ran away'
- 13a) Wè ké
You (sg) cry
'You are cry/weep'
- b) Fí/rhí wè ké
Comp you (sg) cry
'That you cry/weep'

- 14a) Uwà mi ó té
 Father my agr arrive
 'My father arrived'
- b) Fí/rhí uwà mi ó té
 Comp father my agr arrive
 'That my father arrived'

The diagram in (15) below will sum up the complementizers discussed in this paper with the syntactic role of each of the complementizers specified.



2.4 Conclusion

The following complementizers are discussed in this work as they are found in Ào dialect of Yorùbá. The Question Marker Complementizers which are also sub-divided into two: the Yes/No Question markers Òzẹ́ and sé and the content Question Markers pàrin and pà...rín. The conditional markers dí...bá and dí...tá that have the same role and structure

but differs in meaning. Dí...bá is a conditional marker employed in an uncertain situation while dí...tá is employed in a condition of certainty. The last group of complementizers are the clause-introducing complementizers tíí (the relative clause marker) and fí/rhí (the nominalizer) employed to convert a full sentence to a nominal group in nominalization.

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56. The Inverse Construction in Yoruba*

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Bámgbósé 1995 has drawn attention to a productive “middle ground” between theory and description in African linguistics. A potential example, which forms the basis of this paper, is the familiar paradigm of Case, Person, Number and Tense in Standard Yorùbá (section 2 *infra*). My argument is that the licensing of person agreement in pronominal clitics, subject and object, reflects the interaction of agreement and Case at a representational level which determines both pronunciation and interpretation. Such a level, which Rizzi & Savoia 1992 dub *phonosyntax*, is hypothetically excluded in Minimalist frameworks (Chomsky 1995). Thus, regarding inferences from data to theory, Yorùbá may be taken to support Rizzi’s non-Minimalist architecture of grammar (section 1.3), together with extensions of Hale and Keyser’s (1993) category framework which I believe to be incompatible with Minimalism (section 1.2). Equally crucial to my account, though more neutral between *phonosyntax* and Minimalism, is a large corpus of work in the phrase structure of closed-class elements, a.k.a. functional categories (section 1.1). As for theory-to-data inferences, which are also indispensable to Bámgbósé’s middle ground, there are far more questions, than answers for now, but I hope to have reduced the set of problems which Yorùbá inflection poses to learnability. At a sociological level, this paper has the goal of reducing the alienation between phonological and syntactic communities, as well as between AAA linguists (African Africanists in Africa) and theoreticians.

1. Theoretical context

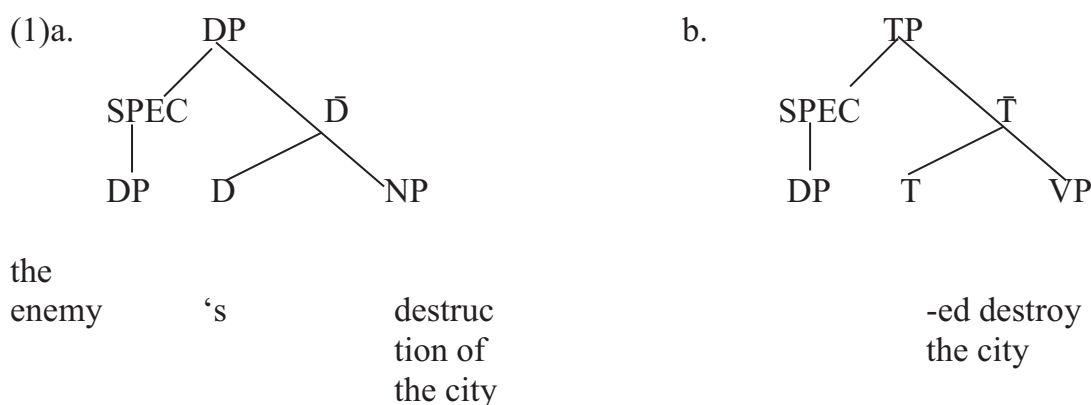
Analogous changes have appeared in phonology and syntax since the first major syntheses of generative, rule-based work in the two areas (SPE = Chomsky and Hale 1968, LGB = Chomsky 1981). In both cases, derivational complexity was swiftly traded in for enriched structural representations, in the form of autosegmentalism and functional categories respectively. In the past decade, despite growing professional distance between syntacticians and phonologists, economic pressure from the privatization of research and tertiary education sectors has driven both subfields into more computation-friendly frameworks guided by (appropriately-named) economy principles, yielding OT (optimality theory, associated with Paul Smolensky and Alan Prince in a burgeoning literature of the email-samizdat) and Minimalism. Along with this ongoing decampment into AI labs and cognitive science programs, however, have come a number of retreats from explanatory goals which classically defined the dialectical tension between theory and data. For example, the concept of underlying representation, which is inconvenient to implementation by massively parallel distributed processors is fully dispensed with in OT and – at least “virtually”---in Minimalism, while the latter has shed a list of empirical domains such as morphology, head-movement (which had become the same thing by the late 1980’s) and relative clauses, to name the first few bags tossed over the side.

This paper asks whether the above parallelism is accidental, i.e. driven purely by sociological considerations, or whether the representational revolutions in the two fields

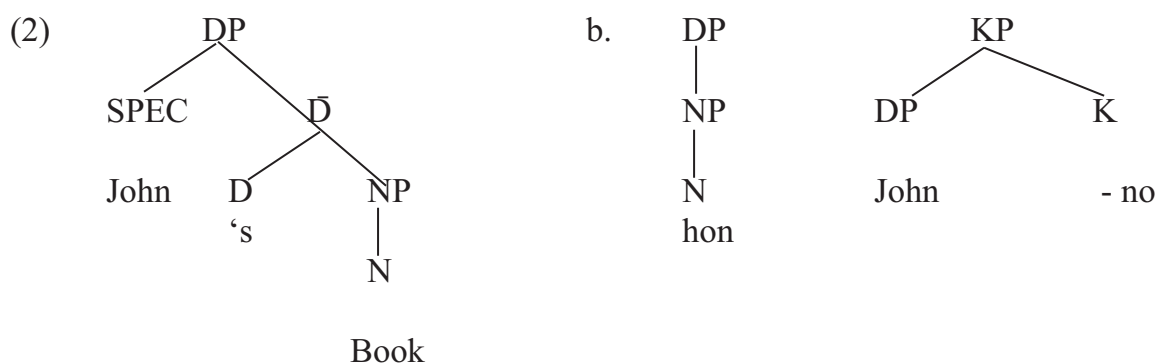
opened the beginnings of an alternative path which can be tested through the **Igbó irúnmalè** of data. Consider some recent developments in syntax.

1.1 Phrase structure

The goal of LGB – following Edmonds 1976, Jackendoff 1977, Stowell 1981 – to reduce phrase structure to the projection of grammatical categories required a fuller theory than the skeletal $\pm V, \pm N$ of Chomsky 1970. Fukui 1986 and Abney 1987 exploit the divide between open-class (lexical) and closed-class (functional) items. Abney develops insights of Lyons 1977 and Brame 1981, 1982 on similarities between articles and pronominal clitics, leading to the DP-hypothesis: English possessive NPs are both endocentric and clausal, directly expressing the homology between nominalizations and their sentential counterparts without violating lexicalist assumptions, cf. (1).

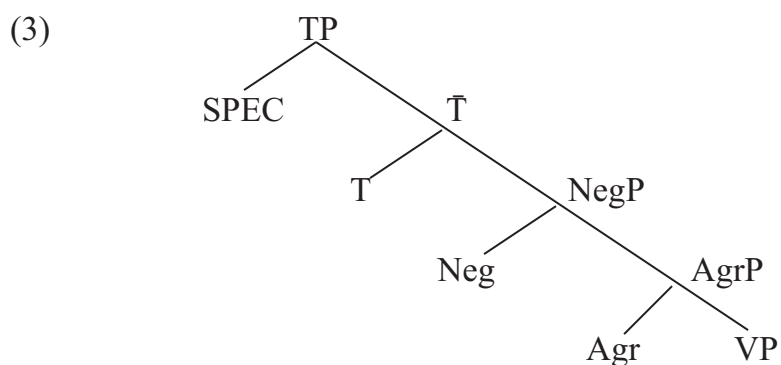


Fukui on his part married functional categories to parameters, holding that lexical categories (V,N,A,P.) are universal, but functional categories differ cross-linguistically in the ability to license specifiers, giving a principled difference between **John's book** and its Japanese counterpart **hon... John –no**, cf. (2).



Fukui also broached a **generalization** across the lexical/functional divide, to the effect that Case (assigned to a lexical complement) and agreement (assigned to a functional specifier) are manifestations of a single property Kase.

Work of this kind stimulated the search *for* more f-cats, preparing the way for Pollock's (1989) exploded-IP treatment of affix-hopping in English and French in terms of distinct maximal projections of Tense, Agreement and Negation, cf. (3).

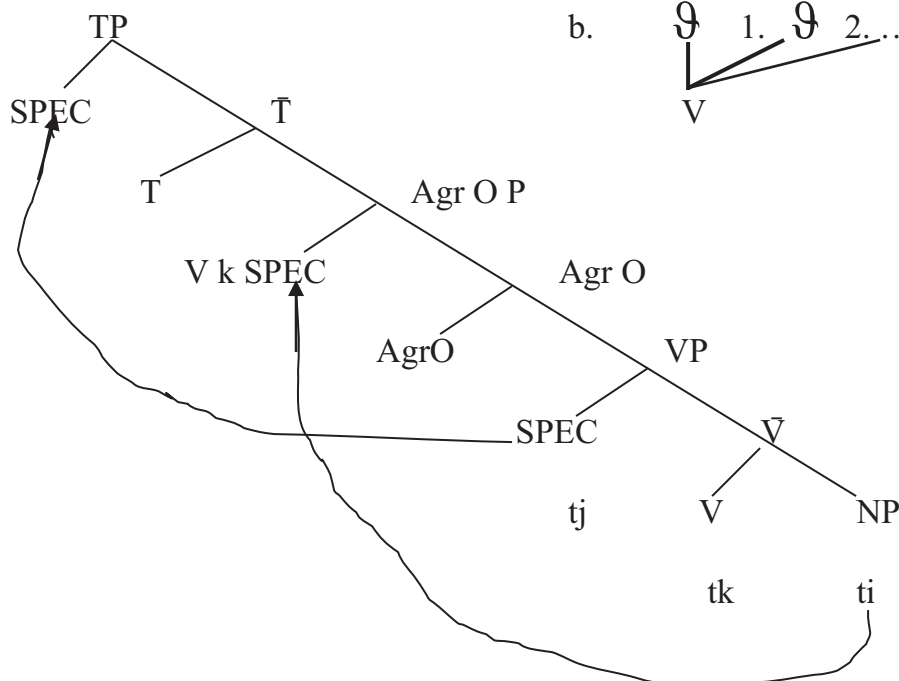


In English, a lexical verb always follows negation in finite context (**do**-support), and adverbs precede a finite verb or follow the VP, but in French all finite verbs precede negation (**pas**) and adverbs, a lexical infinitive follows negation and precedes or follows adverbs, but a non-lexical infinitive also optionally precedes negation. This distribution follows in (3) if movement to finite Agr is abstract in English, whereas movement to finite Agr and T is concrete in French, crossing both the head of NegP and the presumed adjunction site of VP-adverbs. French lexical infinitives raise overtly and optionally, in this schema, to Agr, while infinitive auxes can raise overtly all the way to T. In this way, the intricate differences in linear order of verbs, Neg and adverbs in two languages can be expressed in terms of simple differences in overt movement, which in turn are reducible to ‘strength’ parameters: English finite Agr is weak, French nonfinite Agr is weak but finite T and Agr are strong. The price of this marked simplification is accepting that the left edge of the sentence contains more than one or two phrasal projections of closed-class items.

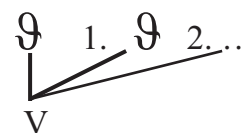
Such a price was driven down in the syntactic market of the late ‘80’s and early ‘90s as newly-coined f-cats flooded in: ForceP, FiniteP, FocusP, TopicP, PredicateP, AssertionP, ModalityP, OuterAspectP, InnerAspectP, SubjectAgrP, ObjectAgrP, Indirect ObjectArP & c. With less proliferation, including DemonstrativeP, NumberP, DegreeP, and KaseP, the nominal extended projection looks underdeveloped by comparison. Another popular option was to let functional phrases iterate, suggesting to Elan Dresher (in his column in the newsletter GLOT) a comparison with so-called junk DNA, those apparently meaningless gene sequences which enfold informative genetic material.

Fukui’s original idea was to restrict specifiers to a parametric subset of f-cats, but a countervailing drive to uniformity begot the VP-internal subject hypothesis, which has the subject of VP project in its SPEC, whence it raises to surface subject position (e.g. SPEC of IP). Commensurately, Case theory was uniformitized to apply only in the SPEC-head configuration (later, Chomsky’s “checking domain”), wiping out Fukui’s Kase theorem aforementioned. At a stroke, syntactic government lost a major **raison d’être** as the head-complement relationship became irrelevant to Case. The most pressing motivation for VP-internal subjects (4a) was the proper formulation of theta of theory, representing the valency (argument structure) of a predicate as an ordered list of theta roles attached to a lexical head (4b).

(4)a.



b.



Something forces the subject to project higher than the object within VP, so that this base asymmetry can be reproduced in the functional domain (i.e. above VP) via Case-driven movement. The standard solution was to posit a universal hierarchy of roles, plus a battery of (partly language-specific) linking rules to effect alternations like dative shift. Clearly, the drive to X-bar uniformity across the lexical/functional divide placed an ever-greater burden on theta-theory, and opened a new vista of A-movements from SPEC to SPEC. Paradoxically, however, this move made D-structure increasingly irrelevant, since it became an arbitrary way-station between lexical properties and functional superstructure. Before reviewing these implications, let me present an alternative.

1.2 Origins of argument structure

Stowell's project had been to derive D-structure from theta-roles. The embarrassment was that the list of such roles remained arbitrary, open-ended and resistant to clear ordering such as was indispensable to asymmetric projection. Turning the problem on its head, Hale & Keyser 1993 deny the primacy of theta-roles vis-à-vis syntax, in the view that it may be easier to catalogue them as surface interpretive labels. This leads them to reinvigorate Fukui's principled dichotomy between the X-bar properties of lexical and functional heads. Their category theory attributes lexical SPECs only to prepositions and adjectives, which are thereby (+predicate). A second lexical feature (+complement) picks out P and V. The resulting matrix is non-isomorphic to Chomsky's, cf. (5a) vs. (5b).

(5)a.				b.			
complement				verb			
P							
r		+	-			+	-
e							
d	+	P	A	n	+	A	N
i				o			
c				u			
a	-	V	N	n	-	V	P
t							
e							

(Other recent proposals, of largely independent motivation, generate matrices which homologous to Hale & Keyser's: Déchaine 1993, Wunderlich 1995). The framework of (5a) entails that at least some subjects originate outside of the lexical domain, e.g. the causative agent (or instigatory) as well as the sole participant of unergatives like **laugh** and **sneeze**. Another difference concerns the status of P, which in (5b) is the most inert or propertyless category (cf. Edmonds 1985 for whom P is no lexical category at all), but which in (5a) has the **most** lexical properties. In place of the theta-roles, H&K account for lexical meaning in terms of predicate decomposition, reviving part of the corpse of 1970's generative semantics but constraining it in a way uncountenanced by Ross & Co, e.g. by appeals to principles like Full Interpretation and the Head Movement Constraint. **Shelve** for example is the pronunciation of a lexical structure which can be paraphrased as cause to become on the shelf, with null lexical heads corresponding to causative, eventive and locative operators of a type-shifting predicate calculus such as Montague grammar. Unlike some lexical semantics mavens, however, such as Jackendoff, H&K insist that the core of lexical word meanings is narrowly syntactic, rather than broadly cognitive or conceptual. This point provides an opportunity (not sanctioned by H&K) to translate their proposal into an alternative grammatical architecture.

1.3 Streamlining the T-model

As with cars, so with grammars: it doesn't matter where the engine is, so long as the wheels turn. But also like automotive design, not every new model is different under the hood (bonnet). Continuing the logic of section 1.1, Minimalism denies the existence of properties which would motivate the derivational Levels of DS and SS (recall Halle's dismissal of the phoneme 40 years before). Linear order is a phonetic property determined without regard to scope (c-command), so that (6a) is synonymous to (6b), while by Adéwolé (1993), (7) is ambiguous. This move is computation-friendly, and was anticipated by GPSG; a counter-move by Kayne 1995 would reduce linear order to scope, since after all the two correlate unproblematically most of the time.

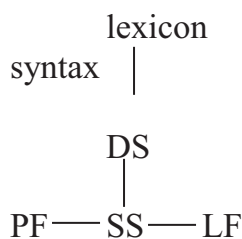
(6)a. Kíni ó rí mbẹ̀?

b. Ó rí kíni mbẹ̀?

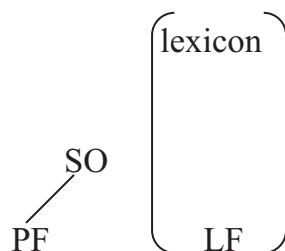
(7) Gbogbo wa kò dé

At stake is the flow-chart which succeeds to the T-model of LGB (8a). If the specifically syntactic levels (DS, SS) are to go, the result is a horizontal reduction as in (8b), where the derivational terrain shared by pronunciation and meaning ends at an arbitrary point Spellout (SO). But if the lexicon contains the syntax of lexical heads (informally, “little syntax”) then the syntax of functional heads (“big syntax”) defines a second, specifically syntactic, representational level. Embedding Hale and Keyser within Minimalism brings us back to (8a), whereas detaching it gives (8c).

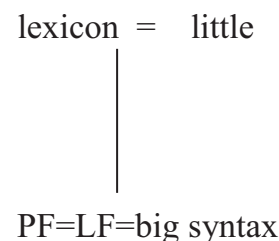
(8)a. T-model



b. Minimalism

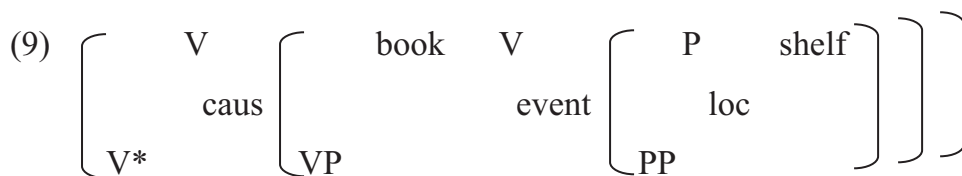


c. Phonosyntax



The above maps are to be used with caution. Harnstein (1995) warns that the LF of LGB (defined by the application of QR) is not the Minimalist LF, which is more like a hybrid of the old LF and SS. The more reliable conclusion is that phonology and syntax have less in common in (8b) than in either of the others. Two corollaries of (8b): morphology is a species of phonology (Halle & Marantz 1993), and there is no room for a specifically syntactic principle such as government. Indeed, as Hornstein recounts, a prime motivation for Minimalism was recalcitrant arbitrariness in the definition of the Empty category principle (the Holy Grail of the ‘80’s).

As to (8c), I label it phonosyntax because it leaves open the possibility that the more superficial syntactic level directly feeds both pronunciation and interpretation. For Hale & Keyser, the only requirement is that Spellout follow little syntax, i.e. after the noun shelf has conflated with the causative operator to become **shelve**:



The further claim, that phonological and syntactic licensing are interwoven, rebuts a very productive research tradition which assumes that the relationship is indirect (Nespor & Vogel 1986). Rizzi & Savoia 1992 tie the distribution of [u] in Italian dialects to the relation of syntactic government, and not to some mediating prosodic categories. More radically, an influential non mainstream tradition (practiced mainly in Montréal, Leiden, London & Vienna) holds that phonological representations are not merely influenced by syntactic government, but that they are themselves constituted by government relations among phonological elements. Vigorously contested by Halle, this doctrine that “phonology is not different” also underpins (8c).

Summarizing, while 1970's generativists were much exercised over the status of **inaudibilia** (races and other phonetically empty items), in the '90's it is audibility (SO) that carries the largest conceptual burden. Where deletion rules once ruled, now it is the era of defaults, resumptives and other last resorts. These at least are among the theoretical concerns which orient the following discussion. From this perspective, the best outcome would be if evidence from Kwa languages can be brought to bear on the choice between (8b), (8c) and other modularization of the language faculty.

2. Descriptive Issues

Consider the pattern in (10) – (13) below. With a bare verb root (10) or a verb-like aux (11), a non-plural first person subject is pronounced **mo**, but this is not possible with other auxes as in (12) and (13). In the latter instances, the same subject specification spells out as **mi** or its ordinary reduced variant (**u**)**n** – a presumptive accusative which is correspondingly impossible in the former context. Correlated with this split in 1s is the absence/presence of **pro**-drop in 3s, as well as the presence/absence of tonal subject agreement (H) in 3p. The second singular, by contrast, is uniform across this inflectional divide. The asymmetry is explicitly stated in (14).

(10)	Mo lọ. 1s go 'I went'	*Mi lọ. I go	O lọ. 2s go 'You went'	Ó lọ. 3s. AGR go 'S/he went'	Wọn lọ. 3p.AGR go 'They went'
(11)	Mo máa lọ. 1s FUT go 'I'll go'	*Mi máa lọ. 1s FUT go	O máa lọ. 2s FUT go 'You'll go'	Ó máa lọ. 3s.AGR FUT go 'S/he'll go'	Wọn máa lọ. 3p.AGR FUT go 'They'll go'
(12)	*Mo yóò lọ. 1s FUT go	Un/ñ óò lọ. 1s IS FUT go 'I'll go'	O óò lọ. 2s FUT go 'You'll go'	Yóò lọ. pro FUT go 'S/he'll go'	Wọn óò lọ. 3p FUT go 'They'll go'
(13)	*Mo kò lọ. 1s NEG go	Mi/Ñ (k) ò lọ. 1s Is NEG go 'I didn't go' 'I won't go'	O (k) ò lọ. 2s NEG go 'You didn't go' 'You won't go'	Kò lọ. pro NEG go 'S/he didn't go' 'S/he won't go'	Wọn kò lọ. 3p NEG go 'They didn't go' 'They won't go'

(14)a. Nominative 1s subject = overt 3s subject = 3p tonal subject agreement

b. Accusative 1s subject = 3s subject **pro**-drop = no 3p tonal subject agreement

The empirical status of this pattern can be approached from several angles.

2.1 Synchronic generality

According to Oyèlárán 1982/92, the contrast between **máa** and **yóò/kò** exemplifies a more systematic bifurcation among standard Yorùbá auxes, on the basis of which Déchaine (1992, 1993) proposed a structural distinction. One set (15a) is apparently compatible with material in T° (the head of TP), assuming that this is the location of

subject tonal agreement (traditionally called HTS), while a second set (15b) would be this reasoning occupy T°. A third type (15c) excludes all clitic subjects, for reasons yet obscure.

- (15)a. future **máa** (?<mí-á)
 progressive **n**
 perfective **ti**
 modals: potential **lè**
 obligatory **gbòdò**
- b. future **yóò, (á)**
 negative **kò**
 ‘never’ **kíí**
 Conditional **ì bá**
- c. habitual **a máa**

Here, it would be will to verify that the triple correlation in (14) extends to all items in (15a-b) consistently. In addition, Oyèlárán points out some likely areas of underanalysis in the identity of the items themselves. For example, while (15a) seems like a heterogeneous collections, (15b) are all semantically irrealis, a property which may be mirrored in the presence throughout of an item **ì** or **ò**. Along the same lines, the gloss of ‘future’ for three of the items calls for greater semantic precision e.g. regarding modal force. (Section 3 below is the proper place to expand on the analysis in terms of default material in T°.)

Another descriptive areas of relevance concerns the relationship between clitic and nonclitic (lexical) pronominals. The standard analysis of the latter (Bámgbósé 1966) treats them as nouns, but all are not equally distinct from their counterparts. The 1p **àwa** and 2p **èyin** are somehow fully decomposable into the respective subject and object clitics, while this putative property fails for the other persons and numbers. This may justify the suspicion, based *inter alia* on the situation in Igbo (Éménanjo 1978) where 1p and 2p are gaps in the clitic paradigm, that these items are ‘heavier’ in feature content than the rest; if, following Benveniste, third person is unspecified, i.e. unmarked, and ascribing the same status to singular, then 1p and 2p are the only items with full or double feature content (one person feature, one number feature). 1s, 2s and 3p have one feature each, while 3s has none at all. (Again see section 3.).

2.2 Diachronic generality

Learnability does not profit from evidence which is not part of the child’s linguistic environment, but there are still reasons to consider dialect evidence in the matter at hand. First, the literature on standard Yorùbá is not consistent as to at least one of the correlated properties, namely the appearance of HTS before certain auxes (notably future **á**). This may reflect real variation, or the fact that the phenomenon is relatively subtle indeed lacking in some contexts e.g. after a lexical subject with final H, or indeed it may show that the standard language itself is somewhat abstract for speakers of various origins, so that it is not a proper object for analysis based on learnability considerations (i.e. a mental

grammar). Similar variation can be observed in the case form of 1s with some items in (15a) e.g. the Èkọ form **Mì n bọ**. Dechaine cites Fresco's observation (1970, 66) that HTS occurs with 1s and 2s subject clitics in **Ọghọ** ("Ọwọ") and **Ọbà**, and one wonders if this is just in context (15a) or in both sets. She further notes Oyèlárán's (1980/91) description of **Ọwọ̀rọ̀** in Ookun (or northeast Yorùbá as apparently lacking any contrast between items analogous to (15a) and altogether. Taken together, these issues suggest a type of argument referred to by Kiparsky (1968) as external evidence. In the specific instance, failure of auxes to be sensitive to subject agreement potentially falsify the structural proposal that HTS occupies T°, since the correction in standard Yorùbá would appear accidental. On the other hand, the same analysis would actually be more probable, if dialects where the correlation fails display independent differences in agreement phenomena (this is Déchaine's tentative response to **Ọwọ̀rọ̀**). The more general point is that such argumentation requires much greater empirical coverage than currently available. Meanwhile, we are left with Awóbùlúyí's (1992) doctrine that dialect facts are essential heuristics for the analysis of synchronic problem where imagination fails.

3. Typological claims

Three theoretical puzzles have been alluded to thus far, based on (10)-(13):

- (16a). Why does accusative appear rather than nominative in (12) and (13) with a 1s subject?
- b. Why does it appear only with the putative T° auxes?
- c. Why does it appear only with a 1s clitic subject?

To begin with, the appearance of any accusative subjects at all in a language falsify the claim that it has a conventional, Latinesque nominative-accusative case system. Unlike Latin, Yorùbá lacks overt case forms of any kind with lexical arguments (as opposed to clitics), at least where structural case is concerned (genitive is audible before a consonant-initial noun). Thus, for the learner, evidence about the Case type of Yorùbá is sparse indeed, so its assignment to a type is not obvious. This circumstance should encourage us to be radical in approach.

Talking up (16c), a first observation is that not every pronominal clitic has distinct accusative form. If 3s is in essence epenthetic, then the phonetic difference between nominative and accusative should be derivable entirely from context; at least the phenomenon of 3s object contraction (**Mò ri** 'I saw 3s') encourages this view. As for 2s, the difference in vowel harmonic class between nominative **o** and accusation **ọ** may not be very strong, given that harmony has a syntactic dimension, and that one hears this things like **Ọ́ dǎa** (e.g. in **Ọ́yọ́**). I have already speculated that 1p and 2p clitics are parasitic on their nonclitic counterparts, so case is not needed to account for the distinction. And there is no distinction in 3p to account for.

If we are prepared to go this far, then we are effectively claiming that any available accusative appears with a T° aux, which brings us to (16b). Why could it be the other way around, i.e. accusative appearing with set (15a) and nominative with (15b)? Now, we already accept that the T° auxes are the ones which block default agreement (HTS), so suppose that it is default agreement which assigns nominative to SPEC, TP, then the failure of subject agreement blocks the licensing of nominative. Then, the

appearance of accusative is consistent with several scenarios. Perhaps a non-normative subject simple inherits the case-domain of the verb. The same outcome would also follow if we rebaptize Yorùbá as an ergative-absolutive system, wherein absolutive is always the default. Some independent evidence along these lines includes the generalization of **mi** subjects after the **kí** complementizer (Awóbùlúyì, p.c). A more conventional view of the latter effect would be to say that imperative comp itself assigns accusative analogous to English **for**, but it is also true that imperative complements are nonfinite, mimicking the effect of a T° aux. This begins to answer (16a) or its reformulation in ergative-absolutive terms.

A residual mystery is why everything boils down to 1s as opposed to 2s in particular. Here I have no answer, but some consolation in that Yorùbá is not alone. Algonkian languages like Cree are famous for the inverse construction, where a 1 subject with a 2 object, or a 3 subject with either a 1 or 2 object is morphologically marked (apologies if I am misrepresenting the facts). This reduces to a person hierarchy of 2>1>3. We have seen that Yorùbá 3s acts like a zero, and 2s is opposingly robust or uniform in its phonosyntax across all tense configurations. The sensitivity of 1s to the content of T° is less dramatic than that of 3s, but important in a different way because it opens the only morphological window into structural case in the language.

Notes

- * Thanks to 'Y. Awóyalé, R-M. Déchaine, K. Hale, M. Kenstowicz and the students in 24.942 at MIT. Spring 1995-96. A version of this paper was presented to the Dept. of Linguistics & Nigerian Languages, University of Ilorin on 11 April 1997.

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57. The Syntax of Complement in Igbo

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Introduction

Emenanjo is 60. Thai is a great thing. The first sentence is meant to be a compliment but not a complement. The verb, *is*, is a copula verb. *Emenanjo* does not complement *60* neither does *60* complement *Emenanjo*. Rather, *Emenanjo* and *60* are equated. Equation here means that either *Emenanjo* is included in *60* or *60* is included in *Emenanjo*, yet both *Emenanjo* and *60* are not in themselves co-extensive. In other words, *Emenanjo* and *60* may be metaphorically similar but their inherent lexical or semantic properties are not componentially identical. As to the entire syntactic structure being a compliment but not a complement, regard must be had to the effect that even though compliment and complement belong to the same genus of grammatical category, namely noun, they are assigned different semantic properties at their deep structure. *Compliment* is congratulatory of a fact. The congratulation imbues in the second sentence *it is a great thing* which is accessory to the fact. Complement, which in any case, does not exist in the context is therefore disjoint from and is therefore denied any nexus with any fact that exists within the sentences under consideration. However, if we add another syntagm to *Nɔlue*, say, *Emenanjo* we generate *Nɔlue Emenanjo*. In *Nɔlue Emenanjo is 60*, *Emenanjo* is a complement, not a compliment accessory to but not too far from the head, *Nɔlue*. For if there are two entities *Nɔlue Emenanjo* and *Nɔlue Menamma*, the head of the structure, *Nɔlue*, is the same though both are, following binding principles, disjoint from each other. The eclipse of syntax and semantics in the two phrases is disjointed from each other by the complements *Emenanjo* and *Menamma*. Whereas *Nɔlue* is categorically head, the “qualifactives” of the head, to use *Emenanjo*’s nomenclature, *Emenanjo* and *Menamma* are complements.

The layout above may strike the reader as mumbo jumbo yet the beneficiary of our present effort *Nɔlue Emenanjo*, a professor first class, a luminary linguist of our age, one believes, is already home with the intent of our jogging in the morning dew. A celebration of this nature is strictly speaking emotional if not romantic, but certainly not academic of the abstract linguistic kind. But as linguistics is irretrievably abstract, though the occasion calls for music, wine and food, such atmosphere may understandably be laced with some abstractions in complement and its syntax. It may be pre-emptory of the object of the paper, namely the relationship between compliment and complement. Such contention may not be mistaken, yet the paper discusses more than the relationship between the two words. The title of the paper is quite removed from such imputation. The intent of the paper is to formulate, in the midst of food and joy, a unified account of the syntax of complement in furtherance of studies carried out by Mendelson (1970), Partee, Meulen and Wall (1990) and Mbah (1999) among others. We believe that the concept has not been sufficiently studied, a lack, which has enabled a confused treatment of the subject and a wrongful generalization in related subject matter. Though the current endeavour is the commemoration of the 60th birthday of our dear Professor *Emenanjo*, a teacher and friend, which means that it is compliment bound, we advert to the position

that the celebration will not be particularly complete without passing a word on complement as our own compliment.

Head in Syntax

What constitutes head in syntax has been a subject of study since the early 20th century. Some of the scholars that have studied head include Jespersen (1924), Lapointe (1980), Williams (1981), Selkirk (1982), Gazdar and Pullum (1982), Zicky (1986) and Hudson (1987).

Other head-like notions in related areas like morphology have obfuscated the concept, head. However, there are subtle qualities of head in syntax that betray such other head-like notions as mere *faux amis*. The following discussion will reveal these salient features, which discriminate between head in syntax and such other related areas.

Semantic Argument

Zicky (1986), while supporting Jespersen (1924), describes semantic argument as follows:

In a combination $X + Y$, X is a semantic argument if X and Y described kind of thing described by X . On the other hand Y is the semantic functor in the same combination.

Zicky cautions that there is no standard logical mechanism of selecting head. He recognises the system in Montague grammar where, for instance, a semantic functor as classified above is described as head and the head the semantic functor. For instance, in certain modulation of pitch pattern, the stress may fall on D in the combination Determiner + Noun. In this case, the D becomes the head and the N the semantic functor. In established contexts, and in discourse ellipses, such shift in categorisation is possible. In syntax, each grammatical category has a function associated with such a category. Consequently, semantic argument does not qualify as head in syntax.

Subcategorisand

In morphosyntax, grammatical features go with particular slots in a construction. A constituent that occupies an A-position, that is, a syntactic position must be listed in the lexicon. Its grammatical features are not so listed, e.g. in *boys*, *boy* is the subcategorisand. It is listed in a dictionary of English. Its grammatical feature, namely the -s plural marker is not so listed. In phrasal combinations, there is no subcategorisand. For instance, in NP+ NP or NP+VP, there is no subcategorisand. Such lexical items, which may occupy A-position, may also subcategorise sister constituents obligatorily. For instance, in the grammatical combination, the verb *give* subcategorises three arguments in its syntactic occurrences, namely, NP, NP and PP. The application of subcategorisation is associated with rules of constituent combination. Rules of constituent combinations are paired with principles of semantic interpretation. The close connection between the constituent combination and semantics coupled with the fact that in combinations of phrasal categories, there is no subcategorisand makes it inadequate for consideration as head in syntax.

Morphosyntactic Locus

Morphosyntactic locus describes a place, which characterises the syntactic relations between a lexical item and other syntactic units. A lexical item occupying the morphosyntactic locus marks syntactic relations. The bearer of morphosyntactic marks is defined in two different ways, as:

- (a) the actual bits of inflectional materials.
- (b) the potential inflectional locus, that is, the constituent on which inflectional materials may involve many levels in the constituent structure. For instance, in the following examples, the morphosyntactic locus is clear: *boy~ boys; box~boxes*. *The boy sings* and *the boys sing* show that it is the verb *sing* that bears the inflectional material, and therefore qualifies as the morphosyntactic locus in its phrasal category. This type of classification is more appropriate in morphology than in syntax. The actual bit of inflectional material does not qualify as head in syntax.

Bloomfield (1933), Bartsch and Vennemann (1975), Anderson (1976), and Zicky (1986) have selected two criteria of determining head in syntax. The criteria are the distributional equivalent criterion and the obligatory constituent criterion.

Distributional Equivalent Criterion

Bloomfield (1933) formulates this criterion. He describes it as the one constituent that belongs to the category with roughly the same distribution as the construct as a whole. Hockett (1958) reformulates Bloomfield's concept of head as the constituent whose privilege of occurrence is matched by that of the construct. See also Wells (1974), and Gazdar and Pullum (1982). Currently, in syntax, head is, among other things, summarised by projection principle. Projection principle states that a phrase is a symmetrical projection of a lexical category. Stated in reverse, a lexical item projects symmetrically into a phrase of the same type.

Distributional Equivalent Criterion

This criterion is a brainchild of Robinson (1970). He defines the head as the constituent that characterises the construct as a whole. It means that the head must be present at all occurrences of the construct in a syntactic structure. Its presence is not optional though it may be elided in elliptical structures.

Position of Head in Syntax

The syntactic position of head in syntax is not consistent across phrase structure types. It is not also the case that it is the same within or across syntactic categories among different languages. For instance, in Igbo, the head of the noun phrase occurs in the initial position. In English, it is in the final position.

- 1(a) *Nwoke ocha*
fair (complexioned man) man
Fair man

In 1(a), the head of the noun phrase (*nwoke*) in Igbo is first, that is, initial. On the other, the same form, which is *man* in English comes last, that is final. Hence, they appear to be opposite in the above structure. But in the verb structure of English and Igbo, they appear to be the same, that is, initial e.g.

- 2(a) *byara n'ututu*
 (b) came in the morning

From recent studies, it does appear that the head of a syntactic category is always at the initial position in Igbo (see Mbah 1999). With copious evidence, Mbah (1999) has argued against the position of earlier scholars, namely, that the head of a syntactic structure may have different privileges of occurrence. See the controverted position in Okonkwo (1974), Emenanjo (1978) and Mbah (1989). In English, the picture is quite different. For instance, whereas the head of the noun phrase is initial (refer to 1 (a)), that of the verb phrase is final (refer to 2).

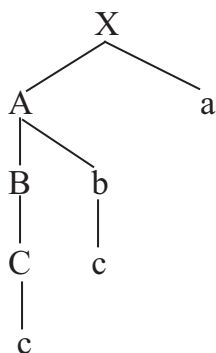
In any event, it has been pointed out succinctly that no matter the degree of difference that subsists between or among the syntactic structures across languages, they are analytically similar. The theories of palindrome and mirror image are used to support the above claim. Kimball (1973) has poignantly demonstrated this relatedness in the following paradigm.

3. Theorem

For every right branching grammar (Gr), there is a left branching grammar (Gl) such that $L(Gr) = L(Gl)$.

If it is assumed that a structure, say, X has two immediate constituents A and a; and A has two immediate constituents B and b. If B has a constituent C, which further has d, and b has an immediate daughter c as its constituent then if the above structure is to be represented in a phrase marker, the form will invariably look like Fig 1:

Fig. 1



If the head of the phrase X is A, the grammar with the above configuration is left branching. It produces syntactic forms that branch to the left. On the other hand, if the grammar is a right branching grammar, that is, the head is *a*, its structure will wear the following marker form.

Fig. 2

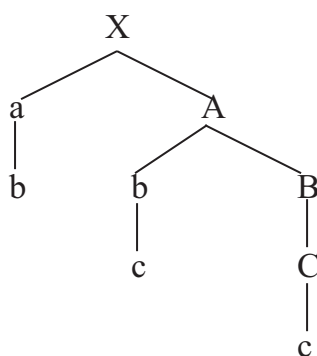


Fig 2 is right branching in that it reproduces its constituents to the right. Figs 1 and 2 differ in the sense that they are opposite. Being opposite here does not imply that they are irreconcilably antithetical. Their synthesis is generated in the sense that they are mirror images of each other. To use pedestrian language, if one places them side by side one will notice that each of them appears to be hedged unto the other as an image in a mirror. Consequent upon that fact, they are said to be mirror images of each other. For the fact that they read the same way backward or forward, they are said to form a palindrome (see also Kimball (1973) and Mbah (1999)). The formulation of 3 is therefore validated. In a word, the head of a kernel structure in syntax may be either initial or final. Either way, the position of the complement is determined relative to that of the head. If the head takes an initial position, then the complement occurs to its right and vice versa.

Syntax of Complement

The complement in syntax is that argument in the sentence, which relates fundamentally to the head; yet, it is not identical with it. Bolinger (1973) defines it as that patient, which duplicates more of the semantic characteristics of the head and gives fewer other traits. The above definitions support the purport of Mendelson (1970), which sees it as a subset of the head. In a syntactic structure, the head can stand in the place of the whole phrase but the complement cannot perform this function. Mendelson formulates it as follows:

4. Complement

If $A \leq X$, then the complement $\tilde{A}$ of A may be defined as $X \sim \tilde{A}$
 (where $\leq$ means “equal to or a subset of” and $\sim$ means “approximately”)

4 means that

$A = \{ X: \tilde{A} \# X \text{ and } X \n\# \tilde{A} \}$
 (where $\#$ means “member of” and $\n\#$ “not member of”)

The interpretation of 4 is that if $\tilde{A}$ is a complement of X , then $\tilde{A}$ is a member of X but X is not a member of $\tilde{A}$. The theory of complement in syntax is normally associated with the A position, that is, the position that is filled at the underlying structure of the grammar. The noun, verb, INFL., preposition have been speculated to occupy the A position in the sense that they occupy argument positions in a syntactic structure. However, theoretically, especially in tree marker representation of the X-bar model, all

syntactic positions are assigned complement positions. Let us demonstrate with the following examples:

- 5(a) *Ele ochye* dajiri ike
The aged antelope fell and injured its waist
- (b) Okeke tiri *mkpu ehihye*
Okeke gave an afternoon shout
- (c) *Ajọ ede* ahu gbara ya
The bad cocoyam stung him

In the above examples, the structures in italics are noun phrases. In each of them, there is a head and a complement. In 5(a), the noun phrase (NP), namely, the subject of the sentence has two immediate constituents *ele* and *ochye*. *Ele* is the head whereas *ochye* is the complement of the head. The reason is that while the presence of *ele* is obligatory, that of the complement is optional (refer also to Nwachukwu (1985)). In other words, for the sentence to be grammatical, *ele* must be present. This is not necessarily true of the complement. The sentence may still be grammatical without *ochye*. The same argument may be raised for 5(b) and 5(c). However, some scholars have tended to believe that in 5(c), *ede* is the head of the phrase (see Emenanjo (1978) and Mbah (1989)). The consequence will be that contrary to our position above, the head of the Igbo noun phrase may at one time be initial and at some other time be otherwise. The true position would be that such structural characteristic is improbable. The conclusion has arisen from a wrong perception of *ajọ* in the above sentence. *Ajọ* by nature is an abstract form. It is also attributive, grammatically. Therefore, it requires a noun to be attributed to. In the instance under discussion, the noun is *ede*. If it were removed from the head position, the result would be a different grammatical structure not envisaged by the original structure. Hence, its presence is obligatory to generate the sense in 5(c). The complement *ede*, though a complement, is required to be obligatorily present by the grammar. There are therefore two types of complement in Igbo: the obligatorily present complement and the optionally present complement. The optional ones are not required to be present to enable the head also to be present unlike the obligatory ones.

There are rules that are formulated to govern the syntax of complements across languages. Following are a list of some of the rules and their application to Igbo syntax. The rules include:

6. (a) $\tilde{A} = A$
 (b) $\tilde{A} \cup \tilde{N} = \tilde{N} \cap \tilde{N}$
 (c) $\tilde{A} \cap \tilde{N} = \tilde{A} \cup \tilde{N}$
 (d) $X \cup \tilde{A} = \emptyset$
 (e) $A \cup \tilde{A} = X$
 (f) $\emptyset = X$
 (g) $X = \emptyset$
 (h) $A \phi B \text{ iff } B \phi A$
 (i) $A = B \text{ iff } \tilde{A} = \tilde{B}$

Let us try to apply the above rules to some Igbo examples.

Rule 1

$$\tilde{A} = A$$

The literal interpretation is that $\tilde{A}$ is complement if it is a subset or a part of another entity, say; A, $\tilde{A}$ is not a head *in situ*. In that circumstance, it is a subset of the entity A. In other words, $\tilde{A} \sim A$, and A is a syntactic phrase comprising $\tilde{A}$ and A (order is irrelevant here). Assuming that the phrase is X (the combination bearing $\tilde{A}$ and A), then while both of them are members of X, $\tilde{A}$ is a member of A but A is not a member of $\tilde{A}$:

$$7 \quad \{X: \tilde{A} \ O \ A \ \& \ A \ P \ \tilde{A} \\ \text{(Where } O \text{ means "member of" and } P \text{ means "not a member of")}$$

The above formulation will test positive against the background of the ensuing examples.

8(a) Ada Okeke byara
Ada Okeke comepast
Ada Okeke came

(b) Ada Okorye byara
Ada Okorye comepast
Ada Okorie came.

In 8, the two sentences are identical except in two words, namely, *Okeke* and *Okorye*. *Ada* is the head of the subject NP. *Okeke* and *Okorye* are nouns in isolation. But within the above context, they are nominal adjectives. That is, they are complements of and qualify the head *Ada*. In 8(a), *Okeke* is part of *Ada* but *Ada* is not part of *Okeke*. The same analysis goes for 8(b). If one were to remove *Ada*, the structure would be grammatical but the sentence that results from the truncation would be radically different from the original structure both in meaning and composition. But if *Okeke* and *Okorye* are removed, the meaning would still be roughly the same especially under established contexts. Therefore, the complement is part of or a subset of the head but the head is not part of the complement.

Rule 2

$$\tilde{A} \cup \tilde{N} = \tilde{A} \cap \tilde{N} \\ \tilde{A} \cap \tilde{N} = \tilde{A} \cup \tilde{N}$$

(where "U" means unites with and " $\cap$ " means intersects with).

The second rule claims that when there are two or more complements, they intersect, that is $\tilde{A} \cap \tilde{N}$. When they intersect, they unite as well, that is $\tilde{A} \cup \tilde{N}$. In other words, united complements are the same as intersected complements, formally $\tilde{A} \cup \tilde{N} = \tilde{A} \cap \tilde{N}$. Therefore, both rules of 2 can be stated in reverse as above. A special relationship exists between union and intersection in syntax. It is this kind of relationship that enables the

link, both syntactic and semantic, to exist in grammar and for sense to be generated from there. Mathematical inductive reasoning lends support to this claim. Mendelson (1970) captures this reasoning in the following distributive law.

- 9 if $A \cup B$
 then $A \cap B$
 and if $B \cup C$
 then $A \cap B (B \cup C) = (A \cap B) \cup (A \cap C)$
 and $A \cup (B \cap C) = (A \cup B) \cap (A \cup C)$

Rule 9 makes possible the relationship between the head and the complement on the one hand and that between the complements on the other. For example, let us analyze 9.

- 10 *egbe anya ukwu*
 kite eye big
 ‘the greedy kite’

10 has a head (*egbe*) and two complements (*anya* and *ukwu*). If *egbe* is A, *anya* B and *ukwu* C, then they form a phrase, a unit capable of meaning because the head unites and intersects with the complements whereas the complements also unite and intersect with each other. In other words, the meaning derived from there is a combined function of both union and intersection. See also Ross (1969), Bolinger (1973), Chomsky (1992), and Mbah (1999).

Rule 4

$$X \cup \tilde{A} = \emptyset$$

Rule 4 states that no head is a subset of its complement. Refer to Rule 1 above. While a complement may be part of its head, the head cannot be a subset of its own complement.

Rule 5

$$A \cup \tilde{A} = X$$

Rule 5 claims that the union between the complement and its head yields an entity (defined or described). Compare rules 4 and 5. The entity, which results from the union between the head and the complement, is described as a universal set (X), e.g.

- 11 (a) *ehi Igbo*
 cow Igbo
 local cow.
- (b) *umumu oma*
 malt drink good
 good malt drink

In 11, the initial lexical items are the heads, while the last ones are the complements. The union between them has resulted in a complete unit of well-defined lexical items.

Without the complements, meaning will still be generated but that sort of meaning is a general meaning. However, no complement serves as the head of a syntactic phrase refer to rules 1, 4 and 5. In the above examples, if the complements (*ehi* and *umumu*) are removed, the complements cannot stand on their own and generate the same meaning contained in the former structures.

Rule 6

- (a) $\emptyset = X$
- (b) $X = \emptyset$

Rule 6(a) states that an empty collection or complement cannot function as a head of a syntactic category. It relates fundamentally to rule 6(b). It claims that a complement is not a head. In other words, it cannot occupy a syntactic argument position. Both of them cannot function as a head of a syntactic category because syntactic heads of the phrase always dominate them. Refer to 11 above.

The relationship between the head and the complement is an ordered one.

Rule 7

- (a) $A \phi B \text{ iff } B \phi A$
- (b) $A = B \text{ iff } \tilde{A} = \tilde{B}$

Rule 7(a) states that an entity A is equal to or a subset of another entity B if the complements of B are a subset of the complements of A. Stated in terms of parity, it relates to 7(b), which adds that two entities A and B are equal if and only if the complements of A and those of B are equal. To have the above generalization of 7(b), the two entities have to be equal but separate. Let us illustrate the claim with the following example:

- 12
- (a) Okeke *zɔtara ugbo ede abua*.
Okeke buypast farm cocoyam two
Okeke bought two cocoyam farms
 - (b) Eze bere *nwaanyi oma ise*.
Eze invitepast women good five
Eze invited five good women.

In 12, the italicized phrases each has a head and two item complements. In 12(a), there are the head word (*ugbo*) and complement (*ede*). The quantifier (*abua*) gives one the information about the number. If we simply the conjoined NP there are two NPs: *ugbo ede* and *ugbo ede*. Following the rule above, the heads are equal because their complements are also equal and the same. The same analysis goes for 12(b). Consequently, the rule is verified, namely that A is a subset of or equal to B if and only if B is equal to and a subset of A. In the same vein, A and B are equal or each a subset of the other if their complements are equal. Refer to Rule 7(b).

From the foregoing discussion, it might have been understood that the head alone is distinct from the complement. While the complement is part of or a subset of the head, the reverse is not the case. Assuming that X is the head, in X-bar terms, X – single bar expresses the relationship between the head and the other qualifiers or modifiers. However the relationship between the head and the complement is ordered. If for instance X and Y are equal, that is $X = Y$, then $\{X, Y\}$ is an unordered pair so that $\{X, Y\} = \{Y, X\}$. The kind of relationship is not the kind seen in the relationship between the head and the complement. In the association of head and complement, if the order is the head before the complement or the reverse, then such an order must be maintained in the applicable categories. If such syntactic order is violated, the ranking that exists between the head and the complement breaks down. Consequently, the function of the lexical items may be reversed thus generating a different meaning from that intended or it results in ungrammaticality. For example, if the constituent of *nwoke ojii* (black man) is reversed so that we get *ojii nwoke* (blackness of the man), the meaning generating from that reversal is totally different from that originally intended. In *ajo invoke* and *nwoke ajo*, the meaning is destroyed and none at all is generated. Hence, in every language, if the order between the head and the complement is in the order of the head before the complement or otherwise within or across syntactic categories, then for such category to be well formed the supervening order must be adhered to. Thus, if $\langle X, Y \rangle$ (where $\langle \rangle$ signifies orderedness), then the order is determined by X and Y. In other words, if $\langle X, Y \rangle = \langle U, V \rangle$ then $X = U$ and $Y = V$. See also Reibel and Schane (1969).

Summaries and Conclusion

The meaning of the term complement is better described than defined. Its character is best understood in relation to the concept of head. The complement of a syntactic category is closely united to its head in that it can hardly stand on its own within a grammatical category. The head also requiring the complement to specify itself or make itself particular among other sets of similar entities compensates for the dependence of the complement on the head to make its meaning material. This mutual interdependence underscores the unity enunciated in the principles of union and intersection between the head and the complement. In a nutshell, while the head does not form a subset of the complement, the complement forms a subset of the head.

There are head-like notions in related areas of linguistics. In morphology and semantics, for instance, there are heads, which appear similar to those seen in syntax. Such head-like notions include the semantic argument, the subcategorisand, and the morphosyntactic locus. But each of them has some disabilities, which make them different from head in syntax. The criteria which have succeeded in producing litmus tests for heads in syntax include the distributional equivalent criterion and the obligatory constituent criterion.

There are rules, which describe the relationship between the head and the complement. Refer to rules 1-7 above. Generally, the head is obligatorily present in all occurrences of the constituents in a syntactic unit. But in Igbo, there are complements whose presence is also obligatory to enable the head perform its syntactic functions. Such complements are observed where the head is abstract and attributive in nature.

Finally, the relationship between the head and the complement is ordered. This means that within or across syntactic categories in a language or across languages, if the

order of the head in relation to that of the complement is the head before the complement or vice versa, then it is a well formedness condition. This order is a well formedness condition in the sense that if the order is reversed, the constituents are forced to occupy grammatical slots different from theirs. Then, two things may either result, namely, the structure becomes ungrammatical or unacceptable or a totally different meaning from the intended results.

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58. A Minimalist Account of *Pro-drop* in Degema¹

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0. Introduction

In the principles-and-parameters (P&P) syntax, it has been suggested that languages differ in their structures along a range of different grammatical parameters. Three such grammatical parameters have been extensively discussed in the literature. They are the *wh*-parameter (i.e. whether the *wh*- can be fronted or not), head-position parameter (i.e. the position where the head occurs vis-à-vis other constituents within the same maximal projection) and the *pro-drop* or null subject parameter (i.e. whether declarative finite clauses may have apparent subjects or not). Parameter setting in human language is a matter of binary choice. According to Radford (1997a:20), binarity is not an accidental property of parameters, rather “it seems much more likely that it is an inherent property of parameters that they constrain the range of structural variation between languages; and limit it to a simple binary choice”.

Whereas Nigerian and indeed African languages have provided enormous amount of data for the discussion of the *wh*-parameter and the head-position parameter, discussions on the *pro-drop* phenomenon have been centred mainly on Romance languages, such as Italian and Spanish². Little or nothing has been said about African languages in terms of the on-going debate on the *pro-drop* phenomenon³. It is therefore the purpose of this paper to contribute to the debate on the cross-linguistic characteristics of *pro-drop* languages from the African perspective. We shall draw our data from Degema⁴ – a relatively unanalyzed language of the Delta Edoid stock spoken in Rivers State, Nigeria.

Our data from Degema reveal that there are cases of declarative finite clauses without overt subjects. This situation is puzzling considering what we know about the general behaviour of declarative sentences. So, the question that one may ask regarding these unusual declarative finite sentences in Degema without apparent subjects is: where have their subjects gone? It is our major concern here to account for these missing subjects in Degema.

The paper is divided into five sections. Section 1 examines the notion of the *pro-drop* parameter in general linguistic theory. Section 2 presents the primary data in Degema. Section 3 discusses the behaviour of subjectless declarative finite sentences in Degema vis-à-vis the major diagnostic features of *pro-drop* languages. Section 4 examines the general characteristics of *pro-drop* languages, and proposes a unified account for all such languages, while section 5 is the conclusion.

Our data will be analyzed within the structural framework of the P&P⁵ theory, particularly Chomsky's (1992, 1993 and 1995) minimalist program⁶.

1.1 *Pro-Drop* in Linguistic Theory

The *pro-drop* or null subject parameter has been extensively discussed in the literature. It has been reported that the *pro-drop* parameter is a feature of such languages as Italian and Spanish (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1982, 1986(a) & (b), Sells 1985, Rizzi 1986, Riemsdijk and

Williams 1986, Cook 1988, Ndimele 1991 and 1992, Radford 1997(a) & (b), etc.). Japanese and Chinese (cf. Huang 1989, Eze 1995), and Igbo (cf. Eze 1995), Ịzọn (cf. Ndimele 2000) and recently Ibibio (cf. Ndimele and Oliveira 2002).

The *pro*-drop or null subject is a parameter which determines whether the subject of a declarative finite clause can be suppressed in overt syntax. Languages of the world vary along this parameter, such that some have been described as *pro*-drop or null subject languages, while others are non-*pro*-drop or non-null subject languages. In a typical *pro*-drop language, it is possible for some finite clauses to have both overt and covert subjects. But in a typical non-*pro*-drop language every finite clause must have an overt subject.

The absence of an overt NP at the spec of AGRsP (i.e. the subject of a sentence) in certain declarative finite clauses is puzzling, considering Chomsky's (1982) Extended Projection Principle which states that sentences must have a subject or Burzio's (1981) assertion that accusative case-assigning verbs must have a θ -subject. To have a θ -subject means that the subject position of such verbs must contain phonetically audible and non-pleonastic subjects.

That *pro*-drop or null subject parameter is a typological variation found among languages of the world is no longer in dispute. What is still a subject of controversy is the origin or the cause of the missing subject. In an attempt to address the matter, a number of suggestions have been made.

One of the reasons offered by Hyams and Wexler (1993) is that the missing subject phenomenon has its roots in the child's language development. This position is, however, not popular as there are a number of unsettled issues regarding it. One of them being that it does not explain why this missing subject phenomenon is pervasive in some languages, and not in others.

The next account which seems to have won a number of converts is that which discusses the missing subject phenomenon from the point of view of richness or otherwise of the verb morphology. It has been extensively argued in the literature that *pro*-drop languages have a rich system of verb-agreement, and that it is this rich system of verb-agreement that causes the noun phrase in the subject position to delete in overt syntax. The resulting null subject has been described in the P&P syntax as "small *pro*" – a phonetically inaudible element. This small *pro* does not have the same distributional potentials as overt pronouns. It is restricted to the spec of AGRsP position. The small *pro* has also been distinguished from PRO – another phonetically inaudible subject. Unlike the small *pro*, the 'big' PRO serves as the understood subject of non-finite clauses in control structures.

In the earlier versions of P&P syntax, PRO is said to occur in an ungoverned position, because the INFL(ection) of its clause is [- Tense]. The small *pro*, however, occurs in the domain of a governor. In fact, *pro* is properly governed by a tensed INFL⁷.

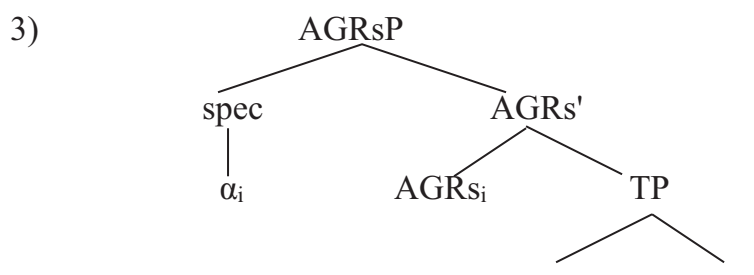
In a typical *pro*-drop language of the type we are describing above, the NP in the spec of AGRsP position is coindexed with AGRs, in accordance with the binding principle which states thus:

- 1) Comdex NP with AGRs in the accessible domain of AGRs.

The accessible domain of AGRs is defined as follows:

- 2) α is the accessible domain of $AGRs_{ii}$ ff $AGRs_i$ c-commands α and there is no β_j the [spec $AGRsP$] of $AGRs_j$, such that $AGRs_i$ c-commands $AGRs_j$ and $AGRs_j$ c-commands α .

The structural configuration under which (1) above can apply is represented thus:



Below are examples from Italian and Spanish to show how the subject of a declarative finite clause can be dropped due to the fact that the verb contains enough agreement markers to enable the hearer to identify the subject:

Italian Data (cf. Riemsdijk and Williams 1986, Radford 1997(a) & (b)):

- 4) a. *Maria parla francese.*
(Maria speak-3sg.agr-sf French)
'Maria speaks French'.
- b. *Lei parla frances.*
(she speak-3sg.agr-sf French)
'She speaks French'.
- c. – *parla francese.*
(*pro* speak-3sg.agr-sf French)
'She speaks French'.
- 5) a. *Lo vengo*
(I come-1sg.sf)
'I come'.
- b. – *vengo*
(*pro* come-1sg.sf)
'I come'.

Spanish Data (cf. Sells 1985, Ndimele 1991 & 1992):

- 6) a. – *Ilegué*
(*pro* arrived-1sg.agr-sf)
'I arrived'.

- b. – *Ilegaste*
(*pro* arrived-2sg.agr-sf)
'You(sg.) arrived'.
- c. – *Ilegó*
(*pro* arrived-3sg.agr-sf)
's/he arrived'.

The fact which emerges from the examples above, particularly those from Italian, is that a *pro*-drop language can license both overt and covert subjects. From the above examples also, we can see that Italian and Spanish have rich subject-agreement morphology to the extent that the surrounding syntactic environment contains sufficient information to render the presence of an overt subject pronoun redundant. Since the meaning of a particular personal pronoun in the spec of AGRsP position is recoverable from the verbal morphology, the overt pronoun in the position in question can be effaced.

In a *pro*-drop language of the Italian- or Spanish-type above, it is the cluster [V+agr.sfi] that licenses *pro* in the spec of AGRsP position, yielding the following structure:

7) $pro_i \dots [V+agr.sfi]$

From (7) above, we can see that *pro* is typically involved in an agreement relation with the inflectional head, which is agr.

The above position regarding the licensing of *pro* is further buttressed by Harbert's (1995:225) assertion. According to him, "*pro* is licensed if case-governed by a head belonging to a designated class of licensing heads, which vary from language to language". He further states that in languages with *pro*-drop, the AGRs is the licensing head. In a non-*pro*-drop language, on the other hand, there is no licensing head. Hence *pro* is not allowed in all contexts. In addition to being licensed by AGRs, the identity of *pro* must be specified through binding by the *phi*-features of AGRs. In a *pro*-drop language, *pro* is coindexed with *phi*-features (i.e. number, person and perhaps gender) of its governing head.

2.1 The Primary Data in Degema

In this section of the work, we shall present the primary data which will form the basis of our analysis. We shall present three sets of data. The first set of data presents the personal subject pronouns in Degema and their associated subject clitics. The second is sample declarative finite sentences in Degema, while the third compares sample declarative finite clauses in Degema with similar data from other languages.

2.1.1 Personal Subject Pronouns and Subject Clitics in Degema

Kari (1997) distinguishes Degema pronouns in terms of the features of case, number and person. He also identified subject clitics which are associated with personal subject pronouns, as we can see in the table below:

Table 1: *Subject Pronouns and their Corresponding Clitics*

Person	Number	True Pronouns	Subject Clitics ⁸
1 st	sg.	mẹẹ ‘I’	mE
	pl.	eni ‘we’	mE
2nd	sg.	wọọ ‘You’	mU
	pl.	maany ‘You’	mA
3rd	sg.	oyi ‘S/he’	mO
	pl.	baaw ‘They’	mE

The subject clitics in Degema encode the features of number and person. They have the tendency to occur to the extreme left of the verb. The subject clitics are not full-fledged NPs, and they differ from personal pronouns in several ways. They do not have the same distribution as any full-fledged NP in Degema, as we have tried to show below:

- i) Whereas personal pronouns and other full-fledged NPs can occur as the head of a topicalized construction, the subject clitics cannot, as in:

8)a. *Báw⁹ nú – mế-tà m’ékì.*

(they FOC 3pl.cl-go prep-market)

‘It is they that are going to the market’.

a'. [CP Báw_i [FOC nú][AGRsP t'_i [AGRs mế-][TP [T Fn]][VP t_i tà m’ékì]]]¹⁰
CH = <Báw_i, ... t_i>¹¹

b. **Mế_i nú(bààw) t_i tà m’ékì.*

CH = <Mế_i, ... t_i>

9)a. *Maria nú – mố-tà m’ékì.*

(” FOC 3sg.cl-go prep-market)

‘It is Maria that is going to the market’.

a'. [CP Maria_i [FOC nú][AGRsP t'_i [AGRs mố-][TP [T Fn]][VP t_i tà m’ékì]]]
CH = <Maria_i, ... t'_i, ... t_i>

b. **Mố_i nú (Maria) t_i tà m’ékì.*

CH = <Mố_i, ... t_i>

Unlike the (a) sentences, their (b) counterparts above are ungrammatical because the subject clitics are moved to serve as the head of a TOP construction. The reason why (8a) and (9a) are grammatical is that the topicalized constituent in each of them is a full-fledged NP, and not a subject clitic, as in (8b) and (9b).

- ii) Personal pronouns in Degema can serve as conjuncts, i.e. they can either be conjoined with their fellow personal pronouns or with other over NPs in Degema.

The subject clitics cannot serve as conjuncts. This explains why (10c) and (10d) are ungrammatical.

- 10)a. *Méē nù wóō mé-tá m'ékì.*
(I and you(sg.) 1pl.cl.-go prep-market)
'You and I are going to the market'.
- b. *Méē nù Maria mé-tá m'ékì.*
(I and " 1pl.cl.-go prep-market)
'Maria and I are going to the market'.
- c. **Méē nù mú mé-tá m'ékì.*
(I and 2sg.cl 1pl.cl.-go prep-market)
- d. **Mó nù Maria mé-tá m'ékì.*
(3sg.cl and " 3pl.cl.-go prep-market)
- iii) The vowel component of each subject clitic responds to the ATR harmony which is pervasive in the language, while the ATR quality of the vowel component of any personal pronoun in Degema is not dependent on the ATR features of the vowels of the neighbouring words.

2.1.2 Sample Declarative Sentences in Degema

Here we present sample declarative finite clauses with a view to noting instances of missing or phonetically inaudible subjects.

- 11)a. *Méè mé-tá m'ékì.*
(I 1sg.cl.-go prep-market)
'I am going to the market'.
- b. – *mé-tá m'ékì.*
(*pro* 1sg.cl.-go prep-market)
'I am going to the market'.
- 12)a. *Eni mé-tá m'ékì.*
(we 1pl.cl.-go prep-market)
'We are going to the market'.
- b. – *mé-tá m'ékì.*
(*pro* 1pl.cl.-go prep-market)
'We are going to the market'.
- 13)a. *Wóò mú-tá m'ékì.*
(you 2sg.cl-go prep-market)
'You(sg.) are going to the market'.

- b. – *mú-tá m'ékì.*
(*pro* 2sg.cl-go prep-market)
'You(sg.) are going to the market'.
- 14)a. *Màny má-tá m'ékì.*
(you 2pl.cl-go prep-market)
'You(pl.) are going to the market'.
- b. – *má-tà m'ékì.*
(*pro* 2pl.cl-go prep-market)
'You(pl.) are going to the market'.
- 15)a. *Ọ̀yì mó-tá m'ékì.*
(s/he 3sg.cl-go prep-market)
'S/he is going to the market'.
- b. – *mó-tá m'ékì.*
(s/he 3sg.cl-go prep-market)
'S/he is going to the market'.
- 16)a. *Bàw mé-tá m'ékì.*
(they 3pl.cl-go prep-market)
'They are going to the market'.
- b. – *mé-tá m'ékì.*¹²
(*pro* 3pl.cl-go prep-market)
'They are going to the market'.

2.1.3 A Comparative Data: Degema and other Languages

In this section, we shall compare data in Degema with their equivalents in Italian (cf. (4) repeated here as (17) and English (cf. (18)).

Italian Data:

- 17)a. *Maria parla francese.*
(Maria speak-3sg.arg-sf French)
'Maria speaks French'.
- b. *Lei parla francese.*
(she speak-3sg.arg-sf French)
'She speaks French'.
- c. – *parla francese.*
(*pro* speak-3sg.agr-sf French)
'She speaks French'.

English Data:

- 18)a Maria speaks French.
V+3sg.agr-sf
- b. She speaks French.
V+3sg.agr-sf
- c. *— speaks French.
pro V+3sg.agr-sf

Degema Data:

- 19)a. *Maria mɔ-kɪwɛ French.*
(Maria 3sg.cl-speak French)
'Maria speaks French'.
- b. *Ọ̀yì mɔ-kɪwɛ French.*
(she 3sg.cl-speak French)
'She speaks French'.
- c. — *mɔ-kɪwɛ French.*
(*pro* 3sg.cl-speak French)
'She speaks French'.

3.1 Accounting for the Missing Subject in Degema

From the data presented in (11)-(16) and (19), it is apparent that Degema allows the spec of AGRsP position of some declarative finite clauses to be suppressed in overt syntax, causing a null category to occur in that position. The suppression of the spec of AGRsP of some finite clauses in overt syntax is an essential attribute of a *pro*-drop languages, particularly if the contents of the suppressed NP in the spec of AGRsP in a finite clause are recoverable from the surrounding syntactic environment. The reason why the personal subject pronouns in the (b) sentences of (11)-(16) and (19c) are absent is that the subjects in question no longer carry any further informational content in the presence of the subject clitics.

Considering the above facts, one can argue that Degema is a *pro*-drop language. Degema, like the Romance languages, such as Italian and Spanish, routinely allows the spec of AGRsP of finite clauses to be suppressed (cf. (11)-(16) and (19)). But unlike Italian and Spanish, Degema has an impoverished verb-agreement morphology. What we observed from the data provided in §2.1 of this paper is that the paucity in verb-agreement paradigms in Degema is, however, augmented by rich clitic system. The subject clitics in Degema behave like the agreement suffixes in Italian (cf. (4) & (5)) and Spanish (cf. (6)), because the subject clitics also encode features of agreement. The *phi*-features (i.e. number and person) of the spec of AGRsP are encoded in the subject clitic causing the personal pronoun in the spec of AGRsP position to delete in overt syntax.

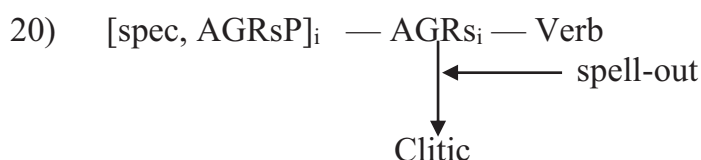
From the foregoing discussion, it appears that rich system of agreement is not a necessary condition for the licensing of *pro* in the spec of AGRsP position. It is a fact that the verb morphology of Degema is not rich in terms of agreement. But the clitic system is rich enough to encode the necessary *phi*-features, so that the meaning of a particular personal pronoun in the spec of AGRsP position is unambiguously recoverable from its associated clitic.

3.1.1 The Subject Clitic as the Head of AGRsP

The structural position of the subject clitic in relation to the licensing of *pro* in the spec of AGRsP is crucial to the understanding of the *pro*-drop phenomenon. Prior to Kari (1997), the morpho-syntactic units in Degema which we analyze here as subject clitics (cf. § 2.1) have been called different names by different researchers in the language. Granted Kari (1997) refers to the morpho-syntactic units in question as subject clitics, he is silent regarding the position of these units in the phrase marker.

In this work, we argue that the subject clitic in Degema is the lexical head of AGRs (i.e. it is base-generated in AGRs). In other words, the subject clitics are the lexical manifestations of AGR.

In examples (11) - (16) above, we observe that Subject-Clitic agreement in Degema applies for all combinations of persons and numbers. What happens in Degema, as far as sentences like those in (11) - (16) are concerned, is that there is a morphological rule which spells out the proper morphological form of AGRs as a clitic. This rule has a rich paradigm, and is systematically consistent. The syntactic format under which the spell-out condition for the clitic element manifests is presented thus:



The subject clitics in Degema do not have all the syntactic properties of full-fledged NPs, and therefore cannot be said to occupy the spec of AGRsP position. The subject clitics are not the consequences of any known movement operation, and they are not resumptive pronouns. Our position is that the subject clitics in Degema result from some ‘local’ insertion rule occasioned by the spell-out conditions of *N*-features (e.g. number and person).

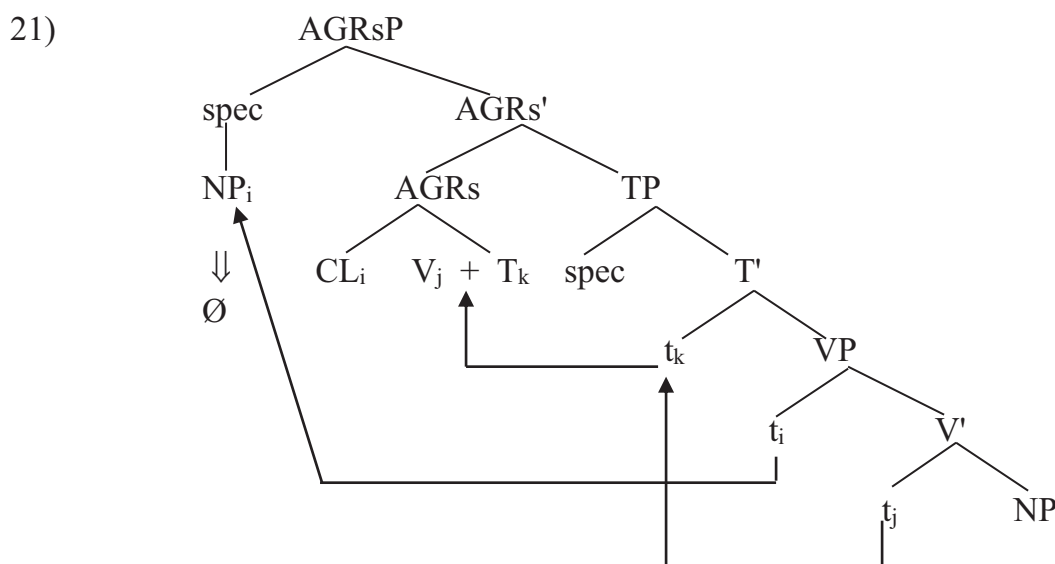
For a phonetically inaudible subject to occur in declarative finite clauses in Degema, the subject clitic must play a crucial role. Let us take the examples in (11) - (16) and (19) for illustration.

In the spirit of MP, the NP which ends up in the spec of AGRsP position is generated internally within the VP as its spec. The movement of the NP from the spec of VP into the spec of AGRsP is for reasons of ‘greed’¹³. In addition to the NP movement for the purposes of case-checking, the verb in the Degema sentence (cf. (11) - (16) and (19)) also moves to T in order to activate its finiteness. The verb later moves leftwards to AGRs where it forms a complex with the subject clitic, yielding the following structure: ([Clitic + Verb + T])¹⁴. It is in this association that the clitic element receives the nominative case property which is an essential feature of finiteness. The clitic element

which occurs in the head position of AGRs unites with the verb in overt syntax to form a complex¹⁵. This merger (i.e. the unity between the clitic element and the verb) takes place prior to spell-out.

The unity of the clitic element and the verb has a great implication for the grammar of Degema. The obvious implication is that the merger leaves only one structural position to the left of the verb. The only structural position to the left of the verb is for the NP subject. This structural position in the spec of AGRsP of a declarative finite clause in Degema is occupied by either a substantive nominal or an empty category. Whereas the spec of AGRsP in the (b) sentences in (11) - (16) and (19) are occupied by substantive pronominal elements, the same position in their (c) counterparts are occupied by a non-trace null subject which has been referred to as *pro*.

Below is a tree structure demonstrating the processes involved in the derivation of a declarative finite clause in Degema with a non-trace null subject:



Like personal pronouns in Degema, the *pro* elements in the (b) sentences in (11) - (16) and (19c) make definite references. Their semantic contents are recoverable from their respective clitic elements in the AGRs position. In the earlier version of P&P syntax, as proposed by Chomsky (1981, 1982, 1986(a) and (b)), the *pro* element in the spec of AGRsP position in the (b) sentences of (11) - (16) and (19) is specified as [- Anaphoric, + Pronominal]. In other words, *pro* is a pronominal element (though phonetically inaudible). In the orthodox Binding Theory, three binding conditions are presented, and *pro* as well as overt personal pronouns are subject to Principle B, as can be seen below:

22) Binding Principles:

- A. [+ Anaphoric, - Pronominal], e.g. a reflexive, reciprocal, or a NP trace is A-bound in its local domain¹⁶.
- B. [- Anaphoric, ± Pronominal], e.g. an overt personal pronoun, or *pro*, is A-free in its local domain.

- C. [- Anaphoric, - Pronominal], e.g. an R-expression (overt noun), or a *wh*-trace is A-free in both its local and non-local domain.

4.1 Towards a Unified Account of the *Pro-drop* Phenomenon

Although there is a general tendency in the literature to believe that the licensing of *pro* somehow involves richness of verb-agreement morphology, some scholars are now of the opinion that the situation is not as simple as that. In fact, it has been argued that richness of verb-agreement morphology is not a sufficient requirement for the licensing of *pro* in a language. Harbert (1995:222) observes that “in non-*pro*-drop languages like English and French, *pro* is disallowed even when the particular agreement ending allows for unambiguous recovery of its content, as in (23c):

- 23)a. Maria speaks French.
 V+3sg.agr-sf
- b. She speaks French.
 V+3sg.agr-sf
- c. *— speaks French.
 pro V+3sg.agr-sf

If we compare the data in (4) with those in (23), we shall observe that both the Italian and English finite verbs *parl* and ‘speak’ respectively can license overt subjects (cf. (4a-b) and (23a-b)). But the two languages differ in the sense that the finite verb in Italian can license a null (i.e. missing but understood) subject (cf. (4c)), while the finite verb in English cannot (cf. (23c)). This explains why (23c) is ungrammatical. Since both English and Italian show verb-agreement, as illustrated by the examples in question, one would expect the two languages to behave in the same manner with regard to the licensing of *pro*. But this is not the situation, which supports the claim that whether a language exhibits the phenomenon of *pro*-drop or not is not largely dependent upon the richness of its verb-agreement system.

It has also been observed that there are languages where rich system of verb-agreement may not be a strong reason for the suppression of the subject in certain finite clauses. According to Huang (1989) and Eze (1995), languages such as Chinese and Japanese¹⁷ have impoverished agreement morphology, yet they routinely allow null subjects in the spec of AGRsP position in certain declarative finite clauses. The implication here is that agreement may not play any significant role in the grammar of these languages. They are non-inflectional languages.

Again, it has been argued that German is a language with a rich system of verb-agreement, and yet it does not license *pro* in the spec AGRsP position.

From the foregoing discussion, it appears that the licensing of *pro* in the spec of AGRsP position involves more than just a rich system of verb-agreement. Hence there is the need to re-examine the rich verb-agreement hypothesis as an explanation for the licensing of *pro*-drop in languages where the phenomenon is pervasive.

Harbert (1995:223) warns that richness of agreement morphology

... must be characterized in terms of the overall richness of the whole paradigms, rather than particular endings... The apparent association between *pro*-drop and rich agreement results from the fact that languages in which INFL contains nominative case features tend strongly to spell out the full feature content of INFL in Phonological Form, perhaps in consequence of the Visibility Condition.

He further observes that rich agreement morphology is, however, not a necessary condition for the licensing of *pro*, as “languages with rich agreement morphology may not opt to exploit identification through head-binding” (Harbert 1995:225).

Because of the apparent difficulties associated with the view that the licensing of *pro* is due to rich system of verb-agreement, some scholars have suggested that the time has come to develop a theory of *pro*-drop that can provide a unitary characterization of *pro* in all languages that display this phenomenon, and even those where the phenomenon is non-existent.

As an attempt to provide a uniform account of *pro*-drop phenomenon, Jaeggli and Safir (1989) argue that it is not the richness of agreement morphology that necessarily causes *pro* to manifest, rather it is the “morphological uniformity” of a language that plays a role in determining whether *pro* is to be licensed or not. Morphological uniformity, according to Jaeggli and Safir (1989), is defined thus:

24) Morphological Informativity

An inflectional paradigm P in a language L is morphologically uniform if P has either only underived inflectional forms or only derived inflectional forms.

What matters in morphological uniformity is consistency in whatever parametric option that is available to the speakers of a particular language. The morphological uniformity proposal has a number of advantages over the hitherto rich system of verb-agreement as an explanation for the presence or absence of *pro*-drop in a language.

If we adopt the above definition of morphological uniformity, we can argue that Italian and Spanish are morphologically uniform in the sense that they systematically and consistently have derived inflectional forms for all combinations of persons, numbers and tenses. For the Italian-type of languages, the recoverability of the *phi*-feature content of *pro* (such as person, number, and perhaps gender) is accomplished through indexation with a sufficiently rich AGRs. It has also been observed that German behaves very much like Italian. Like Italian, German has derived inflectional forms for all combinations of persons, numbers and tenses, as we can see in the examples that follow:

Table 2: Present Indicative Form of the Verb *brennen* ‘to burn’ in German

Person	Number			
	Singular		Plural	
1st	<i>brenn-e</i>	‘burn’.	<i>brenn-en</i>	‘burn’.
2nd	<i>brenn-st</i>	‘burn’.	<i>brenn-t</i>	‘burn’.
3rd	<i>brenn-t</i>	‘burn’.	<i>brenn-en</i>	‘burn’.

From the foregoing examples, we observe that German has a rich system of verb-agreement; hence it ought to have the potential to license an argumental *pro*. But this is not the situation. The reason offered in the literature as to why German which has a rich system of verb-agreement cannot license *pro* is that the language exhibits what is known as “verb second phenomenon”¹⁸.

We can also argue, following proponents of the morphological uniformity principle, that Japanese and Chinese are morphologically uniform in the sense that they systematically and consistently have underived inflectional forms for all combinations of persons, numbers and tenses¹⁹. Since the agreement system of the Japanese-type of language is grossly impoverished, there must be other mechanisms for *pro*-identification.

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that, there are languages in which rich system of verb-agreement is systematically irrelevant for the licensing of *pro*. The other fact which emerges from our discussion so far is that different languages employ different strategies for *pro*-identification. Although there are different strategies for *pro*-identification in different languages, it is possible to arrive at a comprehensive and unified account for the licensing of argumental *pro* across-linguistics.

Following Ndimele (2000), we make four major linguistic typological distinctions regarding the licensing or otherwise of *pro* in the spec AGRsP position:

Table 3: Language Typology Based on the *Pro-drop* Parameter

Category	Characteristics	Examples
A.	Languages with rich system of verb-agreement, where the licensing of <i>pro</i> is possible.	Romance Languages: Italian, Spanish
B.	Languages with rich system of Subject-Clitic agreement, where the licensing of <i>pro</i> is also possible.	Ibibio, Degema
C.	Languages with underived inflectional forms exhibiting neither rich system of verb-agreement nor rich system of Subject-Clitic agreement, and yet the licensing of <i>pro</i> possible.	Japanese, Chinese, Izoŋ
D.	Languages exhibiting erratic or partial verb-agreement, where <i>pro</i> licensing is not possible.	English ²⁰

Languages in category (A) - (C) are morphologically uniform. The A-type of languages have inflectional endings throughout the paradigm, so that the contents of *pro* are easily recoverable from these inflectional endings. Those in (B) have no inflectional ending to signal agreement of any sort, rather they have an elaborate clitic system, so that the contents of *pro* are recoverable from these clitics. Those in (C) have neither inflectional endings nor an elaborate clitic system to signal agreement. Languages of the D-type with erratic or partial verb-agreement cannot license *pro*. What matters, with regard to the licensing of *pro*, therefore is consistent morphological uniform paradigms.

5.1 Conclusion

Thus far, we have shown that there are declarative finite clauses in Degema which show apparent lack of overt subjects. We have described the null subject in such declarative finite clauses as *pro* – a phonetically inaudible constituent. The reason we gave for the absence of overt subjects in declarative finite clauses in Degema is that the contents of such subjects are recoverable from the surrounding syntactic environment. We argued that Degema has a uniform morphological paradigm. Even though the verb in Degema does not have any audible agreement affix to identify crucial grammatical features (here, number and person), each verbal form has an audible clitic element for *pro*-identification. Because of the presence of subject clitics in Degema, subjects of tensed (finite) clauses need not be audible in overt syntax.

Our submission is that Degema, like Italian and Spanish, is a *pro*-drop language, where declarative finite clauses can show apparent lack of overt subjects.

Notes

¹A version of this paper appeared in *Nigerian Language Studies* No. 5, pp. 44-55.

²Japanese and Chinese have also been reported as *pro*-drop languages (cf. Huang 1989 and Eze 1995).

³Evidence of the *pro*-drop phenomenon has, however, been reported in Igbo (cf. Eze 1995) and Ibibio (cf. Ndimele and Oliveira 2002). Both Igbo and Ibibio are languages spoken in Nigeria. Ndimele (2000) has also investigated the status of the null subject observed in the conversational style in Iẓọn (another language spoken in the southern part of Nigeria), and argued that this null subject is not *pro*. He claims that the null subject found in the conversational style in Iẓọn is a mere “null constant” similar to the null subject in English “diary drop” constructions. Ndimele (2000) is of the opinion that the null constant in Iẓọn is A-free in the sense that it is not within the domain of a potential binder. The null constant behaves like the abstract PRO in the sense that it only picks up discourse-identification.

⁴Degema is a little known language comprising two mutually intelligible dialects: Atala and Usokun. It has two level tones: high and low as well as a downstepped high (cf. Kan 1997).

⁵Abbreviations: 1pl. = 1st Person Plural Pronoun; 1sg. = 1st Person Singular Pronoun; 2pl. = 2nd Person Plural Pronoun; 2sg. = 2nd Person Singular Pronoun; 3pl. = 3rd Person Plural Pronoun; 3sg. = 3rd Person Singular Pronoun; A-bound = Argument Bound; A-free = Argument Free; AGR or agr = Agreement; AGRs = Agreement of Subject; AGRsP Agreement of Subject Projection; ATR = Advanced Tongue Root; c-command = Constituent Command; CH = Chain; CL or cl = Clitic; ECP = Empty Category Principle; FOC = Focus; INFL = Inflection; MP = Minimalist Program; NP = Noun Phrase; Ø = null element; P&P = Principles-and-Parameters; R-expression = Referential Expression;

sf = Suffix; spec = Specifier; T = Tense; t = Trace; TOP = Topic; TP = Tense Projection; V = Verb.

⁶The minimalist program is the latest model of transformational generative grammar developed by Noam Chomsky. It grew directly and without radical break from Chomsky's (1991) work in which he argues that syntactic derivations are constrained by the "principle of economy of derivation". The purpose of the minimalist program, as was designed by Noam Chomsky, is to describe the nature of Universal Grammar as well as to account for certain specific parametric variations of that system occasioned by investigations into Core Grammars (i.e. grammars of specific languages). The minimalist program proposes general principles of economy which require syntactic derivations to be minimal in cost. The minimalist program employs three major economy principles: "Shortest Move", "Procrastinate" and "Greed".

⁷We are, however, aware that Lasnik (1993) has questioned the relevance of both government and empty category principle (ECP) bearing in mind Chomsky's (1995) recent view regarding case assignment in MP.

⁸The vowel component of the subject clitic responses to the ATR harmony that operates in the language. The ATR features of the vowel of the subject clitic is dependent upon the ATR features of the vowel in the adjacent mora.

⁹Kari (1997:31) observes that personal subject pronouns shorten their vowels "under certain grammatical conditions", such as those involving focus. This explains why the form of the 3rd person plural pronoun is realized here as *bɔ̃w* instead of *bɔ̃ɔ̃w*.

¹⁰**F_n** is a mere abstract feature of Tense (cf. Haegeman 1994).

¹¹The structure is to be interpreted as follows: *Bɔ̃w_i*, *t'_i*, and *t_i* belong to the same chain. Whereas *Bɔ̃w_i* is the head of the chain, *t_i* is the tail. A chain is "a sequence of coindexed positions where each position locally binds the next down" (Haegeman 1994:437). Chain composition is free.

¹²Notice here that there is no difference between (12b) and (16b). This situation can give rise to ambiguity. In Degema, there is the tendency to retain the personal pronoun *eni* 'we' in the subject position even in the presence of the corresponding subject clitic. This is mostly done in a situation where ambiguity might arise, and where context cannot provide enough clue for the unambiguous resolution of the reference or identity of the missing subject.

¹³"Greed" is one of the three economy principles of MP which states that NPs move for the purpose of checking their case features. Movement for the purposes of case-checking is selfish.

¹⁴Note, this position does not favour the affix hopping (movement) rule of the earlier versions of transformational generative grammar. Again, the clitic element in question is not an affix, and therefore cannot hop rightward to unite with the verb.

¹⁵Let us further stress that the unity of the clitic element in AGRs and the verb is by adjunction, and not by incorporation in the sense of Baker (1988). The subject clitics may have existed diachronically as independent morphemes which in the course of history now come to be joined to the verbs.

¹⁶The local domain of a constituent is the minimal clause containing that constituent. For instance, AGRsP is the local domain for *pro*.

¹⁷Ndimele and Oliveira (2002) also observe that Ibibio is potentially a *pro*-drop language, even though it has not got any convincing evidence of rich system of verb-agreement. The case of Chinese, Japanese and Ibibio poses a threat to the rich agreement morphology as a condition for the licensing of *pro*.

¹⁸In German, as noted by Adams (1987), Jaeggli and Sapir (1989) and Harbert (1995), the verb occurs last in an embedded clause with a overt complementizer, but obligatorily second in a matrix clause, it has also been observed that the tense features in German are generated in COMP position. Hence the verb has to move to COMP position in order to activate finiteness. The implication here is that the Tense-AGR features cannot occur together, since it is the unity of Tense-AGR features that licenses *pro* in the spec of AGRsP position. The consequence is that an identified argumental *pro* is precluded in German. Adams also relates the absence of *pro* in German to case directionality. Let us state, however, that nothing crucial lies on this view for our purpose.

¹⁹Huang (1989), however, proposed a different solution to the problems posed by languages such as Japanese and Chinese which have defective agreement morphology. He is of the opinion that the same conditions that license the abstract PRO in control structures also cause *pro* to manifest in the spec of AGRsP position of declarative finite clauses in these languages. Nothing crucial lies on this view for our discussion in the present work.

²⁰“English is poor when it comes to agreement inflections. The third person singular of the present tense is the only place we hear agreement morpheme, except with the verb *be*, which is slightly more richly inflected” (Napoli 1996:297). In other words, the agreement system of English is irregular, and *pro*-drop can only be found in a language where the subject-verb agreement or the clitic system (also marking agreement) is systematically present or absent. The morphological rule of English, in terms of subject-verb agreement, is notorious, causing “lexical lapses and suppletion” (Napoli 1996).

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59. E. Nolue Emenanjo: A Bibliographical Profile & List of Publications

‘Goke Alamu

National Institute for Nigerian Languages, Aba

Emanuel Nolue Emenanjo, Professor of Linguistics, the Edeogu of Ibusa, Knight of St. John International was born on 21st April, 1943 in Daudawa, Katsina State. He hails from Ibusa in the Oshimili North Local Government Area of Delta State. He attended St. Anthony’s College, Ubulu-Uku from 1956 to 1960 for the West African School Certificate (WASC) and later, the Holy Ghost College, Owerri (1961-1962) for the Higher School Certificate (HSC). By 1966, he had graduated from the University of Ibadan with a good honours degree in English Literature. Shortly after his first degree, he obtained a Post-Graduate Diploma in Linguistics (PGDL) in 1972, and in 1975 he was awarded a Master of Arts degree in Linguistics of the University of Ibadan. In 1981, he submitted a thesis on some aspects of the grammar of Igbo for which he was awarded the Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics also of the University of Ibadan. After graduation, Nolue Emenanjo took up appointment as an Education Officer (English at the Federal Government College, Warri from 1966-1969) between 1969-1972, he served as a Junior Fellow in the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian languages, University of Ibadan.

He joined the Oxford University Press (now University Press Plc.) as its Academic Editor in 1972, and by 1975 he was appointed a Senior Lecturer in Igbo Linguistics at the Alvan Ikoku College of Education, Owerri. He served in this institution for eight years (1975-1983) and there, he held the position of the Head of Department of Nigerian Languages from 1978-1980 and the Dean, School of Arts from 1980-1983. He was appointed a Reader in 1970 – a position he held before joining the Department of Linguistics of the University of Port Harcourt in 1983. Just after a year of joining this University, he was appointed a Professor of Linguistics in 1984, and he became the Head of Department. With Professor Kay Williamson (the most senior academic in the department) and by dint of hard-work, Professor Emenanjo nurtured the department to its maturity, initiating and designing a number of new courses in Linguistics. He later, in 1986, became the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, a position he held for three years.

Professor Emenanjo, just like his mentor, Professor Kay Williamson, is the teacher’s teacher. With almost thirty years of teaching Nigerian Languages and Linguistics at the tertiary level, he has taught a lot of practising linguists and Nigerian Languages teacher in our educational system – from the Secondary Schools to the Colleges of Education and to the Universities.

Professor Emenanjo’s professional activities are at the state, national and international levels. Presently, he is the Executive Director, National Institute for Nigerian languages, Aba – a position he has held since 1993. Between 1990-1992, he was the National Secretary, Committee of Provosts of Colleges of Education in Nigeria. His other professional activities include: Consultant, UNESCO Linguapax Project (since 1999); Consultant, UNESCO Technical Committee on World Languages Project; Consultant, Advisory Committee for Linguistics Pluralism and Multilingual Education, Consultant on Nigerian National Commission for UNESCO: Consultant, Nigerian Languages, Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, (NERDC) 1975-1988; Consultant,

Nigerian Languages, West African Examination Council (WAEC) since 1969; Consultant, Nigerian Languages, Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB) 1982-1991; Consultant, Network of Educational Innovations in Africa (NEIDA) 1986-1988; Consultant Bendel State Languages Committee (1972-1979); Nigerian Representative at Regional Seminar on Linguapax VII Project, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, 1966.

Nolue Emenanjo is a member of several distinguished professional associations. He helped to form some of these associations and has continued to play vital roles in their organization and survival. Some of the professional associations of which he is currently member include: Linguistic Association of Nigeria (LAN); Folklore Society of Nigeria and Association of Nigerian Language Teachers (ANLAT).

Professor Emenanjo's critical mind and interest in academic progress is manifest in the volume and standard of journals he has edited, co-edited or served as editorial adviser. He has edited the following journals: *Kiabara, Journals of Humanities*, University of Port Harcourt; *Nka: A Journal of the Arts*, AICE, Owerri; *Nigerian Languages Studies* (NILAS), NINLAN, Aba to mention a few. He is the editorial adviser to the following: *ANU, A Journal of Igbo Culture*, Imo State Council for Arts and Culture, Owerri; *Uvie Journal of Bendel State Arts and Culture*; *Ofo: Journal of Humanities*, College of Education, Nsugbe; *Warri. Journal of the Arts and Social Sciences*, College of Education, Warri; *Nigerian Journal of Linguistics and African Languages*, University of Jos; *Journal of Francophone Studies*, University of Port Harcourt; *Journal of Linguistics and African Languages*, University of Calabar; *Calabar Studies in Languages and Linguistics*, University of Calabar; *The Agbor Journal of Liberal Studies*; *Journal of Language Studies*, NERDC; *ONA. Journal of Languages and Literature*, Delta State University and *Journal of the School of Languages*. AICE, Owerri among others. It is no gainsaying that Professor Emenanjo's contributions to these journals have made them reputable.

Professor Emenanjo has travelled widely. He has participated in many international conferences. He has travelled overseas to Abidjan (1991), Accra (1976, 1985, 1990 and 1994); Addis Ababa 1985; 1988; Boston 1984, 1988; Exeter 1999; Groningen (The Netherlands) 1979; London 1979.

Within Nigeria, Professor Emenanjo has travelled from Aba – Damaturu, Ibadan – Kafanchan, Warri – Maiduguri, Abeokuta-Nsugbe, Owerri – Kuru to attend workshops, seminars and conferences on Nigerian Languages development. His attendance at these meetings always added a touch of class to these meetings as he always raised a number of disturbing issues and asked a number of 'embarrassing' questions which are of national interest. Professor Emenanjo has cultivated an extensive national and international scholarly correspondence. He has participated in national and international conferences, symposia and lectures at universities and cultural centres in Africa, American and Europe.

Nolue is an established bibliographer. At NINLAN, Aba he will be remembered for initiating the bibliographic compilation of undergraduate final year essays in the various departments of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages in Nigerian Universities. His taste for book collection especially on various areas of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages is insatiable.

Book acquisition is one of his hobbies and is as a result of his passion for reading and preserving. This explains why his personal library is a reference library for students of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages.

Professor Emenanjo has contributed immensely to the society. This is reflected in his activities both in the church and in the socio-cultural development of his home state. In the Catholic Church where he belongs, he is a member of the Knights of St. John International, member: Ministry of Hospitality, Abia Catholic Diocese; St. Joseph's Catholic Men's Organisation in Abia and Delta States; Legion of Mary, St. Dominic's Catholic Parish, Aba; Patron of: Catholic Women Organisation; Catholic Youth Organisation, Abia State; St. Augustine's Catholic Church Choir, Ibusa. Professor Emenanjo is a Marriage Councillor at St. Dominic's Catholic Parish, Aba.

Emenanjo's contributions to the society are not limited to the church. He has contributed positively to the socio-economic development of his town, Ibusa. For instance, he is a traditional chief of Ibusa – Edeogu of Ibusa. He was Councillor, Obuzor-in-Council, Ibusa (1994-1999); Member Ibusa Community Development Union in various towns he has worked; the Vice President, Ibusa Club Nigeria, and he is a patron/adviser to well over as dozen Ibusa-centric youth, men's and women's social cultural and developmental clubs'/associations and societies.

For his contributions to the Nigerian society and his academic excellence he has been recognized as a distinguished Nigerian in three who's who; Who's who is Africa London. Africa Books Ltd., in, Who is who in Nigeria, Lagos, Newswatch Books Ltd. And The Contemporary Who's who: Who's Makiri A difference 2000/2003 Raleigh: America Bibliographic Institute.

These are reference books of current information on Africa's men and women of outstanding accomplishment.

Professor Emenanjo was the inaugural Odenigbo Laureate (1996) and the Ahajioku Laureate 2001. He is a fellow, Modern Languages Association of Nigeria and Patron, Reading Association of Nigeria (RAN). His areas of research interests are: general linguistic theory, endangered languages, lexicography, dialectology, linguistics and literature, oral and written literatures including their structure and literary aesthetics, man, language and development. Professor Emenanjo, has published in all these areas. To his credit, he has published 40 books/monographs with about 10 still in press, 77 articles or chapters in books with 5 still in press and 19 papers completed but unpublished.

Professor Emenanjo is married to Mrs. Florence Amaka Emenanjo. The marriage is blessed with eight children. Professor Emenanjo is a theoretical linguist, university teacher, tertiary education administrator, language engineer, stylistician, poet, folklorist, essayist and a Christian socialist. His philosophies of life are Christian socialism, positivism, pragmatism, humanism, humility and charity.

Professor Emenanjo's List of Publications

I. Books/Monographs:

1. 2001 (ed.) *Orthography Manual* Lagos: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council.
2. 2001 (ed.) *Tony Ubesie: The Man and the Artist* Aba: NINLAN Books.
3. 2001 *Igbo or Igbod: Asusu Igbo n'agburu ndi Igbo* (The Igbo Language in Igbo Civilization) 2001 Ahiajoku Lecture. Owerri: *Culture Division*:

- Ministry of Information and Culture.
4. 2001 Co-edited with Collins Obasi: *An Igbo-French Dictionary* Ibadan: IFRA.
 5. 1999 With P.K. Bleambo (ed.) *Language Endangerment and Empowerment in Nigeria: Theory and Reality*, Aba: NINLAN Books.
 6. 1998 *Ukabuilu Ndi Igbo* Aba: NINLAN Books.
 7. 1999 With O.N. Dike et. al. 1999 *Igbo Maka WASCE/JME U.P.L. Exam Focus Series* Ibadan: UPL.
 8. 1996 *Standard Igbo Spelling* Aba: NINLAN Books.
 9. 1996 *Olumefula: Asusu Igbo na Ndu Ndi Igbo 1996 Odenigbo Lecture*, Owerri: Assumpta Press.
 10. 1995 and Ozo-mekuri Ndimele (eds.) *Issues in African Languages and Linguistics: Essays in Honour of Kay Williamson*, Aba: NINLAN Books.
 11. 1993 and R.O. Aziza (ed.) *Teaching Nigerian Languages: Experience from the Delta Warri*: COEWA Publishers.
 12. 1992 *Nchikota Asusu na Utoasusu Igbo Izugbe na Koleji Ikeja*: Longman.
 13. 1991 With C. Ohiri-Aniche and F. Okolie Nne, *Onye Nzulite*, 1-3 Ibadan: University Press Limited.
 14. 1991 Co-Editor/Researcher, *A Quadrilingual Glossary of Legislative Terms (English-Hausa-Igbo-Yoruba)* Lagos: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council.
 15. 1990 With Okolie O. Okolie *Usoro Nzuputa Ndi Nwere Okwa Ochichi n'inne Ogbo/Woodu LGA na Steeti*: Abuja: Centre for Democratic Studies.
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 18. With Chinyere Ohiri-Aniche *Igbo (Igbo Ekelee (Igbo for Second Language Learners))*, Books 1-3 Ibadan: U.P.L.
 19. 1989 *Atumatu Agumagu na Atumatu Okwu Ikeja*: Longman.
 20. 1988 *Linguistics, Language and the Nation*, University of Port Harcourt: University of Port Harcourt Press (Inaugural Lecture).

21. 1988-91 *A Vocabulary of Primary Science and Mathematics in Nine Nigerian Languages*, National Language Centre and Fourth Dimension Publishers, Enugu.
22. 1988-91 et al. *Igbo Maka Sinio Sekondiri*, Books 1-3, Ibadan. University Press Limited.
23. 1986-89 et al. *Igbo Maka Junio Sekondiri*, Books 1-3, Ibadan. University Press Limited.
24. 1986 With B.I.N. Osuagwu et al.: *Akwukwo Sayensi na Praimari 1-6*, Lagos: Macmillan.
25. 1986 With A.I.R. Unegbu *Igbo Maka JAMB* Ibadan: Macmillan.
26. 1986 Co-author, *Ogugu na Odide Igbo na Junio Sekondiri Books 1-3*, Ikeja: Longman.
27. 1985 *Auxiliaries in Igbo Syntax: A Comparative Study* Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
28. 1984 (ed.) *Nkemakolam: A Book of Igbo Verse*, Owerri: Heins Publishers.
29. 1982 (ed.) *Ogwumagala*, Ibadan: University Press Limited.
30. 1982 (ed.) with F.C. Ogbalu *Igbo Language and Culture* Vol. 2 Ibadan: University Press Limited.
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39. 1975 (ed.) with F.C. Ogbalu *Igbo Language and Culture*, Ibadan: Oxford

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II Books-In-Press

1. 1998 *Utoasusu Igbo* Onitsha: African-Fep.
2. 1998 Fonoloji na Mofoloji n'Igbo *Ibadan: U.P.L.*
3. 1996 *Onye Na Nke Ya* Ibadan: Evans Publishers.
4. 1997 (ed.) *Text Development in Non-Major Nigerian Languages*, Aba: NINLAN Books.
5. *Ìgbò Uzò or Ìbù Uzò or Igbo Bi N'uzò: Aspects of Ibusa Culture.*
6. Co-authored with Dr. Shirley Donwa-Ifode *An Introduction to Language and Linguistics.*
7. 1991 'Language and Literature for social mobilization and nation building in Africa' *Journal of Black and African Arts and Civilization.*
8. 1990 'On Intellectualizing African Languages: Insights from Nigeria' In: S.R. Badejo (ed.) *Current Perspectives in African Languages and Linguistics: A Tribute to Professor Ayo Bamgbose.*
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IV Articles/Chapters-In-Press

1. 2002(a) 'Writing in Nigerian Languages for Primary Education' To appear in E.N. Emenanjo et al. (eds.) *Text Development in Non-Major Nigerian Languages* Vol. 1.
2. 2002(b) 'Development of Texts in Small Nigerian Languages: Input from the Approved Curricula of the Major Nigerian Languages as L₁' To appear in E.N. Emenanjo et al. (eds.) *Text Development in Non-Major Nigerian Languages* Vol. 1.
3. 2002(c) 'The Language Factor in the Universal Basic Education' To appear in the *Journal of Language, Culture and Communication*.
4. 2001 'Beyond the Provisions for Language and Culture in the *National Policy on Education (NPE)* and *The Cultural Policy for Nigeria*' *Nigerian Language Studies*.
5. How Many Nigerian Languages Are There? To appear in the *Maiduguri Journal of Linguistic and Literary Studies* No. 5.

V Some Papers Completed but Unpublished

1. 1973 'How should we write Igbo': Some observations on current writing practices with suggestions for improvement and/or standardization SPILC seminar paper Nsukka, 1973.
2. 1976 'National Languages and Teacher Training in Nigeria': A Study of Unity in Diversity. UNESCO/ABU Seminar paper on National Languages and Teacher Training in Africa, Kaduna January, 19-24, 1976.
3. 1977 The 'Igbo Language: Dialectal Variations' Paper read at the Workshop on Igbo Culture, Institute of African Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, April 4-7, 1977.
4. 1978 The 'Development of Technical Vocabulary in Igbo'. Paper presented at the Workshop on Technical Terminology for Nigerian Languages, University of Ife, September 1-6, 1978.

5. 1981 'Minor genres in Igbo Oral Literature'. Paper commissioned for *Studies in Igbo Literature*.
6. 'How necessary is transitivity?' Paper read at the 18th Conference on African Linguistics'. Indiana University, Bloomington April 3-5, 1981.
7. 1986 'Teaching Nigerian languages in Imo State: An Assessment'. Paper presented during the Workshop of the 6th Annual International Conference on African Literature and the English Language, University of Calabar, May, 6-9, 1986.
8. 'Language Teachers and the Implementation of the National Language Policy'. Paper commissioned by the Technical Committee on the production of Teachers for the Three Major Nigerian Languages.
9. 1988 'African Language Studies in Africa: Position and Projection' Keynote paper read at the 19th Annual African Linguistics Conference, Boston University April 14-17, 1988.
10. 'Languages and the *National Policy on Education*', Commissioned paper read at the National Seminar/Workshop for Federal Inspectors of Education, Enugu, May 2-8, 1988.
11. 1989 'The Igbo Metalanguage and A Standard Igbo/Dictionary' paper presented at the Workshop on the Standard Igbo Project, Oguta Motel, May 4-7, 1989.
12. 'Some first thoughts on The Standard Igbo Dictionary' Paper presented at the First Congress of Igbo Linguists and Language Educators, University of Nigeria, Nsukka May 11-12, 1989.
13. 1990 'Attitudes and Informal Aspects of Management in Institutions of Higher Learning' Commissioned paper given at the Short Course on 'Effective Administration for Change and Development in Institution of Higher Learning', College of Education, Agbor, October 22-25, 1990.
14. 1991 'Issues in the Management of Colleges of Education in Transition' Commissioned paper read at the 14th Annual Conference of the Committee of Provosts, AICE, Owerri; September, 1989.
15. 'Teaching the Major Nigerian languages'. Paper given at the Seminar on the Implementation of the Languages' provisions' of the *National Policy on Education* under the auspices of the Federal Ministry of Education and the NERDC, Gateway International Hotel, Ota, October 6-10, 1991.
16. 1993 'A Standard Orthography: Implications for written texts in a developing language with Isekiri as case study' Paper given at the National Workshop of Isekiri Orthography, Warri, November 15-17, 1993.
17. 'Writing for the Primary School in Nigerian Languages', Paper given at

the Workshop on Text Development in Isekiri, Isoko, Izon and Urhobo, College of Education, Warri, November, 15-17, 1993.

18. 1991 'The Nigerian Middle Class: Perspective and Prospective' Lecture given to the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Alumni Association, Warri Branch, Petroleum Training Institute, 30 November, 1991.
19. 1992 'Language, Folklore and Relevance Among the Anioma Igbo' paper prepared for the 1992 Ekumeku Symposium.

Project/Research In-Progress

1. With Dr. S. Donwa-Ifode *Topics in Language and Linguistics: A Course in Descriptive Linguistics*.
2. With Chukwuma Azuonye, *Readings on Igbo Literature*.
3. 'Igbo Language Studies: The State-of-the-Art, 1989-1999'. To appear in Azuonye C. and Emenanjo, E.N. *Readings on Igbo Literature*.
4. With the Imo State Council for Arts and Culture: *A Standard Igbo Dictionary*.
5. With the Team at the National Institute for Nigerian Languages, Aba: *A Reference Igbo Dictionary*.
6. *Language as History Among the Anioma Igbo*.

60. Nolue Emenanjo and Igbo Studies

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In Retrospect

Just as Egypt is the gift of the Nile, so Igbo Studies is the gift of Emmanuel Nwanolue Emenanjo. In ancient Egypt, it was the River Nile, the longest river in Africa, which gave Egypt life in the sphere of agriculture and maritime activities. What the river is to Egypt of today is what I cannot speculate and determine but in those good old days, there was no Egypt in the absence of the Nile. Yes. What the Nile was to Egypt is what Emenanjo is to Igbo studies, for the missionaries and Ogbalu planted, Emenanjo watered, and God gave the increase. In another dimension, Emenanjo can be compared to Saint Paul the Apostle who arrived somewhat late in the pastoral field, but contributed immensely in the evangelization ministry of Christ.

Professor Emenanjo was not originally a scholar of Igbo, but God, like in the case of Saul, “converted” him to give Igbo the impetus it has today. This son of titled parents – Obi and Obi Emenanjo of Umueze, Ibuzo, had an honours degree in English at the University of Ibadan. On graduation, he took immediately to teaching at Warri, and went back sometime to Ibadan for a Post-Graduate diploma course in education to really qualify as a teacher. At about the time of this academic pursuit, Professor Kay Williamson (Emenanjo’s academic mother) of the Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages was looking for a research assistant for the Igbo dictionary she was compiling. Emenanjo abandoned his PGDE bid to join the Linguistics Department in 1972 as a Research Assistant. At this point in time, Igbo was introduced into the curriculum of the Linguistics Department where Yoruba was already being taught. Emenanjo was a great asset, and he pioneered the teaching of Igbo even though he had formally not studied Igbo. During this period, he did a Post-Graduate Diploma in Linguistics and embarked on a Master’s degree in Linguistics with Igbo as his base language.

With him in mind, the department put up an advertisement for the post of a lecturer. Somebody, already with a Masters degree in Philology from a Russian University, also applied. The candidate was preferred instead. The candidate with a Masters degree in Philology was Mr. S.U. Obi who became the sole lecturer of Igbo courses from 1973 to early 1980s. The Oxford University Press (OUP) put up an advertisement for the post of an Igbo editor about the time of the recruitment of Mr. Obi, and Emenanjo was recruited.¹ Even though he did not stay long with the OUP, his experience there was like that of Saint Paul whose sojourn in Arabia immediately on conversion prepared him for his aggressive evangelization ministry for Christ (Gal. 11:11-24). Emenanjo’s sojourn with OUP was, therefore, a booster not only for Igbo, but also for other Nigeria Languages. We shall discuss this in full later in this paper.

Emenanjo Wades into Igbo Academics

Luck has always been with Emenanjo and Igbo studies. In a School Certificate marking centre of the West African Examinations Council in one of the years, Emenanjo met Dr.

Bertram Osuagwu of the Department of Igbo, Alvan Ikoku College of Education, Owerri, who picked interest in him and begged him to come over to Alvan and help them out as a lecturer. Like Simon and Andrew (sons of Jonah) and James and John (sons of Zebedee) who left their fathers and fishing industry to follow Christ, Emenanjo left OUP and his editorial work to follow Osuagwu to the famed Alvan to join the academic staff.²

On arrival at Alvan, he made himself prominent academically on the entire campus. He rose very fast and became Head, Department of Igbo from 1978-1980; took over the Deanship of the School of Arts (1981 – 1983) from Professor Ernest Emenyonu who proceeded to the University of Calabar on appointment as Professor of English. In 1981, he obtained his PhD in Igbo syntax from the University of Ibadan. In 1984, Emenanjo joined the services of University of Port Harcourt as a senior lecturer and rose to the post of a professor of Igbo Linguistics within a relatively short period. He became, as in Alvan, Head, Department of Linguistics & African Languages. On completion of his tenure, he contested and won a landslide victory in an election to the Deanship position of the Faculty of Humanities. On completion of the deanship tenure, he was appointed for four years, the Provost, College of Education, Warri. It does not rain for Emenanjo. It pours. While in Warri, the federal Government of Nigeria appointed him the Executive Director, National Institute for Nigerian Languages, Aba, where he is now serving out his two-term tenure. In all these institutions and positions, 'Nolue exhibited maturity and dynamism of leadership, promoting academics generally and Igbo Studies particularly. At the University of Port Harcourt, he was instrumental to attracting and influencing Igbo scholars from various higher institutions to embark on higher degrees in the Department of Linguistics & African Languages. These include this writer who became the first student to take a PhD in Igbo Literature in the Department in 1995 since the inception of the University in 1976.

Emenanjo bestrides Igbo studies by being at home with its language and literature. Call on him on either aspect, and he will give a good account of himself. He has an edge over everyone else in Igbo studies. Emenanjo has published extensively in both books and journal articles on language and literature. His entry into Igbo studies has brought a great change for the better just as Saint Paul's entry into Christianity brought a great change in the evangelization ministry of Christ. Emenanjo is a man of many souls rolled into one. He is a great biographer. His biographical perspective on Chief Ogbalu: "F.C. Ogbalu: His Times, Vision and the Igbo Language: An Overview" (1995) is a classic. He is a Poet. His six published poems – 3 in *Ulara Nti* and 3 in *Nkemakola* – are very sarcastic, satiric and critical of the society and government. He is a grammarian, having written many grammar books. He is a powerful essayist, a literary critic, an analyst and an educationist. Whoever talks ill of Igbo studies in any form, talks ill of Emenanjo, and he does not spare such a person. He disagreed with Chinua Achebe at Alvan in 1978 on the occasion of the launching of Emenyonu's *The Rise of the Igbo Novel* (1978) and Emenanjo's *Elements of Modern Igbo Grammar* (1978) when Achebe passed some unpleasant remarks on Igbo studies and its processes.

Emenanjo Brings a Change

Emenanjo's few sojourn in the editorial profession brought a great influence and change in the structure and volume of Igbo and other Nigerian indigenous literature textbooks. Before he joined OUP, all published literature books (mostly novels) were novellas and

novelettes, the size of Omenuko (1933, 93pp); (1952, 56pp). Emenanjo, as an Igbo editor in OUP, caused the editorial policy of the Company towards literature in indigenous languages to be changed. He started with Tony Ubesie's *Ist Akwu Dara N'Ala* (1973, 206pp). He stood his ground that the entire volume of the manuscript be retained and published.³ Today, not only OUP but other publishers have learnt to publish novels of Forster's (1927) imposed standard of 50,000 words minimum.

It was also during the era of Emenanjo's editorship that other genres of literature featured and came into focus in Igbo studies. Before him, there were no drama texts and poetic anthologies. With him Igbo had her first drama book – *Udo Ka Nma* (1974) and her first written poetic anthology – *Akpa Uche* (1975). Oxford University Press (OUP) published them. Like the motto of the extinct West African Pilot founded by Zik of Africa, which was "Show the Light and People will find the Way", Emenanjo opened the way by editing those works. Today, novels, plays and poetic anthologies have grown by leaps and bounds. Today, Igbo can boast of 70 novels, 50 plays, 41 poetic anthologies and 6 short stories despite the 30 wasted years of orthography controversy (1929 – 1961) and the civil war, which retarded the growth of Igbo studies.

Emenanjo as a Member of SPILC

In the good old days of the Society for the Promotion of Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC), that was before the demise of its founder and provider, Chief (Dr.) F.C. Ogbalu, Oba Odezulumba of Abagana, any person who waded into Igbo studies became automatically a member of SPILC. Emenanjo as an Igbo academic, therefore, became an active member of Igbo Standardization Committee and the right-hand man of Ogbalu. As an astute and well-grounded linguist, he was appointed the Secretary of the Standardization Committee, an arm of SPILC charged with looking into the problems facing the language, creative literature and various aspects of Igbo culture in this jet age. It looked also into minute issues like neologism, spelling and writing rules, publications and publishing, etc. He was also co-editor with Ogbalu in the Society's book of reading.⁴ Emenanjo took active part in organizing the various workshops of SPILC in the 1980s which resulted in the production and publication of the Metalanguage volumes of SPILC and Nigeria Educational Research Development Corporation (NERDC).⁵

Conclusion

Emenanjo is a major contributor to and facilitator of Igbo studies as was the Nile the life-giver of ancient Egypt; Saint Paul, the great mover and evangelist of Christendom, and Archdeacon T.J. Dennis, the architect of the Igbo Protestant Bible. This Emenanjo, my academic father, is an Ijele masquerade, an ultimate in Igbo *mmonwu* system. What could Igbo studies have looked like without Emenanjo? He is a major factor and a strong pillar to the well-being of **IGBO**.

Notes

1. My discussions with Dr. W.D. Nwaegbe (a relation of Emenanjo) of the Department of English, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
2. My discussions with Dr. B.I.N. Osuagwu, foundation Head, Department of Igbo, Alvan Ikoku College of Education, Owerri.
3. Classroom discussion with Professor Emenanjo.
4. *Igbo Language & Culture* Vols. 1 & 2, 1975 & 1982.
5. My personal experiences and observations.

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The book *In the Linguistic Paradise* is dedicated to Professor E. Nolue Emenanjo, a celebrated linguist and a pioneer professor of Igbo Linguistics. Professor Emenanjo is among the big names in 'Who is Who in Nigerian Linguistics'. Today, he occupies a most elevated position as the first Executive Director of the National Institute for Nigerian Languages, Aba. As the Executive Director of the Institute, Professor Emenanjo is charged with enormous task of developing, documenting and archiving about 500 or more indigenous Nigerian languages and their dialects. At this higher level, he has interacted with many linguists and other scholars working on various aspects of our indigenous languages. Thus, Professor Emenanjo has an idea of the state of development of a great number of Nigerian languages. Indeed, he is presiding over a linguistic gold mine. Hence, the title of this book: *In the Linguistic Paradise*.

As Professor Emenanjo turns 60 on 21 April, 2003, some of us (his former students, friends and professional colleagues) thought it would be worthwhile to hold a symposium in his honour, and to present him a book on the occasion to celebrate not only scholarship in our field, but also the impact of his contribution in the development of languages and linguistics in Nigeria. So the book *In the Linguistic Paradise* is a profound academic gift to Professor E. Nolue Emenanjo on his 60th birthday, and a salutation to his pre-eminence. We wish him good life and many more years of distinguished scholarship.

Of the intimidating number of papers received from contributors, only 60 survived the rigours of assessment. Besides papers covering the major 'traditional' fields of linguistics (i.e. phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax, and historical language change), there are a number of papers from the 'secular' areas of linguistics, e.g. language teaching and learning, lexicography, language engineering, pragmatics, stylistics, and even literature. The papers in this series are representatives of the current state of research in Nigerian languages and linguistics. And from the two volumes of the festchrift series so far in print, we seem to have an idea of who is doing what and where in the study of language and linguistics in Nigeria.



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